

Publish'd as the Act directs, by Harrison & Co. March 6. 1790.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

EARLIEST TIMES

TO THE

PEACE

OF

1783.

By JOHN GIFFORD, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE FI[illegible]

LONDON:

Printed for Harrison and Co. Nº 18, Paternoster Row.

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PREFACE.

AS the Public are already in poſſeſſion of many Hiſtories of England, it may be neceſſary to mention the motives which have induced the publication of another.

We have yet no Hiſtory of England, of the ſmalleſt repute, from the earlieſt times to ſo late a period as the laſt Peace; conſequently, we have not one which can be conſidered as compleat. Rapin, an hiſtorian juſtly diſtinguiſhed for impartiality and perſpicuity, proceeded no farther than the year 1689; and Tindal's Continuation of his work terminates with the reign of George the Firſt. Hume, whoſe literary reputation has attained the ſummit of celebrity, concluded with the Revolution. Smollett proceeded but to the year 1748; and Goldsmith's haſty Abridgment cloſes with the laſt reign.

Stronger motives to the compoſition of a New Hiſtory may not, perhaps, be required; for whoever caſts a retroſpective eye over the preſent reign, will readily acknowledge, that it is pregnant with events of ſuch magnitude as cannot fail to render it an important epoch in the annals of Engliſh Hiſtory. It opens a new ſcene to the Hiſtorian; a ſcene not to be traced by the weak and erring pencil of Conjecture, but boldly marked by the ſtrong and genuine colours of Truth. It has been obſerved, that the tranſactions of a reign cannot be fairly diſcuſſed during the life of the monarch: but, though an Author who is eaſily ſwayed by prejudice or partiality may be weak enough to admit the validity of this doctrine; to the impartial Hiſtorian, whom no conſideration can induce to ſhrink from the candid diſquiſition of facts, it muſt appear frivolous and falſe. When the moſt ample ſources of information are open before us; when events, unobſcured by time, may with facility be traced to their origin; when miſrepreſentation muſt be followed by inſtant detection; who will dare to affirm that it is not the ſeaſon for hiſtorical verity?

In addition, however, to the desire of compleating our History, in point of time, by including the transactions of the present reign as far as the eventful Peace of 1783, the Author was impelled by other considerations of equal importance.

Though Tindal translated, as well as continued, Rapin's History, there is an evident dissimilarity of style and manner in the commencement and continuation, which must prove disgusting to a reader of taste and discernment. The translation, too, is replete with Gallicisms: the style of the original, in itself harsh and uncouth, is followed with an attention too close to be pleasing; and even the French idiom is frequently preserved, at the expence of harmony and grammatical precision. Indeed, it must be confessed that Tindal's own style is far from being so correct as might reasonably be expected from a scholar and divine, who had dedicated so large a portion of his life to literary pursuits.

It has been justly regretted that Hume, whose strength of mind, and natural propensity to thinking, often led him to indulge in philosophical reflections, which rather tended to create doubts than to remove difficulties, was unable to divest himself of that partiality which has afforded such just grounds for critical censure. By an artful display of his powers of sophistry, where the conviction produced by sound argument should alone have been offered, he has directed applause to improper objects, and sought to avert reproach where it was most due. Nor are the beauties of his history inconsiderably tarnished by his equivocal treatment of religion; which, being alternately the object of his reverence and ridicule, renders it difficult to decide between the zealot and the sceptic. His political opinions, too, must generally be considered rather as the doctrine of a warm partizan than of a cool and impartial historian. It matters not whence that prejudice may arise by which the pure stream of History is polluted; it is sufficient that it exists, to incur the severity of reprehension. The Author of the present History has been studiously careful to steer such a course as must secure him from similar censure.

Since the appearance of all former Histories of England, much new light has been thrown on different parts of the subject; many new channels to information having

having been recently opened, by the publication of ſtate-papers, original letters, and other authentic documents, which tend to elucidate and explain ſeveral important points, hitherto involved in the obſcurity of doubt. Nor have the laborious and laudable exertions of thoſe learned individuals who have confined their attention to particular parts of the Britiſh Hiſtory, been unattended by ſucceſs. To their labours the modern Hiſtorian is indebted for that perſpicuity with which he is enabled to diſcuſs the tranſactions of different reigns, that have till lately worn an aſpect of myſtery. They have, in particular, cleared one collateral branch of our Hiſtory—rendered material by the damp it muſt inevitably caſt on the luſtre of Elizabeth's reign, in many reſpects ſo eminently glorious—from that thick gloom, in which ſtrong talents, combined with ſtronger prejudice, had been ſtudious to involve it.

These various conſiderations, the Author conceives, are of ſufficient importance to render a New Hiſtory of England not merely acceptable, but neceſſary; and no labour has been ſpared to make that which is now offered to the public compleat and perfect.

In the preſent advanced ſtate of literature, to expatiate on the advantages which reſult from the ſtudy of Hiſtory in general, would be ſuperfluous; and to enumerate all thoſe which ariſe from an intimate knowledge of the particular Hiſtory of our native country, as they are more obvious, might be deemed leſs neceſſary: yet this conſideration ſhould not deter us from an attempt to enforce obſervations which lead to the eſtabliſhment of important truths.

To enable us to form an adequate idea of the excellence of thoſe laws, and the freedom of that conſtitution, which are objects of admiration or envy to the whole world, it will be requiſite to trace them to their ſource; to take a comparative view of the laws and government of our anceſtors, the inſtability of which gave energy to faction, and was continually productive of anarchy and confuſion. Such a view muſt raiſe the glow of ſatisfaction on the cheek of the Patriot!

To place a juſt value on thoſe ineſtimable bleſſings which we derive from the purity of our religious tenets, we ſhould compare the preſent æra with that early period of our hiſtory when torrents of human blood were ſhed on the altars

of Superſtition: or with thoſe later times, when holy hypocrites, more ſtudious to perplex, than explain, the ſimple doctrines of Chriſtianity; to puzzle, than to enlighten, the minds of it's votaries: more anxious to excite terror, than to inſtil hope; to promote the gratification of their own ambitious views, than the intereſts of that ſacred religion which they profeſſed; became the inſtruments of fraud and oppreſſion. Such a compariſon muſt excite in the breaſt of the Chriſtian the moſt grateful ſenſations of benevolent thankfulneſs!

In ſhort, to trace the progreſs of his country from chaos to order, from rudeneſs to refinement, is a taſk of infinite utility to every man; as it tends to enlarge his mind by the acquiſition of inſtructive knowledge, and to inſpire him with thoſe ſentiments of gratitude which are the ſureſt ſource of content.

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Published as the Act directs, by Harrison & Co. May 25. 1790.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE YEAR 420.

Ancient Inhabitants of Britain—Invaſion of Julius Cæſar—Progreſs of the Roman Arms—Final Departure of the Romans.

THE Hiſtory of a barbarous nation might probably afford but little ſatisfaction to the generality of men, in an age of ſcience and cultivation; yet we cannot but regret that the early hiſtory of Britain is involved in ſuch impenetrable darkneſs, from an opinion that it might poſſibly be productive of gratification to laudable curioſity.

A diſguſting uniformity muſt, indeed, be expected in the lives of barbarians; but experience has taught us that they can occaſionally offer examples of heroic virtue to the moſt refined and poliſhed nations. As it is not, however, the province of an hiſtorian to range in the field of conjecture, we muſt content ourſelves with a curſory view of the ſtate of Britain prior to the invaſion of Julius Cæſar, and haſten to that period which can ſupply us with ample and authentic information.

We may conclude, from the concurring teſtimony of all ancient writers, that Britain was firſt peopled by the Gauls, or Celtæ, who had emigrated from the neighbouring continent: their language was the ſame; and, in their manners and government, they differed but little from the inhabitants of Gaul.

Five different derivations have, by etymologiſts and antiquarians, been allotted to the word *Britain*.

Some aſſert that the iſland was named Britain, from *Brutus*, a Trojan prince.

Somner ſuppoſes that it owes it's name to the Britiſh word *Brydio*, which ſignifies *Rage*; in alluſion to the violence with which the ſhores of Britain are beaten by the ſurrounding waves.

Camden, and others, have given their voice in favour of the Britiſh word *Brith*, or *Woad*; becauſe the ancient Britons were accuſtomed to paint their ſkins blue with the plant of that name.

The fourth derivation is that of Bochart; who ſays, that the Phœnicians uſed to viſit the iſland for the purpoſe of buying tin, and from thence called it *Barat-anac*; that is, *The Land of Tin*; which being mollified into *Britannia* by the Greeks, was adopted by the Romans.

The fifth is furniſhed by Le Clerq; who aſſerts, that the Phœnicians, having paſſed the Straits, met with no iſland in the ocean which, for beauty and fertility, could be compared to thoſe now called the *Britiſh* Iſles: they, therefore, by way of eminence, named them *Brithan*, which ſignifies *Outer*, or

iſlands in the *Outer Sea*, in oppoſition to thoſe in the Mediterranean, which they called the *Inner Sea*; and, from *Brithan*, adds this writer, Britannia naturally flows.

The firſt derivation is too abſurd to merit the ſmalleſt notice. The ſecond and third muſt be rejected, as being Britiſh words; ſince it is certain that the iſland received it's name from foreigners, and that the natives never called it Britain, or themſelves Britons: the true name by which they diſtinguiſhed themſelves was *Cumri*, or *Cumbri*; from whence *Cambria*, the preſent name of Wales, is derived. The fourth and fifth, therefore, have the advantage of probability on their ſide, though they are far from ſatisfactory. But, as the enquiry is in itſelf more an object of trifling curioſity than of real utility, the diſappointment which muſt always attend it can ſcarcely afford ſubject for regret.

The dreſs of the ancient Britons was formed of the ſkins of beaſts, which were faſtened on the breaſt with a claſp, and covered their bodies but partially, leaving their arms, legs, and thighs, expoſed; and the ſame garment which ſerved them for their cloathing in the day, was employed as a covering to their beds by night. Thoſe, indeed, who lived on the coaſts immediately oppoſite to Gaul, and even in the countries adjoining, uſed a kind of cloth mantle, which was worn in the ſame manner as the ſkins.

The diet of thoſe who inhabited the ſouthern parts of the iſland reſembled that of their continental neighbours, and they had both plenty and variety of proviſions. As they were verſed in huſbandry, their land furniſhed them with corn for bread and other purpoſes; and their gardens ſupplied them with roots, herbs, and ſuch fruits as the ſoil and climate produced. They had numerous flocks and herds, conſequently wanted neither fleſh nor milk; the former of which they knew how to preſerve by ſalt, and the latter they could make into butter. They had alſo veniſon, game, and poultry of all kinds, in great abundance; though, by ſome ſuperſtitious caprice, they are ſaid to have been reſtrained from eating either hares, hens, or geeſe.

The inhabitants of the interior and northern parts of Britain had neither ſuch plenty nor variety of proviſions as thoſe of the ſouth: they were totally ignorant of gardening and huſbandry, and conſequently were, in a great meaſure, ſtrangers to thoſe grains, herbs, and fruits, which are produced by cultivation. Though their lakes, rivers, and ſeas, abounded in all kinds of fiſh, actuated by ſome motive not eaſy to conjecture, they refrained from making uſe of them; and were therefore reduced to live, like the ancient Germans, on the ſpontaneous productions of the earth, the fleſh and milk of their flocks and herds, and on ſuch animals as they caught by hunting. Indeed, we are told by Dio Nicæus, that this was their mode of living ſo late as the commencement of the third century.

Their habitations were mere huts, containing a ſingle apartment ſufficiently capacious for the whole family; who, as well as their gueſts, always ſlept in the ſame room.

It is worthy of remark, that among the ancient inhabitants of Britain, as well as of Germany, every mother, though of the higheſt rank, nurſed all her own children; not thinking it poſſible that the duties of nature could be performed by deputy, or that mercenary care could prove an adequate ſubſtitute for parental affection. They never impoſed the ſmalleſt reſtraint on their children, but ſuffered them to enjoy the free uſe of their limbs, which were wholly unconfined by the ſtricture of dreſs. To this continual exerciſe and perfect liberty, together with the ſimplicity of their diet, Cæſar juſtly attributes the great ſtrength of body, as well as boldneſs of mind, to which the Britiſh youth in general attained.

The religion of every country muſt naturally have a conſiderable influence on it's government; but that of the Britons formed one of it's moſt eſſential parts. The authority of their prieſts, who were called Druids, was almoſt unlimited; it was not merely confined to the direction of religious duties, but extended to the adminiſtration of all civil judicature. The firſt principles of their religion had deſcended to them, together with their language, from Gomer, the eldeſt ſon of Japhet; from whom the Gauls, Britons, and all the other Celtic nations, derived their origin. But, unhappily, this religious knowledge had, in the courſe of it's traditional deſcent from Gomer to his numerous poſterity in ſucceeding ages, been corrupted by ſuperſtition, and was, at this period, replete with abſurdity, wickedneſs, and cruelty.

Beſides the Druids, who were extremely numerous, there were alſo Druideſſes, who ſhared the duties and participated the honours and emoluments of prieſthood.

They are ſuppoſed to have been divided into three claſſes; the firſt of which, like the Roman Catholic nuns, made vows of perpetual celibacy, lived together in communities, and mixed but little with the world. Theſe were held in great veneration by the people, who reſorted to them for purpoſes of divination and prophecy, to which theſe virgin fanatics were great pretenders: but, like more modern adepts in thoſe myſtic ſciences, they refuſed to exert their knowledge till inſpired by a gift.

In Pomponius Mela, there is a curious deſcription of a Druidical nunnery, which he repreſents as ſituated in an iſland in the Britiſh Ocean, and containing nine of theſe ſecond-ſighted veſtals; who pretended that, by their incantations, they could raiſe ſtorms and tempeſts, cure the moſt malignant diſorders, transform themſelves into all kinds of animals, and read the page of futurity.

The ſecond claſs was compoſed of certain devotees, who were, indeed, married, but allotted a much more conſiderable portion of their time to the diſcharge of their religious than of their conjugal duties.

The third and loweſt claſs of Druideſſes conſiſted of ſuch as were employed in menial offices about the temples or perſons of the Druids.

The Druids of Britain, like the Chaldeans of Aſſyria, the Magi of Perſia, the Gymnoſophiſts of India, and indeed all other prieſts of antiquity, had two ſets of religious tenets: one of theſe they only imparted to ſuch as were admitted into their own order,

order, who were ſworn to ſecrecy; nor was any precaution neglected which ingenuity could invent, or intereſt ſuggeſt, to prevent the promulgation of their ſecret doctrines. What thoſe doctrines were, it is impoſſible to ſay; but there is ſtrong reaſon for believing that they were more agreeable to primitive tradition and to right reaſon than thoſe which they rendered public, as they could have no poſſible temptation in their private ſchools to conceal or diſguiſe the truth.

"There is one thing," ſays Pomponius Mela, "which they teach their diſciples, that has been "made known to the people, in order to inſpire "them with courage, and to render them ſtrangers "to fear; which is, that ſouls are immortal, and "that there is another life after the preſent."

We are told by Cæſar, as well as by Diodorus Siculus, that the Druids taught the Pythagorean doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls into other bodies. This they probably conſidered as beſt ſuited to the groſs conceptions of the vulgar, and as the moſt certain mode of ſecuring obedience to their will by the powerful operations of religious terror. Whatever their private opinions might be, they were of little benefit to the multitude, from whom they were concealed with the moſt ſtudied care. Theſe mercenary prieſts had adopted the maxim, that ignorance is the parent of devotion; and that the common people, incapable of being governed by the principles of plain reaſon, require to be awed by the more impoſing rites of ſuperſtition. For this purpoſe they called in the aſſiſtance of mythology, and admitted a plurality of gods. Heſus, Teutates, Belinus or Bel, and Taranis, were their chief deities.

Heſus and Teutates were names originally expreſſive of the attributes of the Supreme Being; the firſt ſignifying Omnipotence, the laſt God the Creator: but, in theſe times of ſuperſtitious idolatry, they were worſhipped as particular deities. To Heſus they paid the ſame divine honours as were rendered to Mars by the Greeks and Romans; and Teutates was their Plūto, the god of the infernal regions, whoſe favour they ſolicited by ſuch offerings as could only be acceptable to an infernal deity. Belinus, or Bel, was the ſame with Apollo; and Taranis was named from Taran, thunder.

Beſides theſe principal deities, they had a long liſt of inferior gods; men who had been deified for their eminence in wiſdom, valour, or virtue: and it is well aſcertained that, in general, theſe were the very ſame perſons as were worſhipped by the Greeks and Romans. Such were Saturn, Jupiter, and Mercury, and the other illuſtrious princes and princeſſes of the royal family of the Titans, who reigned with ſuch diſtinguiſhed ſplendor in the patriarchal ages, both in Aſia and Europe. We have the ſtrongeſt grounds for conviction, that the Greeks and Romans had borrowed this claſs of deities from the Gauls, Britons, and other Celtic nations; as all thoſe deified princes belonged to the Celtæ by birth, and had been ſovereigns of thoſe Celtic tribes which peopled Gaul and Britain: all their names, too, were ſignificant in the Celtic language, and expreſſive of their ſeveral characters. In addition to theſe corroborating circumſtances, it ſhould be remembered, that the Gauls and Britons, as well as the other barbarous nations, were ever famous for adhering, with religious ſcrupuloſity, to the cuſtoms and opinions of their anceſtors; whereas the Greeks and Romans diſplayed a propenſity to adopt the deities and religious rites of other nations.

The Britons, not content with ſacrificing animals to the objects of their idolatry, were urged, by the cruelty of ſuperſtition, to the ſacrifice of human victims: That nothing but the life of man could atone for the life of man, had become an article of the Druidical creed, and was productive of the moſt horrid acts of barbarity which the fury of fanaticiſm could ſuggeſt. On ſome particular occaſions, they formed with oſier twigs a large coloſſal figure of a man, which they filled with human victims; and, ſurrounding the whole with combuſtible materials, ſet fire to it, and reduced it to aſhes. Though they gave a preference to criminals for this abominable purpoſe, as being the moſt acceptable to their gods; yet, when a ſufficient number were not to be had, they made no ſcruple to ſupply their places with innocent perſons. Theſe ſacrifices were generally offered in times of public danger, to appeaſe the anger or to enſure the protection of their deities; but, ſometimes, merely to promote the cure of perſons of rank labouring under any dangerous diſorder.

We are told by Pliny, that the ancient Britons greatly excelled in the arts of divination, which formed a part of their religious rites; and Diodorus Siculus, after mentioning that they have a great veneration for thoſe verſed in the diſcovery of future events, whether they collect their knowledge from the flight of birds, or the inſpection of the entrails of victims, obſerves that they practiſed, on grand occaſions, a moſt ſtrange and incredible manner of divination. "They take," ſays he, "the man "who is deſtined to be the victim, and kill him with "one ſtroke of a ſword above the diaphragm; "then, by attending to the poſture in which he "falls, his different convulſions, and the direction "in which the blood flows from his body, they form "their predictions after certain rules received from "their anceſtors."

Pliny gives an account of their holidays and religious feſtivals; which, it ſeems, were numerous. This, indeed, muſt be the caſe with all nations who pay greater attention to the forms than to the ſubſtance of religion; and whoſe religious tenets, if not expreſsly framed, at leaſt manifeſtly tend, to preſerve the minds of their votaries in ſlaviſh ſubjection to the will of their prieſts: for a frequent repetition of thoſe acts on which the deluſion is founded, is eſſential to it's preſervation; as the mind of man, when left to it's own ſolitary reflections, will not fail to return to the paths of reaſon which nature has taught it to purſue. Of this the Druids were aware, and they acted accordingly.

Had our anceſtors, from their ſkill in divination, been enabled to foreſee that their poſterity would in future ages arrive at the ſummit of glory by means of the oak, they could not have held that ſovereign of the Britiſh foreſts in higher reſpect or veneration.

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" The Druids," ſays Pliny, " had ſuch an eſteem " for the oak, that they would not ſuffer any re- " ligious ceremony to be performed without being " embelliſhed by garlands made of it's leaves. " Theſe philoſophers," adds he, " believe that it is " the choſen tree of God; and that whatever grows " upon it cometh from Heaven."

In conſequence of this belief, the miſletoe ſhared in the honours paid to the oak; and the ceremony of cutting that arboreous plant, as performed by the Archdruid with a golden knife, was one of their moſt ſolemn feſtivals. This Archdruid, whoſe reſidence was at Mona, now the Iſle of Angleſey, from the nature and extent of his authority, may be conſidered as the Pope of the Britons.

We learn from Tacitus, that the Druids held it unlawful to build temples to the gods, or to worſhip them under roofs, or within walls; for which reaſon, their places of worſhip were the thickeſt woods and groves, planted for that purpoſe in proper ſituations. Each of theſe ſacred retreats was ſurrounded by a ditch, to ſecure it from intruſion; and in the centre was an open ſpace, of a circular form, containing an altar of four broad ſtones, three placed edgeways and the fourth at top, for the purpoſe of ſacrifice.

The extreme cruelty of many of their religious rites muſt have naturally added to the native fierceneſs of the ancient Britons, and in ſome meaſure juſtified the accounts which Cæſar received of their barbariſm and ferocity.

It appears, from the teſtimony of the beſt authors, that the general form of government which prevailed in Britain was the monarchical; and that the whole iſland was divided into thirty-nine ſmall ſtates, independent on each other.

1. The Danmonii, who poſſeſſed Cornwall and Devonſhire.
2. The Durotriges—Dorſetſhire.
3. The Belgæ—Hampſhire, Wiltſhire, and Somerſetſhire.
4. The Bibroci—part of Berkſhire.
5. The Attrebatii—part of Berkſhire and part of Oxfordſhire.
6. The Ancalites—part of Berkſhire and part of Oxfordſhire.
7. The Regni—Surrey and Suſſex.
8. The Cantii—Kent.
9. The Trinobantes—Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Surrey.
10. The Caſſi, Cattieuchlani, Caſſivellauni, or Cattivellauni—Hertfordſhire, Bedfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire.
11. The Dobuni—Glouceſterſhire and part of Oxfordſhire.
12. The Iceni—Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeſhire, and Huntingdonſhire.
13. The Coritani, or Coriceni—Northamptonſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Rutlandſhire, Lincolnſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Derbyſhire.
14. The Cornavii—Warwickſhire, Worceſterſhire, Staffordſhire, Shropſhire, and Cheſhire.
15. The Silures—Herefordſhire, Monmouthſhire, Radnorſhire, Brecknockſhire, and Glamorganſhire.
16. The Demetæ—Caermarthenſhire, Pembrokeſhire, and Cardiganſhire.
17. The Ordovices—Merionethſhire, Montgomeryſhire, Caernarvonſhire, Denbighſhire, and Flintſhire.
18. The Ceangi, or Cangi—It has not been determined by hiſtorians what part of the iſland theſe people inhabited.
19. The Attacotti—Unknown.
20. The Pariſi—Eaſt Riding of Yorkſhire.
21. The Brigantes—Lancaſhire, Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, and part of Yorkſhire.
22. The Ottodini—Northumberland, Merſe, and the Lothians.
23. The Gadeni—the mountainous parts of Northumberland and Tiviot-dale.
24. The Selgovæ—Eſkdale, Annandale, and Nithſdale.
25. The Novantæ—Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham.
26. The Damnii—Clydeſdale, Renfrew, Lenox, and Stirlingſhire.

The laſt five are ſometimes diſtinguiſhed by the general name of Maæatæ, or Mæatæ.

27. The Epidii—peninſula of Cantyr, part of Argyleſhire, and Lorn.
28. The Cerones—Lochabar and part of Roſſe.
29. The Carnonacæ—that part of Roſſe called Aſſenſhire.
30. The Carini—about Lochbey, on the north-weſt coaſt of Roſſe.
31. The Cornavii—Strathnavern.
32. The Mertæ—the north-weſt parts of Sutherland.
33. The Logi—the ſea-coaſt of Sutherland.
34. The Cantæ—the north-ſide of Tayne Firth.
35. The Caledonii—Badenoch, Braidalbin, the inland parts of Murray, Bamff, Aberdeen, and Perth.
36. The Texali—the ſea-coaſts of Aberdeenſhire.
37. The Vacomagi—part of Murray, Athol, Mearns, and Angus.
38. The Horeſti—originally part of Angus, but afterwards united to the Vacomagi.
39. The Venicontes—Fife.

The laſt thirteen ſtates were known by the general name of Caledonians till the beginning of the fourth century; when they were formed into two conſiderable nations, called the Scots and the Picts.

Theſe numerous nations were in a ſtate of continual perturbation; each ſhaken by domeſtic faction, or haraſſed by wars with it's neighbours. The Britons, wholly unacquainted with thoſe arts which give charms to peace, and add a zeſt to the enjoyments it procures, conceived a natural diſguſt at the ſameneſs of a tranquil ſtate, and had recourſe to war, as to a refuge which could alone afford them that variety without which life is a burden.

Like all ſavage nations in a ſtate of primeval rudeneſs, the Britons were temperate and inconſtant: but their temperance was rather the effect of neceſſity than of choice; and it is probable that their inconſtancy had it's ſource in the climate rather than in the nature of the inhabitants. Strangers to luxury, they knew not fatigue: they had been bred in woods, and inured to hardſhips.

Such were the inhabitants of this iſland, when the ambitious Roman firſt formed the reſolution to invade it. Had their diſcipline been equal to their courage, the laurels of Cæſar might have withered on the ſhores of Britain.

JULIUS



Publiſhed as the Act directs, by Harrison & Co. June 7. 1788.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

JULIUS Cæſar, according to Suetonius, was induced to attempt the conqueſt of Britain by the hope of enriching himſelf with Britiſh pearls, the beauty and ſize of which had frequently excited his admiration. *Britanniam petiſſe ſpe margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem, interdum ſuâ manu exegiſſe pondus.* Some hiſtorians have cenſured Suetonius for aſcribing a motive, founded in avarice, to a man of known liberality: forgetting, that different cauſes may produce the ſame effect; and that the profligate ſpendthrift is as eager in his ſearch after money as the profeſſed miſer. Cæſar's vicious proneneſs to diſſipation and profuſion are well known. Plutarch tells us that, before he entered on any office, he had contracted debts to the amount of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. To a man of this diſpoſition, the acquiſition of wealth might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to operate as a powerful inducement; and when it is remembered that Cæſar had *an empire to corrupt*, the idea of Suetonius muſt rather excite praiſe for ſagacity, than incur cenſure for injuſtice.

There can be no doubt, however, that Cæſar's ambition would alone have proved an incentive ſufficiently ſtrong to urge him to the undertaking. His thirſt for military glory was inſatiate: ſucceſs had inſpired him with confidence; motives of policy induced him to find conſtant employment for his troops; and every new expedition furniſhed him with a new pretext for keeping his legions abſent from Rome, that they might own no maſter but him; that their courage might become ſubſervient to his private views, and finally raiſe him to that ſituation in which he was emulous to ſhine, the tyrant of his country!

Whatever Cæſar's real motives might be for invading Britain, they were concealed under the ſpecious pretence, that it was neceſſary to chaſtiſe the Britons for the continual ſuccour and aſſiſtance they had afforded to the Gauls in almoſt all the wars in which they had been engaged with the Romans. This pretence had often proved of great utility to the Romans, when intereſt or ambition had impelled them to an extenſion of territory by the means of conqueſt. As Britain was wholly unknown to the Romans, Cæſar thought it expedient, in order to obtain the neceſſary information, to convene an aſſembly of Gaulic merchants, who carried on a traffic with the inhabitants of the Britiſh coaſts: but not being able to collect from them the intelligence he ſtood in need of, he diſpatched Voluſenus with a galley to take a view of the coaſt; while he aſſembled his army at the place deſtined for it's embarkation.

Some of the Britiſh ſtates having been apprized of the danger that threatened them, endeavoured to deter Cæſar from the execution of his deſigns, by ſending ambaſſadors to Gaul with offers of obedience and ſubmiſſion to the Romans, and of hoſtages to ſecure their fidelity. Cæſar received them with kindneſs and affability; and ſent them back to Britain with aſſurances of friendſhip and protection, as an encouragement to remain in their preſent diſpoſition: but with them he ſent Comius, whom he had previouſly made king of the Atrebatians, (a people who inhabited the province of Artois) and who held a high place in his confidence and eſteem, as a man of approved courage and prudence, and on whoſe fidelity he could rely. To him he gave private inſtructions to be attentive in his obſervations; to ſound the diſpoſition of the Britons, and to perſuade them to enter into a ſtrict alliance with the Romans, or in other words to ſubmit tamely to the yoke which he was anxious to impoſe; and, finally, to aſſure them that he would ſpeedily viſit their iſland in perſon, to cement the union he was ſo deſirous of eſtabliſhing. When the Britons, however, found that their endeavours to avert the impending ſtorm, far from being crowned with the expected ſucceſs, had only tended to haſten it's approach, they reſolved to brave it with becoming courage, and if poſſible to prevent it's baleful effects. Juſtly conſidering Comius as the paraſite of Cæſar, who under the ſpecious maſk of

friendſhip was ſeeking to deprive them of their liberty, they committed him to priſon, and loaded him with irons.

In the mean time, Voluſenus returned, and imparted to Cæſar the reſult of his obſervations. The ſeaſon being far advanced, Cæſar embarked his troops, conſiſting of the infantry of two legions, on board eighty tranſports, at one port, ſuppoſed to be Calais; and gave orders for the cavalry of the ſame legions to embark at another port, at the diſtance of eight miles, on board eighteen tranſports. The embarkation being compleated, and the wind fair, he ſailed with his fleet ſoon after midnight, and reached the coaſt of Britain, near Dover, about ten in the morning of the 26th of Auguſt, in the 55th year before the Chriſtian æra. The tranſports which had the cavalry on board were, by ſome accident, prevented from ſailing till four days after.

When Cæſar approached the ſhore, he obſerved the tall chalky cliffs covered with a numerous army, which the Britons had aſſembled for the purpoſe of oppoſing his landing; and as the place was by no means proper for the debarkation of troops in the face of an enemy, he reſolved to ſeek for a ſpot more advantageouſly ſituated. He thought proper, however, to lie by till three in the afternoon, in expectation of being joined by that part of his fleet which had the cavalry on board; and, in the interval, he communicated to his principal officers the diſcoveries made by Voluſenus, gave them their final inſtructions, and exhorted them to pay the ſtricteſt attention to his ſignals. The wind and tide being both favourable, he weighed anchor; and, having ſailed about eight miles farther, ſtopped oppoſite a more plain and open ſhore, probably at or near Deal. Here he determined to land his troops without delay, though the Britiſh army, which had watched his motions, appeared ready to oppoſe him. The greateſt difficulty in landing aroſe from the ſize of the Roman veſſels, which prevented them from coming cloſe in to the ſhore; ſo that the troops were under the neceſſity of leaping into the water, which was breaſt-high. This inconvenience, added to the weight of their armour, and the attacks of the enemy, whoſe knowledge of the ground enabled them to fight with great advantage, damped the ardour of the Romans. Cæſar, obſerving that his men did not advance with their uſual ſpirit and courage, commanded ſome gallies, which drew leſs water than the tranſports, to approach the ſhore, and attack the enemy in flank. This had the deſired effect. Annoyed by the ſlings, arrows, and engines, from the gallies, and aſtoniſhed at a mode of fighting which they had never before witneſſed, the Britons began to give way. But ſtill many of the Romans refuſed to leave their veſſels; when the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, having invoked the gods, leaped into the ſea, and advancing towards the enemy with his ſtandard, cried out—"Follow me, my fellow-ſoldiers, unleſs you wiſh to "betray the Roman Eagle into the hands of the "enemy. For my part, I am reſolved to diſcharge "my duty to Cæſar and the Commonwealth." This bold action, and this animating ſpeech, fired the Romans with a ſpirit of emulation, and gave new life to their drooping courage: they plunged into the ſea, and advanced to the enemy with undaunted reſolution. With equal courage and vigour did the Britons oppoſe them. The conteſt was fierce and bloody. *Pugnatum eſt ab utriſque acriter.* Victory was for ſome time doubtful: but Cæſar ſending conſtant ſupplies, in ſmall boats, to ſuch of his troops as were hardeſt preſſed, they gained ground by degrees, compelled the Britons to retire, and the whole army made good their landing. But as the cavalry had not arrived, the Romans were unable to improve the advantage they had gained, by purſuing the foe; "or elſe," ſays Cæſar, "the victory had "been compleat."

The unfortunate Britons, diſcouraged by the failure of their attempt to oppoſe the landing of the Romans, began to turn their thoughts on peace. They accordingly releaſed Comius from confinement, and ſent him to Cæſar with their ambaſſadors, whom they inſtructed to renew their offers of ſubmiſſion, and excuſe their violence to the Atrebatian monarch, by throwing the entire blame on the unruly multitude. Cæſar readily accepted their apologies; and, after a ſlight reproach for the violation of their former engagements, conſented to grant them peace, and required that a certain number of hoſtages ſhould be ſent him. Some of theſe were immediately delivered; and the remainder were promiſed to be ſent as ſoon as they ſhould arrive from the places of their reſidence, which were at a conſiderable diſtance.

This peace was concluded on the fourth day after Cæſar's arrival; and, on that ſame day, the tranſports with the Roman cavalry on board ſailed from Gaul with a fair wind: but when they came in ſight of the Britiſh coaſt, a ſudden ſtorm aroſe, which drove them back, and obliged them to return to different ports of the continent. Nor was this the only injury which Cæſar ſuſtained from the ſtorm; for, the moon being at the full, the tide roſe to an extraordinary height, and filled the gallies, which had been drawn up to the ſtrand, with water: many of the tranſports, too, which lay at anchor in the road, were daſhed to pieces, and others ſo much damaged as to be unfit for ſailing. This diſaſter threw the Romans into great conſternation; for they had no materials to repair their ſhattered veſſels, and were deſtitute of proviſions; ſo that to retire or advance ſeemed equally difficult.

The Britiſh chiefs who were in Cæſar's camp beheld the diſtreſs of the Romans with ſecret exultation; and obſerving the ſmall number of their forces, the want of proviſions, of cavalry, and of veſſels, began to entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes of revenge for the diſgrace they had ſo lately incurred. They privately conſulted together; and, having fixed the plan to be purſued in this delicate and important conjuncture, retired ſeparately from the camp, repaired to their reſpective ſtates, collected their friends and followers, and repreſenting the ſituation to which the enemy was reduced, urged them to a renewal of the war.

Cæſar was too great a general not to foreſee that the Britons would endeavour to take advantage of the favourable

favourable opportunity which preſented itſelf; he therefore reſolved, as far as poſſible, to provide againſt contingencies. He accordingly ſent to Gaul for the requiſite materials to refit his fleet; which, by the extraordinary exertions of the ſoldiers, was in a few days thoroughly repaired, with the loſs of only twelve ſhips.

In the mean time, as the ſoldiers of the ſeventh legion were foraging in a field not far diſtant from the camp, they were ſuddenly attacked by the Britons, who ruſhed out upon them from the adjacent woods. The Romans being taken by ſurprize, were ſoon thrown into confuſion; many of them were ſlain; and the whole legion muſt inevitably have been cut to pieces, had not Cæſar, with his wonted alacrity, haſtened to their relief. They owed their preſervation to the duſt raiſed by the Britiſh cavalry and chariots, which had attracted the attention of the Roman centinels at the camp, and induced Cæſar to fly inſtantly to the ſpot with the two cohorts on guard. Cæſar's ſudden appearance put the Britons to a ſtand; and the Romans, not thinking it prudent to riſk a general engagement, retired to their camp.

The continual rains which followed for ſome days, rendered any farther efforts of the Britons impracticable. But they did not remain in a ſtate of inaction; they diſpatched meſſengers to various parts of the iſland, to exhort their countrymen to take up arms againſt the common enemy, and to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of the invader: and their exhortations met with ſuch ſucceſs, that a large army was ſoon collected, with which they advanced to attack the Romans in their trenches. But Cæſar drew out his legions before the camp, and aſſailed the Britons with ſuch fury, that they could not long withſtand the ſhock. The Romans purſued the fugitives for ſeveral miles; put numbers of them to the ſword; and, on their return, laid waſte the ſurrounding country, and ſet fire to all the habitations they could diſcover.

The Britons, again diſheartened by their defeat, had recourſe to ſupplications: they ſent ambaſſadors to ſue for peace, which Cæſar was as anxious to grant as they were to receive. The terms of accommodation were of courſe ſpeedily ſettled; they conſented to double the number of hoſtages, and to ſend them after him to the continent. As the time of the autumnal equinox approached, Cæſar haſtened the embarkation of his troops; and, after a ſtay of little more than three weeks, ſet ſail, and landed ſafe in Gaul.

Such was the ſucceſs of Cæſar's firſt attempt to ſubjugate the inhabitants of Britain; an attempt which probably met with a more vigorous reſiſtance than he had expected. Though, by his own account, he had reaped but little advantage from this celebrated expedition, and had not added a ſingle ſprig to his continental laurels; yet, ſo numerous were his partizans at Rome, and ſuch were their influence and power, that they procured a decree of the ſenate, appointing a Supplication of twenty days, as an honourable reward for the ſervices he had performed in Britain.

The acknowledged abruptneſs of Cæſar's departure, and the brief relation which he gives of it in his Commentaries, afford ſtrong grounds for ſuſpicion, that the fidelity of the hiſtorian yielded in this, as in many other inſtances, to the reputation of the hero. Be that as it may, he reſolved to repeat his viſit the enſuing ſummer, with ſuch a force as he deemed ſufficient to enſure ſucceſs to his ambitious projects. For this purpoſe, before he returned to Italy, where he always paſſed his winters, he ordered his lieutenants, who remained in Gaul, to repair his old, and build as many new ſhips as the time would permit. Theſe laſt were to be of a different conſtruction, broader and lighter than the old veſſels, as better adapted for the tranſporting his troops, and particularly his cavalry; and likewiſe for floating in ſhallow water, that they might approach nearer to the ſhore, and prevent his legions from being expoſed to the ſame inconveniences as they had experienced at their firſt landing.

On his return from Italy in the ſpring, he found his orders ſo well obeyed, that ſix hundred tranſports and twenty-eight gallies were nearly ready for ſailing. He aſſembled his fleet at Portus-Itius, ſuppoſed by ſome to be Boulogne, by others Calais; and, having embarked his army, which conſiſted of five legions and two thouſand horſe, ſet ſail one evening about ſun-ſet, and landed on the Britiſh ſhore the next day at noon, without the ſmalleſt oppoſition: for, though the Britons had received early intelligence of the vaſt preparations which were making for a ſecond invaſion of their iſland, and had, in conſequence, formed a ſtrong confederacy, and collected a powerful army for it's defence, the ſight of ſo large a fleet as that of the Romans, which had been augmented to eight hundred veſſels, inſpired them with terror, and induced them to withdraw their troops from the ſhore, and retire into a more covered part of the country.

Cæſar's firſt care, after landing his army and fixing his camp, was to ſend out emiſſaries to diſcover the place to which the enemy had retreated. Having obtained the deſired information, and provided himſelf with guides, he left ten cohorts and three hundred horſe, under the command of Quintus Atrius, to guard the fleet, and went in queſt of them that very evening with the reſt of his army. After marching about twelve miles, he came in ſight of the Britons, who were encamped on the banks of a river, and ſeemed determined to diſpute the paſſage: but, being repulſed by the Roman cavalry, they were compelled to retire to the adjacent woods, the paſſage to which was rendered almoſt impracticable, by large trees cut down and placed on each other to a conſiderable height; a mode of fortification which the Britons had been accuſtomed to employ in their civil wars. The Romans, however, ſoon forced theſe entrenchments, diſlodged the Britons, and compelled them to fly in the utmoſt confuſion. As the day was far advanced, Cæſar would not ſuffer his horſe to purſue them; but returned with his army, to fortify the camp.

Early next morning he renewed his operations; and, having divided his army into three bodies, was

marching

marching in purſuit of the enemy, when he was overtaken by a meſſenger from Quintus Atrius, who informed him that his fleet had received conſiderable damage from a violent ſtorm, which had driven many of his ſhips aſhore, and daſhed others to pieces. This unpleaſant news induced him to return with the utmoſt expedition; when he found forty of his veſſels were entirely deſtroyed, and the remainder of the fleet ſo much damaged as to be ſcarcely repairable. Neceſſity, however, compelling him to be diligent, he immediately ſet all his carpenters to work; and ſent orders to Labienus, his lieutenant in Gaul, to build a ſufficient number of ſhips to replace thoſe which were loſt. As ſoon as the repairs were compleated, he reſolved to draw all his ſhips on ſhore, and place them within the fortifications that ſurrounded his camp. Though this was a work of infinite labour, by the inceſſant exertions of the whole army, it was finiſhed in ten days; when, leaving it under the ſame guard as before, he again marched in purſuit of the enemy.

The time which the Romans had taken to refit their fleet, was employed by the Britons in ſtrengthening their confederacy, and increaſing their forces. Conſcious that the only probability of ſucceeding againſt ſo powerful an invader muſt ariſe from the unanimous exertions of the whole iſland, they wiſely reſolved to ſacrifice all petty feuds and private animoſities to their concern for the public ſafety; and accordingly gave the chief command and ſole management of the war to Caſſivellaunus, who was originally king of the Caſſi, or Caſſivellauni, and became ſovereign of the Trinobantes by treacherouſly ſlaying Imanuentius their king.

The courage of this prince had been approved, and his military talents frequently diſplayed, in wars with many of thoſe ſtates which now conſented to ſerve under him, and to inveſt him with the ſupreme command. Being placed at the head of a numerous and formidable army, he took immediate poſſeſſion of that very poſt from whence the Britons had been lately diſlodged.

As ſoon as the Roman army approached, many ſkirmiſhes enſued. In one of theſe the Britiſh cavalry, and particularly their war-chariots, armed with a large ſcythe on each ſide, with which they drove furiouſly through the ranks of their enemies, literally mowing down all before them, attacked the Roman horſe with great intrepidity: but, either being repulſed, or more probably feigning to be ſo, the Romans purſued them with too much ardour, and thereby ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs.

Soon after this, as the Romans were fortifying their camp, the Britons ſallied out from the neighbouring woods, and attacked their advanced guard with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were thrown into the utmoſt diſorder; which being obſerved by Cæſar from his camp, he ſent two cohorts to their aſſiſtance. The Britons, however, totally defeated them; killing Quintus Laberius Durus, a military tribune, and at laſt retiring without loſs. This action, which had been ſeen by Cæſar and the whole army, convinced the Romans that they had no common enemy to deal with.

Early the following day, the Britons appeared on ſome hills within ſight of the Roman camp, but ſeemed by no means deſirous to renew their attacks. This encouraged Cæſar to ſend Trebonius, with three legions, and all the cavalry, to forage; who, being ſuddenly aſſaulted by the Britons, about noon, made ſo firm and vigorous a reſiſtance, that they were repulſed with great ſlaughter, and purſued by the cavalry with ſuch order and alacrity, that they had not time to rally, and were compleatly routed and diſperſed.

After this victory, Cæſar determined to penetrate into the territories of Caſſivellaunus; and for that purpoſe marched forward towards the Thames, with an intention to ford it at Coway, a little above Walton in Surrey. Caſſivellaunus having foreſeen his deſign, poſted a large body of Britons on the oppoſite ſide, to oppoſe his paſſage: he had likewiſe fortified the banks with palliſades; and had driven into the bottom of the river a great number of ſharp ſtakes, the tops of which were covered by the water; in ſhort, he had neglected no precaution which ſkill and ſagacity could ſuggeſt. But though Cæſar had been informed by deſerters of the obſtructions which awaited him, the inſtant he arrived at the bank, he gave orders to his cavalry to ford the river, and to the infantry to follow cloſe after, though the water ran over their ſhoulders. The Britons, aſtoniſhed at the intrepidity of the attempt, quitted their poſt, and fled farther into the country.

Caſſivellaunus, finding that the greateſt part of his troops, but more particularly his infantry, were greatly diſpirited by the continual checks which they received, and the invincible perſeverance and reſolution of their enemies, diſmiſſed his army, retaining only the war-chariots, which amounted to about four thouſand. With this ſmall but formidable corps he haraſſed the Romans in their march, made frequent ſallies from the woods on their foraging parties, and thereby ſaved the country from devaſtation; for Cæſar, obſerving the dangers to which his cavalry were expoſed in their pillaging excurſions, would not ſuffer them to quit the main body of the army.

Had the ſpirited efforts of Caſſivellaunus been cordially ſeconded by the Britons in general, they might probably have been attended with ſucceſs: but many of the Britiſh ſtates ſtill harboured a deep reſentment againſt that chief; and eſpecially the Trinobantes, whoſe government he had uſurped. When Cæſar, therefore, approached their territories, they ſent ambaſſadors to meet him, with offers of ſubmiſſion and obedience; requeſting that he would deliver them from the tyranny of Caſſivellaunus, and aſſign the government of their ſtate to Mandubratius, who had fled to Gaul after the death of Imanuentius, his father, and was at that time ſerving in the Roman army. Cæſar accepted their offers, and granted their requeſt, on condition that they ſhould ſupply him with proviſions, and deliver forty hoſtages; a demand to which the Trinobantes moſt readily acceded. The Segontiaci, Cenimagni, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Caſſi, followed the example of the Trinobantes, and ſent ambaſſadors with ſimilar

ſimilar offers, which were accepted with equal facility.

Cæſar now proceeded to attack the capital of Caſſivellaunus, to which many of the Britons had retired with their flocks and herds, as to a place of ſafety. It was called Verulam, or Verulamium, and ſtood on or near the ſpot where the town of St. Alban's now ſtands. This capital conſiſted of a wood, which contained a number of ſtraggling villages, and was ſurrounded by a ditch and rampart. Though Cæſar deſcribes it as ſtrongly fortified by art and nature, *egregiè naturâ atque opere munitum*, he ſoon forced the entrenchments, ſlew a great number of the Britons, and took all their cattle.

Caſſivellaunus, though forſaken by his allies, and ſtripped of his poſſeſſions, was ſtill undaunted. He formed a ſcheme which, had it been as ſucceſsfully executed, as it was ſagaciouſly planned, muſt have reduced the Romans to the laſt extremity. This was an enterprize of no leſs importance, than to attack the guard which Cæſar had left with his ſhips, put them to the ſword, and then deſtroy the fleet. He ſent meſſengers to the four chiefs of the Cantii, Cingetorix, Carmilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, with orders to put his ſcheme in execution. They obeyed with alacrity, and attacked the camp; but were unfortunately repulſed with conſiderable loſs, and Cingetorix was taken priſoner.

The reſources of Caſſivellaunus were now exhauſted; he had diſcharged all the duties of a prince and a patriot, and had exerted all his courage and abilities in a noble attempt to liberate his country from her tyrannic invaders. But as his wiſdom was equal to his ſpirit, he perceived the inutility of a longer ſtruggle: and though, like a true Briton, loth to ſubmit, he had deferred his ſubmiſſion to the lateſt hour, he at length found it expedient to ſend ambaſſadors to Cæſar; who, tired of the expedition, and anxious to return to Gaul, gave them a moſt favourable reception. The terms of accommodation were ſpeedily ſettled, and a general peace concluded. Caſſivellaunus engaged not to moleſt Mandubratius, nor his ſubjects the Trinobantes; and the Britons conſented to pay an annual tribute to the Romans, and to deliver hoſtages for the performance of the contract. Theſe ſtipulations being finally arranged, Cæſar repaired to his fleet, which he found too ſmall to contain his army, and the great number of priſoners which he judged it adviſable to take with him to Gaul: he therefore reſolved to tranſport them at two embarkations; and, ſailing with the laſt diviſion of his army, about ten at night, landed ſafe on the continent of Gaul early the next morning, being the 26th of September, in the 54th year before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra.

The account which Cæſar gives in his Commentaries of his two expeditions to Britain muſt be viewed with ſuſpicion and miſtruſt: it is certainly unſatisfactory and inconſiſtent. He finds every place "ſtrongly fortified by nature and by art," yet eaſily yielding to the efforts of the Romans; he receives ſome partial checks, but always conquers; he finds the enemy poſted in the moſt advantageous ſituation to diſpute the paſſage of a river, yet the mere ſight of his troops in the water ſtrike them with conſternation, and oblige them to fly: though, at other times, they fight him, on equal terms, with courage and perſeverance. At laſt, having gained as many victories as he had fought battles; having received the ſubmiſſion of thoſe ſtates which had been moſt active in their oppoſition, and removed every obſtruction to his progreſs; he contents himſelf with placing a Britiſh prince on the throne of his anceſtors, as if that had been the ſole object of his invaſion; and with exacting an annual tribute from the Britons, though only ſix of their ſtates had ſubmitted to his arms: and at length quits the iſland without building a ſingle fort, or leaving a ſingle cohort to ſecure his conqueſt, or to enforce the ſtipulations he had exacted. From theſe conſiderations it is fair to preſume, that Cæſar's love of fame was ſuperior to his love of truth. It cannot be doubted, that the importance of his conqueſts was greatly magnified by his partizans at Rome; and it was, probably, to confirm the idea which they had endeavoured to inculcate, that he took with him a great number of priſoners from Britain.

It is certain that no acquiſition of real glory could accrue to Cæſar from the invaſion of Britain; nor was it attended with the ſmalleſt advantage to the Roman republic. The ſole merit he could lay claim to was that which is allowed him by Tacitus, "of "ſhewing the Romans the way to Britain."

After Cæſar's departure, the tranquillity of the Britons remained undiſturbed by invaſions for nearly a whole century. During the reign of Auguſtus they were, indeed, threatened with a viſit from the Romans, to enforce the payment of the tribute; but thoſe menaces were never put in execution. Tacitus ſays, that Auguſtus was reſtrained from invading Britain by prudential motives: and when we conſider that his favourite maxim was, "never to en-"gage in a war in which the hope of emolument "was not greater than the fear of loſs," we ſhall ceaſe to wonder that he abſtained from ſuch an enterprize.

Tiberius followed the example of his predeceſſor, and made no attempt on the iſland.

Caligula, the puſillanimous ſucceſſor of Tiberius, was led to form a deſign of invading Britain by Adminius, ſon of Cunobelinus, who had been baniſhed the iſland by his father, and had fled to the continent, where he and his followers ſurrendered themſelves to the Emperor. This had ſuch an effect on Caligula, that he immediately marched, with an army of two hundred thouſand men, to the ſea-coaſt oppoſite Britain; where, having drawn up his army in order of battle, and made every preparation for an attack, he embarked on board a galley, and ordered his men to row him towards the Britiſh ſhore. When he had ſailed to a little diſtance, he ſuddenly returned; and, mounting a throne, harangued his troops, and gave them the word of command to begin the engagement. But no enemy appearing, he ordered his ſoldiers to gather cockle-ſhells; and, for their alacrity in this important ſervice, beſtowed on them the higheſt praiſes, and the moſt liberal rewards.

The ſhells were ſent to Rome, "as the ſpoils of the "conquered Ocean," which his courage had ſubdued, and for which he claimed the honours of a Triumph; a claim which the ſenate, however, refuſed to admit.

But the time now approached when Britain was to be deprived of it's native liberty, and to ſubmit to the government of Rome, whoſe power had become almoſt as boundleſs as her ambition. Bericus, a Britiſh chief, who had been vanquiſhed and driven out of the iſland, for ſedition, by Caractacus and Togodumnus, who now governed the Caſſi as ſucceſſors to their deceaſed father Cunobelinus, had taken refuge in the Roman court, and perſuaded Claudius, the reigning emperor, to attempt the conqueſt of Britain. The perſonal character of Claudius could not poſſibly afford the ſmalleſt grounds for apprehenſion to the Britons; for, with the indolence of Tiberius, he poſſeſſed the cowardice of Caligula: but it was his good fortune to be governed by men whoſe judgment was far ſuperior to his own. Among theſe were Aulus Plautius and Oſtorius Scapula, both men of high rank and eſtabliſhed reputation. To Plautius he aſſigned the command of a conſiderable army, which he was to conduct out of Gaul into Britain: but when he arrived at the ſea-ſide, his troops refuſed to embark, alledging that he was going to lead them beyond the limits of the world. So little was Britain ſtill known to the bulk of the Romans, and ſo horrid were the ideas which they entertained of the country and it's inhabitants. This very mutiny, which Plautius ſoon found the means of appeaſing, conduced in no ſmall degree to the promotion of his future ſucceſs: for the Britons being informed of it, ſlackened in their preparations to receive him; and, probably, began to ſuppoſe that this expedition would terminate, like that of Caligula, in a ſecond collection of cockle-ſhells. They ſuffered him to land his army, which conſiſted of fifty thouſand men, without oppoſition. Togodumnus and Caractacus, however, armed their ſubjects, with the reſolution to ſtand on the defenſive; hoping, by that means, to protract the war till winter, when they imagined that Plautius would return with his army to Gaul, as Cæſar had done before him.

The Roman general, having landed in Kent, advanced along the Thames till he came to Wallingford; where he croſſed the river, and entered on the territories of the Dobuni. Here he overtook Caractacus, whom he defeated in a pitched battle; and, ſoon after, his brother Togodumnus ſhared the ſame fate. Theſe victories were followed by the ſubmiſſion of the Dobuni. Plautius, having left a garriſon to ſecure his conqueſt, went in ſearch of the Britons, who had poſted themſelves behind a river, which they deemed impaſſable becauſe there were no bridges. A party of German auxiliaries, however, ſwam acroſs in their armour, and were followed by a detachment of Romans, under the command of the celebrated Veſpaſian, who was afterwards Emperor, and his brother Sabinus. When theſe troops had paſſed the river, they attacked the enemy, and ſlew a great number of them: but the Britons, far from being diſpirited by this check, maintained their ground till the next day, when they charged the Romans with aſtoniſhing intrepidity; and the action was maintained on both ſides with ſo much bravery, that victory long remained doubtful. At length, however, by the courageous exertions of Sidius Geta, the Romans prevailed. So great was the reputation acquired by Geta in this action, that the ſenate decreed him the honours of a Triumph, though he had not arrived at conſular dignity.

After their defeat, the Britons retreated to the mouth of the Thames, and croſſed it at a place where the ſtagnating waters, occaſioned by the overflowing of the river, rendered the paſſage difficult and dangerous. But here the Germans ſwam acroſs as before; and Plautius having paſſed over a bridge at a little diſtance from the ſpot, another action enſued, in which Togodumnus was ſlain, and the Britons were again defeated with great ſlaughter.

The Roman general having gained four ſucceſſive victories, and ſeeing no obſtacles to his farther progreſs, in compliance with the orders he had received, diſpatched a meſſenger to Rome with the news of his ſucceſs, that the Emperor might join the army, and be crowned with thoſe laurels which he wanted courage to gather. Claudius immediately embarked at Oſtium for Marſeilles; from whence he travelled by land to Boulogne, where he took ſhipping for Britain with a conſiderable reinforcement, and arrived ſafe at the Portus Rutupinus, now Sandwich, in Kent. When he had effected a junction with the army under Plautius, they marched forwards with ſuch incredible velocity, that many of the Britiſh ſtates, inſtead of evincing that ſpirit of reſiſtance which might naturally have been expected from the ardour of their paſt efforts, accelerated their offers of ſubmiſſion. Theſe were placed under the government of Plautius; and Claudius, after a ſhort ſtay of ſixteen days on the iſland, embarked for Gaul, on his way to Italy.

After the departure of Claudius, the Roman forces were equally divided: Plautius reſerved the command of one diviſion for himſelf; and that of the other was conferred on Veſpaſian, who in the proſecution of his conqueſts laid the foundation of his future fame and greatneſs. The operations of Plautius were chiefly confined to the inland provinces; and, though they were not ſufficiently ſplendid to attract the notice of hiſtorians, his ſucceſs was ſuch as procured him the honour of an Ovation at his return to Rome, in which he walked at the right-hand of the Emperor.

The actions of Veſpaſian were more brilliant: he carried on the war againſt the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts from Kent to the Land's End; and, in the courſe of a few years, fought two and thirty battles, reduced the Iſle of Wight, and totally ſubdued two powerful nations, the Belgæ and Durotriges.

From the departure of Plautius, in the year of Chriſt 47, to the arrival of Oſtorius Scapula, who ſucceeded him in the government in 50, the war was carried on by the legates or commanders of the legions. Oſtorius found the iſland in great confuſion, from the incurſions of the Britons under Caractacus, who took every opportunity of haraſſing the Roman troops. Conſcious of the advantages which, in all circumſtances

circumſtances of difficulty, reſult from celerity, though it was winter, he marched againſt the enemy without delay, and defeated all who had ſpirit to riſk an engagement. He then built a chain of forts along the banks of the Nen and the Severn, in order to reſtrain the Britons from future incurſions: and, for the preſervation of tranquillity throughout his government, ordered all ſuch as he ſuſpected of entertaining ſentiments hoſtile to his views, and favourable to the ſuſcitation of internal commotions, to deliver up their arms. This by no means accorded with the ideas of independency and freedom which moſt of the Britons ſtill cheriſhed in ſecret, though prevented, by motives of prudence, from rendering them public. The Iceni, who by an early alliance with the Romans had hitherto ſecured themſelves from inſult, determined to reſiſt this unjuſt command: being joined by ſome neighbouring ſtates, they raiſed a conſiderable army, and poſſeſſed themſelves of an advantageous poſt, in which they were attacked by the Romans; and, after an obſtinate conteſt, defeated with conſiderable ſlaughter. To prevent ſimilar inſurrections, and maintain the tranquillity he had eſtabliſhed by his victory over the Iceni, Oſtorius planted a colony of veterans at Camulodunum, now Malden, in Eſſex. About the ſame time, too, that part of the iſland which lies between the Thames and the ſea was reduced into a province, under the name of Britannia Prima. The attention of Oſtorius was next called to the Ceangi, whom he ſpeedily defeated; and was proceeding to the coaſt of Denbighſhire, when a revolt of the Brigantes compelled him to turn his arms againſt that powerful people, over whom he obtained a compleat victory, on the ſpot where now ſtands the town of Oſtorfield, in Yorkſhire, ſo denominated from him.

The next enemy he had to encounter were the Silures, a warlike nation, whom his repeated conqueſts had not been able to intimidate, and whom neither his offers of mildneſs and lenity could ſoothe to ſubjection, nor his menaces of puniſhment or deſtruction awe into ſlavery. They were headed by the brave Caractacus, the moſt renowned prince of the Britons, who poſſeſſed every requiſite for a great general. He had the moſt conſummate prudence, and the moſt undaunted courage: quick to diſcern, bold to attempt, and ready to purſue, he had oppoſed and ſucceſsfully haraſſed the Romans for nine years. He poſſeſſed all the advantage over Oſtorius which could ariſe from local knowledge; and, to render it effectual, he transferred the war into the country of the Ordovices. The place which he choſe for the field of action is thus deſcribed by Tacitus. "It "was on the ridge of a very ſteep mountain; and "on that part of it where the ſides were ſloping and "acceſſible, he formed a rampart of ſtones. At the "foot of the mountain ran a river, which it was "dangerous to ford; and his entrenchments were "guarded by a hoſt of men." A hill in Shropſhire, ſituated near the confluence of the Colun and Teme, and called Caer-Caradoc, from *Caradoc*, the Britiſh name of Caractacus, anſwers this deſcription. On this ſpot, where the veſtiges of ramparts and entrenchments are ſtill to be ſeen, the two armies met.

When Caractacus ſaw the Romans approach, he endeavoured, by the moſt animating ſpeeches, to inſpire his troops with a portion of that courage which glowed within his own breaſt: he flew from rank to rank, exhorting them to the moſt vigorous reſiſtance; and conjured them, by the reſpect which they owed to their brave anceſtors, to preſerve themſelves from ſlavery, and their wives and daughters from pollution, by a due exertion of their native ſpirit. The ſoldiers anſwered theſe forcible exhortations by ſhouts of determined reſolution. But what could undiſciplined valour avail, againſt an army of equal courage, ſkilled in the arts of war, and inſpired by a long train of victories? The event was ſuch as might be expected. The attack was reſolute; the reſiſtance firm; the conteſt long and bloody: but the Romans prevailed; the unfortunate Britons were routed with great ſlaughter; and the wife, daughter, and brothers, of Caractacus, made priſoners.

The importance of this victory was greatly augmented by the treachery of Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes; who, violating all the rights of hoſpitality, which even in thoſe rude days were held ſacred, delivered up Caractacus, who had fled to her court for refuge after the battle, and this unhappy prince and his whole family were ſent captives to Rome.

Such, however, was the glory that Caractacus acquired by the noble ſtand which he had made againſt the invaders of his territories and the deſtroyers of his countrymen, that Britain rung with his praiſes, and the fame of his exploits filled all Italy with wonder and admiration. The Emperor, proud of ſuch a captive, determined to render his entry into Rome as ſolemn and public as poſſible. Accordingly, on the appointed day, the Prætorian bands were drawn up under arms; and the Emperor and Empreſs being ſeated on two lofty thrones, the captive Britons were ordered to advance. Firſt appeared the vaſſals of the Britiſh king, with the military trappings and the ſpoils of war; next followed his brothers, wife, and daughter, with looks that ſpoke deſpair and implored mercy. The proceſſion was cloſed by Caractacus himſelf, who appeared firm and undaunted; neither dejected by the conſideration of his misfortunes, nor intimidated by the dread of puniſhment. Caſting his eyes on the ſplendid objects which ſurrounded him as he paſſed along—"Alas!" cried he, "how could a people, poſſeſſed "of ſuch magnificence at home, envy me a humble "cottage in Britain!" When brought into the imperial preſence, he is ſaid to have thus addreſſed the Emperor: "Had my moderation been equal to my "birth and fortune, I ſhould not now have entered "this city as a captive, but as a friend; nor would "you have diſdained the alliance of a prince de"ſcended from an illuſtrious line of anceſtors, and "reigning over many nations. My preſent fate re"dounds as little to your honour as to my diſgrace. "I was lately in poſſeſſion of ſubjects, horſes, arms, "and wealth: is it wonderful that I ſhould have en"deavoured to preſerve them? Becauſe you are "ambitious of univerſal power, does it follow that "all

" all the nations of the earth muſt tamely ſubmit " to ſervitude? Had I yielded without a ſtruggle, " your glory would have been trifling: the ob- " ſtinacy of my reſiſtance ſerves to increaſe the luſtre " of your victory. Should you now conſign me to " death, my name will ſoon be ſunk in oblivion; " but, if you preſerve my life, I ſhall remain a laſt- " ing monument of your clemency."

Claudius, ſtruck with the firmneſs of his addreſs, and won to mercy, as ſome ſuppoſe, by the interceſſions of his Empreſs, Agrippina, ordered Caractacus and his whole family to be immediately releaſed.

The ſenate, as a proof of their ſatisfaction at the ſervices of Oſtorius, decreed him triumphal honours; and thus far the Roman general had ſucceeded in all his attempts: but both his ſucceſs and his life were now doomed to a ſpeedy termination.

The Britons, exaſperated at the diſgrace they had incurred by their laſt defeat, attacked the Roman troops who were left to build forts in the country of the Silures, killing ſeveral of their officers, and numbers of their braveſt men; and, in ſome ſubſequent ſkirmiſhes, they were equally ſucceſsful. This compelled Oſtorius to attack them with his legions, when a general engagement enſued, in which the Britons were indeed forced to give way, but retired, with little loſs, under favour of approaching night. Their reſentment being more powerfully excited by an indiſcreet expreſſion of Oſtorius, importing that they ſhould be exterminated, and their name utterly extinguiſhed, like that of the Sugambrians, who had been all put to the ſword, or compelled to fly to Gaul, they neither ſuffered him nor his army to enjoy any repoſe, but haraſſed them by continual ſkirmiſhes, day and night. In one of theſe attacks they took two entire cohorts of auxiliaries, who were pillaging the country; and, by diſtributing the booty and captives among the neighbouring nations, laid the foundation for a general revolt; when Oſtorius, piqued by diſappointment and oppreſſed with care, died of a broken heart, to the inexpreſſible joy of the Britons.

Claudius immediately ſent over Aulus Didius to ſucceed Oſtorius in the government of Britain; but, before he could arrive, the Silures had defeated the legion commanded by Manlius Valens, and were making incurſions into the territories of the Romans and their allies. They were now headed by Venuſius, an experienced general; who, having married Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, was conſequently an ally of the Romans: but the criminal levity of the queen having produced a diſpute that brought on a civil war, in which the Romans aſſiſted Cartiſmandua againſt her huſband, that prince, fired with juſt indignation, joined the Silures, and became their leader.

About this time, the Emperor Claudius died; and Nero aſcended the imperial throne. Nothing worthy of notice occurred on the iſland till the year 59, when Suetonius Paulinus was appointed to the government of Britain. He was a general of great talents and diſtinguiſhed reputation. In the firſt two years of his command all his undertakings were crowned with ſucceſs: he ſubdued ſeveral Britiſh tribes, and eſtabliſhed garriſons to ſecure his conqueſts. This encouraged him, in the year 61, to an attempt of much greater importance, the reduction of Mona, now the Iſle of Angleſey, which was ſtill the ſeat of Druidical ſuperſtition, and a ſure aſylum for the defeated Britons. To extirpate a religion which, ſcorning ſubmiſſion to foreign laws, conſtantly oppoſed the extenſion of his conqueſts, and the general impoſition of the Roman yoke, was the aim of Suetonius.

Having marched his army to the coaſt, he tranſported his infantry to the iſland in flat-bottomed boats; and his cavalry followed, partly by fording, and partly by ſwimming. The Britons endeavoured to obſtruct the landing of the Romans on this laſt retreat of Britiſh ſuperſtition and Britiſh liberty, both by the force of their arms and the terrors of their religion. The women, dreſſed like furies, with diſhevelled hair, and with torches in their hands, ran up and down the ranks, uttering loud imprecations on the Romans, and exhorting the troops to a determined reſiſtance: there were alſo great multitudes of Druids ſtanding round the army, with their hands liſted up towards heaven, and invoking the vengeance of all their deities on their enemy. Such an extraordinary ſpectacle had, at firſt, the deſired effect. The Romans, ſtruck with conſternation, remained motionleſs, and received the firſt attack without oppoſition: but the ſuggeſtions of fear being quickly diſpelled by the exhortations of their general and officers, they advanced to the charge, routed the Britiſh army, drove it from the field of battle, burned the Druids in the fires which had been prepared for their own immolation, and demoliſhed the conſecrated groves and altars.

But while Suetonius was building forts for the preſervation of his conqueſt, he was recalled to quell an inſurrection which threatened to put an effectual ſtop to his victorious progreſs. Such of the Britons, as motives of policy had induced, or ſuperior force compelled, to receive the Roman yoke, ſtill cheriſhed a fond remembrance of their former freedom; and reſolved, by taking advantage of the abſence of Suetonius, to procure their liberation from a ſtate of ſlavery. They had many and powerful motives to excite their reſentment: the luſt, avarice, and brutality, of the Roman officers and ſoldiers, had riſen to ſuch a pitch, as rendered the lives of thoſe who were the objects of their gratification burdens too intolerable to be borne. Their inſolent conquerors, no longer reſtrained within the bounds of decency or moderation, reproached the very poverty which was owing to their own extortion, and the miſery they had cauſed became the ſubject of their ſcorn and deriſion. Inflamed by a due ſenſe of the injuries they had ſuſtained, and prompted to revenge by the cruel treatment which Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, had experienced from the Romans, they proceeded to open rebellion.

Praſatagus, king of the Iceni, at his death, had bequeathed one half of his dominions to the Romans, and the other to his two daughters; hoping, by the ſacrifice of a part, to ſecure the quiet poſſeſſion of the remainder to his family: but the effect proved very different to his expectations; for the funeral

funeral obſequies were no ſooner performed, than the Roman procurator took poſſeſſion of the whole. The houſes of the deceaſed monarch were plundered by the officers and ſoldiers, and his family ſeized and made captives. When Boadicea, his widow, attempted to remonſtrate againſt ſuch injurious and unjuſtifiable conduct, ſhe was ordered to be publicly ſcourged like a ſlave; and ſuch was their outrageous brutality, that they even proceeded to violate the chaſtity of her virgin daughters.

Theſe flagrant enormities were abundantly ſufficient to excite a general revolt; and the flame of indignant virtue now widely diffuſed itſelf through boſoms of little civilization.

The Iceni, as more particularly injured, were the firſt to take arms; and their example was ſpeedily followed by the other Britiſh ſtates.

Boadicea, not leſs remarkable for her beauty and dignified deportment, than for her magnanimous ſpirit and undaunted reſolution, headed their united armies; the aſtoniſhing number of which, according to Dio and Tacitus, amounted to two hundred and thirty thouſand fighting men.

The Roman colony at Camulodunum felt the firſt effects of their reſentment: the veteran garriſon was put to the ſword, and the magnificent temple of Claudius totally demoliſhed. The ninth legion, commanded by Petilius Cerealis, was next deſtined to ſuſtain the attack, and the whole of it's infantry was accordingly cut to pieces.

Suetonius Paulinus having left Angleſey on the firſt news of this revolt, where he had barely accompliſhed his grand object, the total deſtruction of the Druids, marched with incredible expedition to London, which was then only inhabited by merchants; though, as we learn from Tacitus, it was a city abounding in all kinds of proviſions.

It was probably the conſideration of this circumſtance which had at firſt inſpired Suetonius with the idea of remaining there with his army, in order to defend a place of ſuch importance from the attacks of the enemy, as well as to procure for his own troops the material advantage it offered; but the bad ſtate of the fortifications, in themſelves inconſiderable, ſoon induced him to adopt a more prudential plan: he therefore quitted London, notwithſtanding the earneſt entreaties of the inhabitants, who beſought him, with the moſt affecting ſupplications, to ſtay for their protection; and determined to ſeek a ſituation better adapted for the defence of his comparatively ſmall army, conſiſting of only ten thouſand men, againſt the prodigious numbers of confederated Britons.

Soon after his departure, Boadicea, with her army, entered London, and put all who remained in it to the ſword. She next proceeded to Verulamium, which was a Roman municipium, and a very populous place; where the inhabitants experienced the ſame fate as thoſe of London.

Nor did the Romans and their allies, in the adjacent country and places through which the Britons neceſſarily paſſed, eſcape the general devaſtation. Men, women, and children, were indiſcriminately ſlaughtered, and the houſes and public buildings every where demoliſhed.

In ſhort, the whole country, through which the Britiſh army marched, diſplayed one ſad ſcene of ruin and deſolation: and, ſo violent was the fury of the enraged Britons, that, if we may believe Dion Caſſius, they practiſed every ſpecies of cruelty, which the moſt inſatiate vengeance could ſuggeſt, in the different places they attacked.

In this horrible carnage, ſeventy thouſand Romans and allies fell victims to the reſentment of the vindictive Britons.

When we reflect that the paſſions of women are ſooner excited; and, once excited, rage with greater fierceneſs than thoſe of men—when we conſider, too, that the paſſions of Boadicea were inflamed to the utmoſt by injuries the moſt groſs and enormous that a woman of her rank could ſuſtain; her ambition croſſed, her modeſty wounded, her dignity degraded, the chaſtity of her daughters violated—we ſhall not only ceaſe to wonder at any act, however inhuman, practiſed under ſuch a leader by a people juſt emerging from barbariſm; but repreſs, in a great meaſure, that indignation which naturally ariſes in the boſom of refinement from the contemplation of cruelty. Indeed, had the ſeverities which through her means were committed, been confined to the immediate authors of her diſgrace, the moſt lenient mind could ſcarcely have compaſſionated the culprits; but the experience of every day muſt convince us that, in the proſecution of revenge, the diſcrimination of juſtice is rarely to be expected.

The exact ſpot to which Suetonius Paulinus retired, on his evacuating London, remains unaſcertained by every hiſtorian; but the nature of the ſituation which he choſe for his encampment has been often deſcribed, and it appears to have been peculiarly favourable. Indeed, nothing leſs could be expected, when a general of ſuch conſummate ſkill was left to take his own choice, in a country abounding with hills, vallies, thick woods, and other local advantages.

The rear of Suetonius was ſecured by an impenetrable wood; and before him extended a very narrow vale, confined by ſteep aſcents on either ſide. Thus advantageouſly poſted, where he could only be attacked in front, he reſolved to wait the approach of the Britons; who, flushed with ſucceſs, were now marching againſt him with all the ardour of martial enthuſiaſm.

On the approach of the Britons, Suetonius drew up his army in order of battle; placing his infantry in the centre, and making his cavalry form the wings.

The Britons, if they wanted not ſagacity to perceive the diſadvantages under which they were about to engage, were too much elated with their late ſucceſſes, and too greatly confided in the ſuperiority of their numbers and the undoubted juſtice of their cauſe, to be reſtrained by any conſideration, however prudent, from advancing towards the enemy with alacrity and determined courage; and their intrepid leader, though a woman, with all the exceſs of maſculine valour, knew not, or deſpiſed, thoſe arts of procraſtination, which have ſo frequently given fame to military heroes of a more modern date.

Boadicea appeared at the head of her army, ſeated in a war-chariot, and arrayed in her royal robes, with a ſpear in her hand, and her two daughters ſitting at her feet. She harangued her troops as ſhe drove through the ranks; and, by a repreſentation of the wrongs they had received from their Roman oppreſſors, who, ſhe obſerved, were prompt to injure, but ſlow to redreſs, endeavoured to inſpire them with an eager thirſt for vengeance. "Though a woman," ſaid ſhe, "I am fully determined to conquer or die; "but the men, if ſuch is their pleaſure, may live "and be ſlaves."

The Roman general, aware of his danger, exhorted his ſoldiers to deſpiſe the vain clamours of a woman, and the feeble attacks of an undiſciplined rabble. He ordered them to keep their ranks firm; and, after diſcharging their javelins, to ruſh on the enemy ſword in hand.

The ſignal of battle being given, the Britons began the attack with dreadful ſhouts and acclamations; which was ſuſtained by the Romans with their accuſtomed coolneſs and intrepidity, who gave them ſo warm a reception as checked their impetuoſity. Having expended their javelins, the Roman army advanced in the form of a wedge: they met with an obſtinate and bloody reſiſtance; but, at length, their diſciplined courage baffled the irregular efforts of the Britons, who were compelled to yield; and, their flight being obſtructed by their own waggons, which contained their wives, whom they had brought to the field to ſee the engagement, great numbers of them were ſlain. Tacitus makes the loſs of the Britons amount to eighty thouſand; and that of the Romans to only four hundred. The firſt may be true, as it ſeems the Romans ſpared neither ſex nor age; nay, even the horſes felt the effects of their fury: but that the loſs of the Romans ſhould be ſo inconſiderable, in a battle allowed to have been fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides, is ſcarcely credible. The unfortunate Boadicea, unable to ſurvive the deſtruction of her hopes, put an end to her life and misfortunes by poiſon.

Before the battle, Suetonius had ſent orders to Pænius Poſthumus, who commanded the ſecond legion, to join him with the troops under his command; but Poſthumus refuſed to obey. When the news, therefore, of Suetonius's victory reached him, dreading the puniſhment due to his diſobedience, he ran himſelf through with his ſword.

Suetonius determined to purſue the advantage which he had obtained, and treated the unfortunate Britons with unrelenting ſeverity; but Nero, wiſely judging that a man of his fierce diſpoſition was better calculated to create animoſity than to promote conciliation, recalled him from his government, and ſent Petronius Turpilianus to ſucceed him. The mildneſs and humanity of this governor tended more to reconcile the Britons to the Roman yoke than the active ſpirit of his predeceſſor: he governed Britain in perfect tranquillity for three years, when he was replaced by Trebellius Maximus. The Britons remained tolerably peaceable till the year 70, when Veſpaſian acceded to the imperial throne.

The firſt governor appointed by Veſpaſian was Petilius Cerealis, who carried on a long and bloody war with the Brigantes, commanded by their brave king Venuſius. This warlike people made a vigorous defence; but, before Cerealis was recalled, he had reduced the greateſt part of their country, and ravaged the reſt.

Julius Frontinus ſucceeded Cerealis in the government of Britain. His military talents were equal to thoſe of his predeceſſor; and he had as formidable an enemy to engage in the Silures, whom he conſtrained to yield to the ſuperior power of Rome.

Frontinus was ſucceeded by Cnæus Julius Agricola, a man whoſe accompliſhments, military and political, were juſtly held in the higheſt eſtimation. As he had a perfect knowledge of the country he was ſent to govern, he entered on his command with peculiar advantages. Though his life had been conſtantly active, he was greatly attached to ſpeculative knowledge; and had ſtudied, with diligent attention, the genius and diſpoſition of the Britons, when he ſerved in the iſland under Suetonius and Cerealis. Experience had convinced him, that they were more eaſily to be drawn into compliance by acts of generoſity, than forced to ſubmiſſion by ſeverity.

Though the ſummer was far advanced when Agricola arrived, he reſolved to take the field, that he might chaſtiſe the Ordovices, who had attacked and cut to pieces a body of Roman horſe which were quartered on the borders of their country; and likewiſe to ſuppreſs a general ſpirit of diſaffection which ſeemed to prevail throughout the Britiſh ſtates.

The Ordovices being ſoon defeated and ſubdued, he determined to compleat the conqueſt of the Iſle of Angleſey, which Suetonius had been compelled to leave imperfect. This was ſpeedily effected; for the inhabitants, ſtruck with terror at the ſight of the Roman ſoldiers, who ſwam over the narroweſt part of the channel, made not a ſingle effort to oppoſe them.

The winter was employed by Agricola in a due adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the conquered provinces. He commenced by a ſtrict reformation in his own houſhold, and among his immediate dependants. The conduct and diſcipline of his army underwent as ſevere a diſquiſition. Faults he would frequently excuſe; but crimes he never failed to puniſh. His was the ſeverity of juſtice, not the cruelty of oppreſſion. He rather required than exacted impoſts: he regulated the inequality of aſſeſſments; and, by ſtriking at the root of corruption, deſtroyed all iniquitous impoſitions. He preferred the obedience which flows from eſteem to the ſubmiſſion which ariſes from fear. In the diſpoſal of preferments, he was juſt and ſagacious; uninfluenced by rank, and ſwayed only by merit. In veneration of ſuch virtues, a real attachment to his perſon, and an humble imitation of his conduct, univerſally obtained: his ſoldiers became modeſt and regular, his officers generous and humane. In ſhort, by the wiſdom and mildneſs of his adminiſtration, the Britons began to be reconciled to the Roman government, and to enjoy the bleſſings of peace, which till then had been unknown to them.

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When the ſeaſon for action returned, he again took the field; and, directing his march to the north, ſubdued thoſe ſtates which had not yet ſubmitted to the Roman arms. To ſecure his conqueſt, he built a conſiderable number of forts, from ſea to ſea, in the ſame tract where Adrian's rampart, and the wall of Severus, were afterwards built.

The ſucceeding winter was employed in the purſuit of his original plan, which not only tended to reconcile the Britons to the laws and government of Rome, but to make them enamoured of thoſe polite refinements in which the Romans excelled. So well did he ſucceed in his attempts, that they raiſed magnificent temples, ſuperb porticoes, and public edifices, of the Grecian ſtructure: they learned and ſpoke the language of Rome, which but lately they held in abhorrence; and actually wore the Roman toga, as a diſtinguiſhed mark of politeneſs. The obſervation of Tacitus on theſe improvements is replete with truth. "The ignorant," ſays he, "looked on this as the beginning of humanity: the "wiſe knew it to be one of the chief roots of "ſlavery." The conduct of Agricola, in this inſtance, was certainly political: by the introduction of luxury, he enervated the minds of the Britons; and, by multiplying their wants, rendered them fond of dependence. But the politician and moraliſt ſeldom agree; the latter would have ſcorned to introduce vice under the maſk of convenience.

The enſuing ſummer was productive of freſh laurels to Agricola: he led his army into Caledonia, a country hitherto unknown to the Romans; and penetrated as far as the River Tay, without the leaſt oppoſition. Here alſo he erected forts, in the moſt advantageous ſituations, to ſecure his conqueſts; and ſo well were they conſtructed and defended, that not one of them, if we may credit Tacitus, was ever taken, ſurrendered, or plundered.

The ſucceeding year was employed in extending the conqueſts of the preceding campaign; he likewiſe built a chain of forts between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, by which the natives were excluded from the Roman provinces, and confined, as it were, within the limits of a ſeparate iſland.

In the fifth year of his government, he tranſported his army over the Firth of Clyde into the north-weſt parts of Caledonia. Here he had ſeveral ſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes with the natives, who were ſtrangers to the Romans, and were probably the Epidii, Cerones, and Carnonacæ. From theſe coaſts he had a diſtinct view of Ireland; and reſolved to make a deſcent on that iſland, at a convenient opportunity, in conſequence of the information he received from an Iriſh chieftain, at that time a refugee in his army, who told him that the conqueſt and preſervation of it might be effected by a ſingle legion and a few auxiliaries. With a view to facilitate this enterprize at a proper ſeaſon, he left ſome forces on the coaſt; and, returning with the remainder of his army to the ſouth ſide of the Firth of Clyde, put them into winter quarters, in the forts which he had built the preceding years.

In his ſixth campaign, he reſolved to penetrate into the very northern extremity of the iſland; and ordered his fleet to coaſt along the ſhore, and to keep pace with the army. The Caledonians, however, were not diſmayed, but aſſembled a numerous army to ſtop the progreſs of Agricola; who, having received advice of their intention to attack him on all ſides, divided his troops into three ſeparate bodies, to prevent them from ſurrounding him. As ſoon as the Caledonians were apprized of this diſpoſition, they united their forces, and reſolved to fall on thoſe bodies one after another. The ninth legion, which formed one of the diviſions, was the firſt they encountered; and, the attack being made in the night, they ſurprized the advanced guard, put them to the ſword, and muſt inevitably have deſtroyed the whole legion, had not the vigilance of Agricola, whom ſome ſpies had informed of their march, enabled him to arrive at this critical period, and attack them in the rear; when, finding themſelves hard preſſed on both ſides, they were conſtrained to retire with precipitation to the neighbouring woods and mountains, which protected them from the purſuit of the Romans. This victory, though it encouraged the Romans, by no means diſpirited the Britons; who retired into winter quarters, with a full reſolution to prepare for a more vigorous and effectual reſiſtance in the enſuing ſpring.

Agricola began his ſeventh and laſt campaign, by ſending his fleet to make deſcents on different parts of the Caledonian coaſt: he then advanced with his army to the Grampian Hills, where he found the enemy encamped, and prepared to diſpute his farther progreſs.

The Caledonian army, which conſiſted of about thirty thouſand men, was commanded by Galgacus, one of their braveſt warriors; who drew up his troops in order of battle on the declivity of a hill, and drove along the ranks in his chariot, to inflame their courage by animating ſpeeches.

Agricola, too, aware of the importance of the battle he was about to riſk, neglected no precautions which ſkill and prudence could ſuggeſt for the inſurance of victory. He placed a body of eight thouſand auxiliaries in the centre, and three thouſand horſe on the two wings; the legions were formed into a ſecond line in the rear, a little without the camp. Having addreſſed his ſoldiers in an eloquent and ſpirited harangue, he commanded the ſignal of battle to be made.

The engagement began by javelins and other miſſive weapons, which did little execution on either ſide; but Agricola ordering four cohorts of Batavians and Tungrians to advance, and engage the enemy ſword in hand, the Caledonians, who were unuſed to this mode of fighting, and whoſe long pointleſs ſwords were ill adapted to cloſe engagements, began to give way. The reſt of the Roman army, profiting by this diſorder, advanced with a rapid motion; and, falling on the enemy with great impetuoſity, a terrible ſlaughter enſued.

A conſiderable body of Caledonians, who had been ſtationed near the ſummit of the hill, obſerving the confuſion of their countrymen, reſolved to make an attempt to retrieve the fortune of the day, and turn the ſcale of victory, by taking a compaſs, and falling

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on the rear of the Romans as they were engaged in the purſuit; but, being pereceived by Agricola as they ſilently deſcended the hill, he ſent a detachment of horſe, which attacked and defeated them. This rendered the victory compleat. The Caledonians fled on all ſides, leaving ten thouſand of their troops dead on the field, while the Romans loſt only three hundred and forty men. The darkneſs of the night favouring the flight of the vanquiſhed, not a Caledonian was to be found the next morning, when the Romans ſcoured the neighbouring country: they had fled to their diſtant mountains; after having, in the firſt moments of rage and deſpair, ſet fire to their habitations.

The ſeaſon being too far advanced for Agricola to proceed in his conqueſts, he returned with his army to the country of the Horeſti, from whom he received hoſtages. Here he gave orders to his fleet to ſail round the northern point of Caledonia; and, by proceeding to the port of Sandwich, to compleat the tour of the iſland. He then conducted his troops, by eaſy marches, through the conquered countries, and put them into winter quarters.

The news of Agricola's ſucceſs was received by Domitian, who was now ſeated on the imperial throne, with the rancour of envy, and the diſcontent of ungratified malice, though the royal hypocrite concealed the real feelings of his mind beneath the ſpecious maſk of joy and ſatisfaction. Reſolved, however, that the fame of his general ſhould receive no additional luſtre from the completion of his conqueſts, under pretence of beſtowing on him an honourable mark of his favour, in the government of Syria, he contrived to recall him from Britain.

From the departure of Agricola, in the year 85, to the reign of Adrian, a ſpace of about thirty years, little mention is made of Britain by the Roman hiſtorians; ſo that it is probable no circumſtance occurred worthy of notice. It is, however, obſervable, that the Caledonians were not infected by thoſe luxurious arts which Agricola had introduced among their ſouthern neighbours. That hardy people ſtill cheriſhed a love for independency; and, by their example and encouragement, attempted to animate the Britons to a revival of their ancient ſpirit. They made ſome incurſions into the Roman provinces; and, if the Scotch hiſtorians are to be credited, would ſoon have liberated themſelves from the Roman yoke, had not their progreſs been interrupted by the preſence of Adrian, who came to viſit Britain in perſon.

Adrian, during his ſtay in the iſland, ſpared no pains in the regulation of affairs, both civil and military. He confined the Roman territories within the firſt chain of forts, built by Agricola, from Solway Firth on the weſt, to the mouth of the River Tyne on the eaſt, which he connected by a ſtrong rampart. It is imagined, by ſome, that all the country to the north of this rampart, which had been conquered by Agricola, had after his departure from the iſland been recovered from the Romans by the Caledonians. But whether it was regained by conqueſt, or voluntarily reſigned, from motives of prudence, by Adrian, is neither well aſcertained, nor of much importance. When the Emperor had, by this means, ſecured the frontiers from inſult, he returned to Rome, where two medals were ſtruck on the occaſion. On the reverſe of one was inſcribed BRITANNICUS; on that of the other, RESTITUTOR BRITANNIÆ.

Lollius Urbicus was appointed governor of Britain by Antoninus Pius, who ſucceeded Adrian. He defeated the northern inhabitants, who had attempted to demoliſh the rampart of Adrian, in ſeveral engagements; and found it neceſſary, the more effectually to reſtrain their incurſions, to build a ſecond rampart between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, which connected the ſecond chain of forts raiſed by Agricola. This rampart was formed of turf, on a foundation of ſtone four yards thick; and on the ſouth of it was a large military way, well paved, and in many places magnificent and beautiful.

During the ſucceſſive reigns of the Emperors Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Pertinax, and Didius Julianus, nothing remarkable occurred in the iſland: the Roman governors were chiefly employed in repreſſing the inſolence of their own troops, and the occaſional incurſions of the Caledonians.

In the reign of Septimus Severus, the twenty-firſt Emperor of Rome, in the year 198, the Caledonians, joined by the Mæatæ, made incurſions into the Roman province, and ſpread deſolation wherever they came. So alarming was the progreſs they made, that the Emperor, though old and infirm, determined to oppoſe them in perſon. For this purpoſe he embarked for Britain with a numerous army, accompanied by his ſons Caracalla and Geta. The Caledonians, alarmed at the immenſe preparations for an invaſion of their country, ſent ambaſſadors to ſue for peace; but the Emperor, reſolved to reap the fruits of his labours, diſmiſſed them without liſtening to their propoſals. He marched into Caledonia; and the enemy, unable to cope with ſo powerful an army in the open field, confined their operations to occaſional ſkirmiſhes, and attempts to decoy the Romans into the ambuſcades they had prepared for them. But his greateſt difficulty aroſe from the ſituation of the country, which was mountainous, woody, and full of marſhes; ſo that his ſoldiers underwent exceſſive fatigue without taking a ſingle fortreſs, and exceſſive danger without ſeeing an enemy. They had foreſts to cut down, mountains to level, moraſſes to dry up, and bridges to build. Dio ſays, that in this expedition the Romans loſt fifty thouſand men. But no diſtreſſes could alarm, no difficulties could deter, Severus; who continued his enterprize, till his labours were crowned with ſucceſs. The Caledonians were compelled to renew their ſupplications for peace; which they obtained, on condition of ceding a part of their country, and delivering up their arms.

Severus now conducted his army back into the northern parts of the Roman province; and, having obſerved that Adrian's rampart of earth was but a ſlender ſecurity againſt the incurſions of the Caledonians, he ordered a more ſubſtantial fortification to be raiſed. This was a ſtupendous wall of

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ſolid ſtone, twelve feet high and eight feet thick, with towers and caſtles at convenient diſtances, a deep ditch to the north, and a military way. It was built nearly parallel to that of Adrian, a few paces farther to the north, and extended from the eaſt coaſt, near Tinmouth, to the Solway Firth at Boulneſs.

The Emperor's health declining apace, he retired to York, in the hope of enjoying ſome portion of comfort and repoſe after his numerous victories and extenſive conqueſts. But the Mæatæ and Caledonians, being apprized of his infirmities, renewed the war, with the view of recovering that part of their country which they had been conſtrained to relinquiſh. Severus, exaſperated at the news of this revolt, iſſued his orders in the following verſes of Homer—

> " Not one of all the race, nor ſex, nor age,
> " Shall ſave a Trojan from our boundleſs rage.
> " Ilion ſhall periſh whole, and bury all
> " Her babes; her infants at the breaſt ſhall fall."

Fortunately for the Caledonians, he lived not to ſee theſe orders obeyed. He died at York, February 4, in the year 211.

His two ſons, Caracalla and Geta, more attached to pleaſure than inured to war, continued but a ſhort time in Britain to conclude a peace with the Caledonians, and then haſtened to Rome.

From the death of Severus there is a chaſm in the Britiſh hiſtory of more than ſeventy years, probably ariſing from the profound peace which the Britons may be ſuppoſed to have enjoyed; as the hiſtorians of thoſe days were of opinion, that ſcenes of blood and ſlaughter could alone prove intereſting to mankind. It is imagined, that ſome of the thirty tyrants who diſturbed the empire in the reign of Gallienus, from the year 259 to 268, viſited Britain, becauſe ſome of their coins have been found in the iſland. If they did ſo, their actions could not have been very conſpicuous, as no traces of them are to be met with in hiſtory.

In the year 284, Diocleſian aſcended the imperial throne; and ſoon after admitted Maximian a partner in the empire. During the reigns of theſe joint Emperors, Carauſius, a man of low birth, but of high ambition, was appointed to command the Roman fleet, then ſtationed at Boulogne, for the purpoſe of preventing the piratical depredations of the Franks and Saxons, who at that time infeſted the coaſts of Gaul. Carauſius, finding himſelf at the head of a powerful fleet, and being endued with wiſdom ſufficient to feel the importance of his office, began to cheriſh ideas of future aggrandizement. He therefore determined to extend the limits of his authority in ſuch a manner as to become the indiſputable ſovereign of the ſeas; and, from the influence naturally attached to that important ſituation, entertained the beſt-founded hopes of making the land likewiſe ſubmit to his dominion. His means of attainment, in boldneſs and profligacy, equalled his deſign. He took a great number of prizes, and made many priſoners; but, inſtead of accounting to his imperial maſters, applied the profits of his captures to his own uſe. He gave free permiſſion to the Franks and Saxons to practiſe indiſcriminately every ſpecies of violence on the Gallic coaſts; but, on their return homewards, intercepted their veſſels, and ſeized all the riches and plunder which they contained.

The Emperors, alarmed at theſe extraordinary proceedings, iſſued orders to have him privately put to death: but Carauſius, having foreſeen his danger, found no difficulty in eſcaping it. He had judiciouſly fixed his eye on Britain, as a ſure place of refuge and ſecurity in time of need; and, having engaged the whole fleet in his intereſt, ſailed from Boulogne for the Britiſh coaſt. The previous ſteps which he had taken, and the private correſpondence which of late he had maintained with the Britons, rendered his arrival on the iſland not only a matter of facility to himſelf, but a ſubject of rejoicing to them. The people came out beyond their ſhores to meet him; and he was no ſooner landed, than the Roman troops which were quartered in the kingdom acknowledged and ſaluted him as Emperor.

Carauſius took the moſt effectual meaſures to preſerve his acquiſitions, by forming an alliance with the Franks and Saxons, many of whom he received into his fleet and army. Some faint preparations of reſiſtance were attempted by Maximilian; but, having no fleet of ſufficient force to contend with that of the uſurper, dignity gave way to prudence, and the title of Emperor, with the government of Britain, and the poſſeſſion of a few ports on the continent, was ſecured to him by a ſolemn treaty. Thus was this profeſſed pirate declared *Pius*—this audacious rebel acknowledged *Felix*—and this avowed uſurper dignified with the ſurname of *Auguſtus*; as appears from the medal in Camden's Britannia, thus inſcribed—IMP. C. CARAUSIUS. P.F. AUG. On the reverſe, PAX. AUG. with the letters S. C.—*Senatûs Conſulto*—By decree of the ſenate.

Carauſius was not only a nominal Emperor of Rome, but a real and abſolute monarch of Britain, which he governed in perfect tranquillity for ſeveral years. During that time the Britons were totally liberated from their obedience to the Roman empire, and ſubject only to the laws and government of their own monarch.

Curioſity would lead us to enquire what were the political inſtitutes of a pirate. Some civil policy muſt have been regularly maintained, for the effectual preſervation of public tranquillity; but no authentic records of it have been diſcovered. It is probable that, during his reign, he extended the Roman province in Britain by ſubduing the Mæatæ; ſince we are told, that he repaired the wall between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, and added to it ſeven caſtles, and ſome other works.

Carauſius, after a reign of ſeven years, was treacherouſly murdered at York, in the year 293, by Alectus, one of his chief officers and confidents, who immediately ſeized the government. But the deſire of Alectus to graſp the ſceptre was far greater than his abilities to ſway it: he maintained his uſurpation but three years; nor would he have preſerved it ſo long, had not the Romans employed

all that time in making the neceſſary preparations for their viſit to Britain.

This expedition was commanded by Flavius Conſtantius Chlorus, who was already Emperor elect, and had received the title of Cæſar. Conſtantius divided his fleet into two ſquadrons; giving the command of one to Aſclepiodotus, an officer of tried courage and conduct; and reſerving the other for himſelf. Aſclepiodotus ſailed by the Iſle of Wight, where the fleet of Alectus lay at anchor, in a thick fog, and landed on the Britiſh ſhore without oppoſition. As ſoon as his troops were diſembarked, he burnt his ſhips; that, being deprived of all hopes of retreat, they might become more deſperate in the purſuit of conqueſt.

When Alectus heard that the Romans had landed on the iſland, he advanced to attack them, leaving that part of the coaſt where he had originally encamped open and defenceleſs. This afforded Conſtantius, who ſoon after arrived there with his fleet, an opportunity of landing his army without oppoſition, and of marching to the aſſiſtance of Aſclepiodotus: but, before he could arrive, that general had given battle to Alectus, whoſe troops were entirely defeated, and himſelf ſlain in the action.

The army of Alectus was chiefly compoſed of Franks and Saxons; and ſuch of them as had eſcaped from the ſlaughter of the Romans, retired to London, with the deſperate determination of pillaging that city, and immediately ſailing away with the plunder. But their deſign was fruſtrated, by the arrival of a reinforcement of Romans, who landed in London at this important criſis, and immediately put them all to the ſword.

Thus was Britain reunited to the Roman empire, after a ſeparation of more than ten years.

Conſtantius made an expedition into the northern parts of the iſland, and ſubdued ſome ſtates which, during the late commotions, had declared themſelves independent. He ſtaid about four years in the kingdom, and then returned to Italy, leaving the Britons impreſſed with the greateſt veneration of his many virtues, which ſhone moſt conſpicuouſly in the diſplay of his juſtice and clemency.

When Conſtantius arrived at Rome, the two Emperors, Diocleſian and Maximilian, wearied with the toils and cares of empire, reſolved to retire into a private ſtation; and accordingly reſigned the imperial throne to him, and to Galerius Armentarius. The kingdoms which fell to the ſhare of Conſtantius were Italy, Spain, Africa, and Gaul; to the latter of which the Iſland of Britain was always annexed. Conſtantius preferred it to the continent; and the Britons, who had already experienced the ſalutary effects of his protection, were much rejoiced at his return. He made York the ſeat of his reſidence; and died there July 25, 306, having, in his laſt moments, declared his ſon Conſtantine his heir and ſucceſſor in the empire.

Conſtantine the Great was the ſon of Conſtantius, by his firſt wife Helena, a princeſs who has been greatly celebrated for her piety and virtue. Many of our hiſtorians, both ancient and modern, affirm that ſhe was the daughter of a Britiſh king named Coil; and not a few of them are equally poſitive, that Conſtantine himſelf was born in Britain. A paſſage in Eumenius ſeems to give force to the latter aſſertion. Theſe are his words—" *O fortunata et* " *nunc omnibus beatior terris Britannia, quæ Conſtan-* " *tinum Cæſarem prima vidiſti!*" —" O fortunate " Britain! now more bleſſed than all other parts of " the earth, ſince you firſt beheld Conſtantine " Cæſar!"

The new Emperor remained ſome time in Britain, to conclude the war with the Mæatæ and Caledonians, who about this time began to be known by the new appellations of Picts and Scots, and to eſtabliſh the peace of the iſland on a ſolid foundation; a project which he ſo effectually carried into execution, that Britain enjoyed an uninterrupted ſtate of tranquillity till his death, which happened on the 22d of May 337.

From the acceſſion of Carauſius, in the year 287, to the death of Conſtantine the Great in 337, the Britons had made very great improvements in their commerce, and no inconſiderable progreſs in various arts and ſciences. During that ſhort ſpace of time, the iſland had advanced much farther in civilization, than in the long period which had previouſly elapſed from the firſt invaſion of the Romans. As the ſtrength and power of ancient Rome diminiſhed, thoſe of Britain increaſed; and it's inhabitants were no longer conſidered as ſlaves or ſavages, but as allies and confederates of the Roman ſtate.

Conſtantine the Great was ſucceeded in the government of Britain by his eldeſt ſon Conſtantine, who was ſlain in an attempt to invade the territories of his brother Conſtans, in the year 340. Britain, at his death, became the property of the victor; who, in the year 343, paid a viſit to the iſland, that he might quell the turbulent inſurrections of the Scots and Picts.

In 350, Conſtans was depoſed by Magnentius; and, being ſoon after put to death at Elna, in Rouſſillon, Britain, and all the other provinces on this ſide the Alps, immediately ſubmitted to the uſurper. Magnentius, after a ſtruggle of three years with Conſtantius, the only ſurviving ſon of Conſtantine the Great, having been defeated in a deſperate engagement near Murſa, in Panonia, put an end to his own exiſtence at Lyons, Auguſt 11, 353; when Conſtantius ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of Britain.

Conſtantius appointed Gratianus Funarius, father of Valentinian, who was afterwards Emperor, to be governor; or, as he was then termed, vicar of the iſland: but Gratianus did not remain long in that ſtation, which was ſoon after occupied by Martinus.

Had the juſtice and moderation of Conſtantius been equal to his ſucceſs, his own glory might have received additional luſtre from the felicity of his ſubjects, who were univerſally diſpoſed to the moſt chearful ſubmiſſion: but, elated and depraved by proſperity, he perſecuted the adherents of Magnentius with unrelenting animoſity, Nothing was heard of, throughout the provinces of the weſtern empire, but confiſcations, impriſonments, tortures, and executions. Britain had her full ſhare of theſe calamities: Conſtantius ſent one Paulus, a Spaniard, into this

this iſland, as inquiſitor-general; an office well adapted to the diſpoſition of his mind, and in the diſcharge of which he was guilty of the moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice and cruelty, involving the innocent in the ſame ruin with the guilty. Martinus, the governor, a man of virtue and humanity, ſpared no pains to put an effectual ſtop to theſe flagitious proceedings; but, all his remonſtrances being deſpiſed and neglected, he formed a reſolution to deſtroy Paulus. For this purpoſe, he repaired to his houſe; and, drawing his ſword, made a furious thruſt at him; but miſſing his aim, and knowing that the attempt muſt inevitably produce his deſtruction, he plunged the weapon into his own breaſt, and expired on the ſpot.

In the latter end of the reign of Conſtantius, Julian, afterwards ſurnamed the Apoſtate, who had lately been declared Cæſar, was appointed to the government of the weſtern empire, and reſided in Gaul. Soon after his appointment, he received intelligence that the Picts and Scots had made incurſions into the Roman province; he therefore ordered Lupicinus to repair to Britain with a ſtrong reinforcement of troops: but the enemy, hearing of his arrival, thought it prudent to retire to their own territories; ſo that Lupicinus proceeded no farther than London, from whence, after a ſhort ſtay, he returned to Gaul.

Soon after the acceſſion of Valentinian to the imperial throne, the ſouthern coaſts of Britain were pillaged by the piratical Franks and Saxons; while the Scots, Picts, and Attacotti, invaded the Roman province on the north. As theſe furious depredators advanced, they had frequent ſkirmiſhes with the Roman troops, in one of which they ſlew Bulchobandes, the Roman general, and Nectaridius, count of the Saxon ſhore. When the Emperor received intelligence of this formidable invaſion, he ſent Severus, an officer of his houſhold, to command in Britain. But neither he, nor his ſucceſſor Jovinus, were able to repel the incurſions of the enemy; who continued their depredations for three years ſucceſſively, before they received an effectual check.

At length, Valentinian, perceiving the abſolute neceſſity for a reinforcement of troops, ordered a ſelection of the beſt forces on the continent to be made with expedition, and gave the command of them to Theodoſius, a general of great wiſdom and experience, who ſailed with his army from Boulogne, and landed at Sandwich. He marched directly to London, then called Auguſta, which he found in the utmoſt diſtreſs: and, having relieved the metropolis, divided his army into ſmall detachments; ſurprized the lawleſs freebooters, who were encumbered with plunder; and, taking from them their captives, and the numerous herds of cattle which they had ſtolen, compelled them to fly; then commanding the ſpoils to be reſtored to their legal owners, he returned in triumph to London.

In the enſuing ſpring Theodoſius marched to the northern parts of the iſland; drove back the Picts and Scots to their own territories; and reduced the country between the walls of Severus and Antoninus Pius into the form of a province, which was denominated Valentia, in honour of the reigning Emperor, and was afterwards governed by a diſtinct deputy. At his return to Rome, after eſtabliſhing the peace and ſecurity of the iſland, he was attended to the place of his embarkation by multitudes of Britons, who expreſſed the deepeſt regret and ſorrow at his departure; and he was received by his imperial maſter with the moſt public demonſtrations of eſteem and gratitude.

The Roman territories in Britain enjoyed the moſt perfect tranquillity for ſeveral years after the departure of Theodoſius: but the adherence of the Britons, as well as of the Roman troops, to an uſurper of the imperial dignity, again rendered the iſland a ſcene of war and commotion.

This pretender was Maximus; who had ſerved with diſtinction under Theodoſius, and ſucceeded him in the command of the Roman forces in Britain.

The Emperor Gratian, ſon and ſucceſſor of Valentinian, a profeſſed voluptuary, and totally unequal to the taſk of governing a kingdom, had admitted Theodoſius the younger, ſon of the general of that name, a partner in the empire, with himſelf and his infant brother, Valentinian the Second, on the 16th of January 379. Maximus conceiving that, in point of rank and reputation, his claims to the imperial dignity were as ſtrong as thoſe of his rival, was greatly enraged at the preference given to Theodoſius: he reſolved, therefore, to ſeize by force what he could not obtain by favour; and accordingly aſſumed the purple in Britain, in the year 381.

An opportunity the moſt favourable for the accompliſhment of his ambitious deſigns now preſented itſelf to Maximus. From his marriage with the daughter of a Britiſh chieftain, and the ſervices which he had rendered the Britons under Theodoſius the elder, the natives had as ſtrong an attachment to his perſon as the Roman troops he commanded; he was therefore ſure of their aſſiſtance in the promotion of his ſchemes. Valentinian the Second, one of the reigning Emperors of the weſt, was ſtill in his infancy; Gratian was a weak and unpopular prince, and particularly diſliked by the army; and Theodoſius, his moſt formidable rival, was fully employed in the eaſt.

This concurrence of favourable circumſtances induced Maximus to draw together his veteran troops, whom he reinforced by a conſiderable body of Britons, who offered themſelves as volunteers in his ſervice.

With this army he embarked for the continent; and, landing near the mouth of the Rhine, was joined by the Roman troops who were in the vicinity, and by others from Germany.

The Emperor Gratian immediately marched with a powerful army to engage Maximus; but, being betrayed by his officers, and forſaken by his troops, was compelled to fly towards Lyons, where he was ſlain by Andragathius, Auguſt 25, 383.

Maximus, by this means, becoming poſſeſſed of all the weſtern empire, admitted Victor, who was his ſon by a Britiſh lady, to a ſhare in the government. His ambition not being yet gratified, in the year 387, he drove Valentinian the Second from Italy.

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That prince, however, implored the protection of Theodoſius, Emperor of the eaſt; who, marching with a large army to his aſſiſtance, and having defeated Maximus in two ſucceſſive engagements, compelled the uſurper to retire to Aquileia, where he was ſeized by his own ſoldiers, and delivered to Theodoſius, who ordered him to be put to death, in Auguſt 388.

The Britons who had joined Maximus, having been ſent into Gaul, previous to theſe fatal engagements, under the command of Victor, who was ſoon after defeated and ſlain, and his entire army put to flight; being now left without a leader, repaired to the north-weſt point of Gaul, then called Armorica, with an intention of paſſing from thence into Cornwall: but, meeting with a kind reception from the Belgic inhabitants of that coaſt, they determined to ſettle there, and gave up all thoughts of returning to their native ſoil. Their numbers were ſo conſiderable, that they are ſaid to have given a new name to the province, which has ever ſince been denominated Britanny. This circumſtance accounts for the friendly intercourſe and remarkable reſemblance which is known to have ſo long ſubſiſted between the inhabitants of that part of the continent and thoſe of Britain.

In the year 393, Theodoſius appointed Chryſantus, a general of great reputation, to be his vicar in Britain. This officer put an effectual ſtop to the depredations of the Scots, Picts, Franks, and Saxons, who had made incurſions into different parts of the Roman province, and reſtored the iſland to tranquillity.

Theodoſius died in the year 395; and was ſucceeded by his two ſons, Arcadius and Honorius. The weſtern empire was allotted to Honorius; who, being only ten years of age at the death of his father, was committed to the care and tuition of Stilico.

Under Stilico's government, the Scots and Picts, thoſe perpetual invaders of the Britiſh territories, were effectually repulſed. But the attention of Stilico was called off from the affairs of Britain, by the appearance of Alaric in Italy, at the head of an immenſe army of Goths, Vandals, Alans, and other fierce barbarians.

In conſequence of this invaſion, many of the Roman troops were ſent for from Britain, which induced the Scots and Picts to renew their depredations. Such of the Roman forces, too, as were left on the iſland, became mutinous, for want of occupation: they erected emperors of their own, whom they depoſed and murdered almoſt as ſoon as made. In ſhort, Britain was a conſtant ſcene of confuſion till the year 412; when it returned to the obedience of the Emperor Honorius, who ſent Victorinus to repel a freſh invaſion of the Scots and Picts. That general, however, being ſpeedily recalled, with all his troops, to defend Italy from the invaſion of the Goths, who now menaced Rome itſelf, the iſland was left in a very defenceleſs ſtate.

Britain was now open to the attacks of the Scots and Picts, who did not fail to profit by the departure of the Romans. They haraſſed the Britons for ſeveral years; who, being unable to oppoſe their progreſs, were compelled to make application to Honorius for aſſiſtance. But the Emperor, having ample employment for his troops on the continent, was unable to grant their requeſt: and giving up all claims to their allegiance, urged them to a vigorous defence. The Romans who ſtill remained on the iſland, diſcouraged by the Emperor's refuſal to afford them protection, diſpoſed of their effects, and repaired to the continent.

The Britons were now in a deplorable ſituation: long deprived, by the policy of the Romans, of the uſe and exerciſe of arms, they were no longer that warlike nation which Cæſar had found them. The flower of their youth had, at different times, been tranſported to the continent, and nothing but a weak and undiſciplined multitude now remained on the iſland. Thus circumſtanced, their inability to reſiſt, with vigour and effect, the incurſions of their northern invaders, is not to be wondered at.

They were again conſtrained to implore, in the moſt affecting terms, the aſſiſtance of Honorius; who, moved by their entreaties, ſent a legion to their relief in the year 416.

The arrival of the Romans being totally unexpected, the Picts and Scots were ſurprized, repulſed, and driven back to their native deſarts and mountains.

The Romans having fulfilled the object of their miſſion, returned to the continent; having firſt exhorted the Britons to repair and ſtrengthen the wall of Antoninus, between the Firths of Forth and Clyde.

The wall, however, being built only of turf, proved an ineffectual bar to the inroads of thoſe barbarous plunderers, who repeated their depredations in the year 418. The ſame cauſe naturally produced the ſame effect. Ambaſſadors were again diſpatched to Rome, with the moſt piteous ſupplications for aſſiſtance, which were again attended with ſucceſs. Another legion was ſent into Britain, under the command of Gallio, of Ravenna, who repelled the invaders with great ſlaughter.

Gallio, having repaired the wall of Severus, marched his army to the ſouth, where his fleet lay; and, as the ſouthern coaſts were frequently infeſted by the piratical Franks and Saxons, he cauſed ſeveral caſtles to be built, at proper intervals, for their ſecurity and protection. Before his departure, the Roman general gave the Britons exact models of all the various kinds of arms uſed by the Romans, with ample inſtructions for their fabrication and uſe, and earneſt exhortations to employ them with vigour in defence of their lives and liberties; at the ſame time informing them, that they were to expect no farther aſſiſtance from Rome.

Gallio, having performed theſe important ſervices, ſet ſail with his legion; when the Romans bade a final adieu to Britain, according to Bede and Gildas, in the year of Chriſt 420, about four hundred and ſeventy-five years after the firſt invaſion of it by Julius Cæſar.

HAVING thus brought the Firſt Book of our Hiſtory to a concluſion, it will be neceſſary to make ſome

ſome few obſervations on the ſtate of civil and religious knowledge to which our anceſtors had attained at that early period.

If we merely conſider that Cæſar found the Britons rude, warlike, and independent; and that, when the Romans finally abandoned their iſland, in about four centuries after, the national character was totally changed, and they had become a people impotent in war, addicted to pleaſure, and even courting ſubjection; we need require no other proof that their progreſs in the arts had been conſiderable. For the mind, diveſted of prejudice, muſt acknowledge, that the arts lead to luxury; luxury to effeminacy; and effeminacy to vice: and, unleſs the powerful influence of religion interfere to repreſs and correct their baleful effects, a nation, like an individual, muſt ſpeedily ſink to deſtruction.

The Britons had their ſumptuous baths, their magnificent porticoes, their public ways, their villas of pleaſure, and their ſchools for inſtruction; circumſtances which evidently manifeſt, that in the arts of peace their progreſs had been as rapid as their declenſion in thoſe of war. In fact, the one was a natural conſequence of the other. The fatal policy of Agricola, who firſt introduced the arts into Britain for purpoſes of ſlavery, not of improvement, too fully anſwered the deſign of that great general, whoſe ſagacity and penetration in political inſtitutions were equal to his ſkill and courage in military operations: it converted a nation of warriors into a kingdom of ſlaves. So long as the Britons were under the immediate protection of the Romans, their paſſions were gratified by a life of pleaſure and effeminacy; they experienced it's charms, and were not conſcious of it's inconveniences: but when the departure of their protectors awakened them from their dream of happineſs, the illuſion vaniſhed, and the ſtate of miſery to which they were reduced, convinced them, as Gildas juſtly obſerves, "That no improve-
"ment in arts, nor augmentation of wealth, could
"compenſate for the loſs of national ſpirit, and the
"power of ſelf-defence."

The obſcurity in which the religious antiquities of Britain, like thoſe of moſt other nations, are involved, renders it extremely difficult to fix the preciſe time in which the Chriſtian religion was introduced into this iſland. It appears probable, however, from the concurring teſtimony of ſeveral writers, that the firſt ſeeds of Chriſtianity were ſown in Britain about the middle of the firſt century. Euſebius, Biſhop of Cæſarea, a prelate juſtly celebrated for his integrity and erudition, who lived in the reign of Conſtantine the Great, aſſerts that the Goſpel was preached in Britain in the time of the Apoſtles: and this aſſertion is confirmed by Theodoret, one of the moſt learned fathers of the church; who ſays, that the Britons were converted to Chriſtianity by the Apoſtle Paul. Clemens Romanus and St. Jerome make the ſame obſervation. There is little reaſon to doubt the teſtimony of theſe writers, when we conſider that it is ſupported by many paſſages from the writings of St. Paul; and is by no means inconſiſtent with thoſe circumſtances of his character and hiſtory of which we have a certain knowledge.

The Chriſtian religion had indiſputably made a conſiderable progreſs at Rome in the reign of Claudius; and, from the general intercourſe which prevailed between the Romans and Britons, it muſt have been heard of, at leaſt, in Britain, before the death of that Emperor, which happened in the year of Chriſt 54.

We are told by Tacitus, that Pomponia Græcina, wife of Aulus Plautius, the firſt governor of Britain, "had embraced a ſtrange and foreign ſuperſtition;" by which it is ſuppoſed he meant Chriſtianity: a ſuppoſition that appears well founded, when we conſider that the Roman writers of thoſe times treated the Chriſtian religion with great contempt. If Pomponia was really a Chriſtian, and was with her huſband during his reſidence in Britain, from 43 to 47, it is highly probable that the example of a woman of her high rank would have a great influence on the minds of the Britons, and tend, in a certain degree, to promote the religion ſhe profeſſed. But from his own writings, and from the canonical hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles written by St. Luke, it appears that, from the time when St. Paul firſt began to preach the Goſpel, to that when he was ſent priſoner to Rome, his pious endeavours had been confined to the various countries of the Eaſt; conſequently, if he viſited Britain, it muſt have been between the year 58, when he was releaſed from confinement, and the year 67, when he ſuffered martyrdom at Rome.

From theſe conſiderations, we are induced to believe that the Chriſtian religion was known in Britain during the reign of the Emperor Claudius; but that it had made no progreſs in the iſland till ſome time between the years 58 and 67.

We have purpoſely omitted to mention the abſurd account of William of Malmſbury, relative to the eſtabliſhment of the firſt Chriſtian church at Glaſtonbury by Joſeph of Arimathea. It is a fable worthy a monk; but wholly unworthy ſerious refutation, or even hiſtorical notice.

As the Chriſtians in Britain were ſuffered to enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion without moleſtation, during the whole of the ſecond, and greateſt part of the third century, it is fair to ſuppoſe, that in that period their numbers conſiderably increaſed: for as the force and purity of the religion they profeſſed, proved ſufficient, in after times, to reſiſt the moſt violent efforts of perſecution, when left to the fair and uninterrupted exertion of it's influence, it's progreſs muſt have been as rapid as it's tenets were pure.

A modern hiſtorian, of great learning and erudition, infers, from the circumſtance of the Britiſh Chriſtians remaining unmoleſted for ſuch a conſiderable length of time, that their numbers could not be great. But, ſurely, the converts to Chriſtianity might be numerous, and yet not be deemed objects of apprehenſion by the Romans! For, as the early Chriſtians of Britain were not infected by thoſe dangerous hereſies which obſtructed the progreſs of the Goſpel in other parts of the globe, they certainly practiſed their religion in it's primitive purity: and the votaries of a religion whoſe precepts are the precepts of peace, whoſe doctrine

is calculated to inſpire the mind with ſentiments of patience and reſignation, could never be conſidered as formidable and dangerous by governors or tyrants, whoſe ſagacity was equal to their power.

Nennius, Bede, and many other ancient authors, but more particularly Geoffery of Monmouth, a writer whoſe inventive faculties were ſurprizingly fertile, mention the converſion of a King Lucius, a Britiſh monarch, ſome time in the ſecond century: but their accounts of him vary ſo materially, and are ſo replete with abſurdity and improbability; and the exact period of his reign, and the ſituation of his kingdom, are fixed with ſo ſmall a degree of preciſion; that even his exiſtence is extremely doubtful. The doubt, too, acquires conſiderable ſtrength from the ſilence of Gildas, the moſt ancient of our Britiſh hiſtorians, and a very zealous Chriſtian, who ſays not a word on the ſubject.

Towards the end of the third, or beginning of the fourth century, the jealous diſpoſition of Dioclesian, which magnified the ſuggeſtions of caprice into ſubjects of real alarm, cauſed the flames of perſecution to reach Britain. In conſequence of which, St. Alban, a native of Verulam, from him named afterwards St. Alban's, ſuffered martyrdom. Aaron and Julius, alſo, two citizens of Caerleon, with many others, ſuffered in the ſame righteous cauſe. This perſecution laſted about two years; when the church was reſtored to it's former tranquillity.

In the early part of the fourth century, the Britiſh Chriſtians were conſiderably favoured by Conſtantius Chlorus, who ſucceeded Dioclesian: and his illuſtrious ſon, Conſtantine the Great, evinced a determined reſolution to protect them from oppreſſion; and encouraged them to rebuild their churches, which, ſince the late perſecution, had fallen to decay.

That the Britiſh church was firmly eſtabliſhed early in the fourth century, is clearly demonſtrated by the hiſtory of the Council of Arles, which was held in the year 314. The decrees of that council were ſubſcribed by three Britiſh biſhops: Eborus, Biſhop of York; Reſtitus, Biſhop of London; and Adelfius, Biſhop of Colonia Londinenſium. The word *Londinenſium* is ſuppoſed to have been written, through a miſtake of the tranſcriber, inſtead of *Lindum*, Lincoln. They were likewiſe ſigned by two Britiſh eccleſiaſtics of inferior dignity: Sacerdos, a preſbyter; and Arminius, a deacon.

Soon after the Council of Arles, the tranquillity of the church was diſturbed, in 317, by a violent controverſy between Arius, a preſbyter in the church of Alexandria, and Alexander, biſhop of that city, about the divinity of Chriſt. The opinions of Arius, however, were ſolemnly condemned by the famous Council of Nice, which was convoked by Conſtantine; and at which, it is juſtly ſuppoſed, the Britiſh prelates aſſiſted. At this council, among other wiſe regulations, all metropolitans were exempted from the juriſdiction of the Biſhops of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. Indeed, it does not appear that either the Biſhop of Rome, or any other foreign biſhop, attempted to exerciſe, in thoſe days, any acts of authority or pre-eminence within the Roman dominions in Britain.

At the Council of Ariminum, in 359, the Britiſh prelates ſeem to have departed from thoſe opinions which they had ſupported at Nice, in condemnation of the Arian doctrine. But they were doubtleſs, at that time, under the influence of fear; as, on their return to Britain, they renewed their former declarations, and adhered to the Nicene faith.

In the beginning of the fifth century, religious diſputes began to be prevalent. They were occaſioned by the introduction of the ſingular doctrines of Pelagius, a native of Britain, who maintained, "That "Adam was naturally mortal, and would have died "though he had not ſinned; that Adam's ſin only "affected himſelf, and not his poſterity; that the "grace of God is not neceſſary to enable men to "do their duty, to overcome temptation, and even "to attain perfection, but that they may accompliſh "theſe ends by the freedom of their own wills, and "the exertion of their natural powers." Theſe opinions were propagated in Britain with great ſucceſs, by one of the diſciples of Pelagius, named Agricola, ſon of Severianus, a biſhop.

Two biſhops were ſent from Gaul to confute the Pelagian doctrine; and, at a public diſputation held at Verulam, they ſo ably defended the cauſe of truth, that their adverſaries were compelled to decline the conteſt, and multitudes were reclaimed from the errors they had imbibed. When the prelates, however, left the iſland, the advocates for the opinions of Pelagius ſoon recovered their influence; and the Britons were again obliged to make applications for aſſiſtance to the Biſhops of Gaul, who returned to Britain, and with infinite diligence and zeal compleated the object of their miſſion, but not before they had put in execution the edict of Valentinian the Third, which condemned all heretics to baniſhment. By theſe means, however, the true faith was reſtored, and remained for a long time pure and inviolate.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

THE



Published as the Act directs, by Harrison & Co. May 2. 1791.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

420 TO 1066.

Arrival of the Saxons—Eſtabliſhment of the Heptarchy—Egbert ſole Monarch of England—The Danes—The Norman Invaſion—Battle of Haſtings—Acceſſion of William the Firſt.

THE ſpace which intervened between the final departure of the Romans and the arrival of the Saxons, forms one of the moſt calamitous periods in the Britiſh Hiſtory. That nation muſt, indeed, be abject, which could regard liberty as a curſe!

The Romans, by their dereliction of that authority which had been originally aſſumed, and afterwards preſerved, more from motives of partial ambition than from views of general utility, left the Britons in a deplorable ſituation. Inſtead of exerting the ſpirit for which their anceſtors were ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, they ſuffered an univerſal timidity to take poſſeſſion of their minds; they encouraged deſpondency where vigour was requiſite, and invited danger by their inability to oppoſe it. The ferocity of their northern enemies, far from inciting them to alacrity in their attempts to prevent, or inſpiring them with reſolution to repel, their incurſions, only tended to promote imbecility, and to propagate deſpair. When a juſt apprehenſion of danger and oppreſſion is incapable of urging the mind to exertion, it muſt have attained the ſummit of depravity!

The Picts and Scots, ever attentive to the motions and ſtate of their ſouthern neighbours, ſoon perceived this degeneracy of the Britons; and, being informed of the reſolution of the Romans never to return to their iſland, nor to afford them farther aſſiſtance, determined on an immediate irruption. They aſſembled in greater numbers than before; and, finding the northern wall defenceleſs, entered the province of Valentia, which had been previouſly abandoned by it's former inhabitants, and laid the whole country waſte as far as the wall of Severus, without experiencing the ſmalleſt oppoſition.

The object of their incurſions was plunder, not conqueſt. They feaſted for a time on the productions of the province, which might be conſidered as a land of luxury when compared to their native territories, and then retired with the ſpoils they had made to their own habitations. Though they were eager for the produce, they diſliked the ſoil, and preferred their own rugged and barren mountains to a beautiful and fertile country. Perhaps they were aware, that the land of famine is generally the land of liberty.

A ſingle

A ſingle province, however rich, muſt have proved inadequate to ſupply, for any length of time, the inſatiate appetites of ſuch voracious depredators. Valentia was ſpeedily exhauſted; and an incurſion into the provinces ſouth of the wall of Severus conſequently determined on. The wall, which had been thoroughly repaired by Gallio, was attacked; and though ſtrongly manned, as far as numbers conſtitute ſtrength, the oppoſition made by the Britons was ſo feeble and inefficient, that the Scots and Picts bore down all before them. The fact was, that the Britons had profited ſo little by the military inſtructions of the Romans, that they were even ignorant of the neceſſary operation of relieving guard; ſo that the centinels and troops who were deſtined to defend the wall had remained in their ſtation for ſeveral days and nights; by which means they were ſo overcome with fatigue, and their limbs ſo benumbed with cold, that the enemy pulled them down from the wall with iron hooks, and deſtroyed them by daſhing them on the ground. Having thus opened to themſelves a paſſage, they plundered the country, and returned home laden with pillage. Theſe incurſions were renewed for ſeveral years, and kept the wretched Britons in a ſtate of continual apprehenſion and alarm.

Nor were theſe depredations the only inconveniences which the Britons were doomed to experience. That indolence which ſeemed to pervade every claſs of people, proved wholly deſtructive of induſtry; and, as there were neither laws nor government to puniſh or reſtrain, an univerſal ſpirit of rapine was ſeen to prevail, and more energy was exerted in the purſuit of it's gratification, than in attempts to defend the country from the invaſion of their reſtleſs adverſaries. Internal commotions, too, were conſiderably promoted, by the pretenſions of various chieftains, who in different parts of the country laid claim to ſovereign authority.

Numbers of the inhabitants, driven to deſpair by a complication of miſeries which they had not courage to reſiſt, ſought for precarious ſhelter in the woods, and led the ſame kind of life as their ſavage anceſtors had done previous to the firſt Roman invaſion. The lands being thus deſerted, and cultivation neglected, a famine was the natural conſequence; and to this ſucceeded a peſtilence. Theſe two ſcourges were productive of great deſtruction, and inflicted a dreadful puniſhment on the miſerable Britons for their vicious degeneracy.

Britain, in this forlorn condition, could afford no temptation to the Scots and Picts, who refrained from their annual incurſions for ſeveral years. Encouraged by this proſpect of tranquillity, the inhabitants by degrees iſſued from their woods, and returned to the cultivation of their lands; which, having ſo long lain fallow, were now peculiarly favourable to vegetation: ſo that peſtilence and famine were ſoon followed by health and abundance.

But the mind which is too weak to ſuſtain, with manly fortitude, the evils of adverſity, is ſeldom poſſeſſed of ſufficient ſtrength to diſcharge thoſe ſuperior duties which ariſe from a ſtate of proſperity. According to Gildas, the Britons, inſtead of extracting the leſſon of utility which muſt naturally have reſulted from a compariſon of their former miſeries with the comforts they now enjoyed, and would have ſuggeſted the means of lengthening at leaſt, if not of perpetuating, thoſe enjoyments; inſtead of profiting by this tranquil period, and providing for their future ſafety, were wholly abſorbed in the joys of the preſent: they rioted in every ſpecies of luxurious pleaſure; and, by the extremes of intemperance and debauchery, ſought to render their bodies as debile as their minds were depraved. They were ſoon, however, awakened to a juſt ſenſe of their folly. Their northern enemies were induced, by the return of plenty, to renew their depredations; and, by an annual repetition of their incurſions, in a few years reduced them to the ſame ſtate of miſery from which they had ſo lately emerged.

In this exigence, the Britons, in the year 446, had again recourſe to Rome, hoping that the importunities of diſtreſs might extort what prudence and motives of ſelf-preſervation had hitherto induced the Romans to refuſe. Their hopes, too, received ſome little appearance of ſolidity, from the advantages which the renowned Œtius, præfect of Gaul, had recently obtained over the Goths, and which ſeemed to promiſe a renovation of luſtre to the Roman empire. To this celebrated general their applications for aſſiſtance were addreſſed; applications that were couched in terms of the moſt abject ſolicitation, and entitled, *The Groans of the Britons.* "The barbarians," cried they, "drive us to the ſea, and the "ſea drives us back upon the barbarians; ſo that "the only choice which is left us, is to periſh by "the ſword, or to be drowned in the ocean." But their lamentations were futile, and procured no aſſiſtance from Œtius; as he was then collecting all his forces to repel the attacks of Attila, King of the Hunns, who menaced the weſtern empire with total deſtruction.

To increaſe the terror of the Britons, a report was now propagated, that the Scots and Picts, whoſe ſtay during their incurſions had always been ſhort, though deſtructive, intended to invade their territories in greater numbers than uſual; and, after extirpating the natives, eſtabliſh their reſidence in the more fertile provinces of South Britain. Thrown into the greateſt conſternation by this alarming intelligence, the Britons reſolved to aſſemble their princes and chieftains, that ſome means might be fixed on to avert the danger which threatened them. Among the number of chiefs who attended this national aſſembly was Vortigern, Prince of the Silures; who, it is ſuppoſed, had raiſed himſelf to the ſupreme command by the murder of his predeceſſor. Though groſsly addicted to pleaſure, he was ambitious and enterprizing; and, though ſtained with every vice, he was at this juncture deemed a proper perſon to be entruſted with the ſovereign authority. He accordingly preſided in the aſſembly; and his influence over it's deciſions was as powerful as fatal. As if conſcious of their own imbecility, the Britiſh chiefs refuſed to rely on themſelves for protection; and it was unanimouſly reſolved, in compliance with the ſuggeſtions of cowardice and fear, to apply for foreign aſſiſtance.

Vortigern

Vortigern propoſed to call in the Saxons to their defence; and, after ſome debate, his propoſal was embraced.

The Saxons were a branch of thoſe Gothic nations which, iſſuing from the north, had over-run the reſt of Europe. A part of this people, under the name of Suevi, had previouſly to Cæſar's invaſion of Gaul ſubdued and taken poſſeſſion of an extenſive empire in Germany; and their ſtrength and courage rendered them objects of apprehenſion and terror to their German neighbours. They were afterwards divided into ſeveral nations, and each became famous for ſubduing that country which ambition or convenience induced it to attack. France, Germany, and England, formed a part of their conqueſts.

The Saxons were more advanced in refinement than the generality of Britons, though their ſituation and mode of life had prevented any abatement of their martial ſpirit and native ferocity.

Their women wore linen garments, trimmed and ſtriped with purple; their hair was bound in wreaths, or fell in ringlets on their ſhoulders; and their arms were bare, and their boſoms uncovered.

The Saxon government was in general an elective monarchy, but ſometimes a republic. Merit was the ſole recommendation to diſtinction; and the chiefs were diſmiſſed when the object of their election was fulfilled. The only reward for thoſe dangers and fatigues to which the ſovereign was inevitably expoſed, was honour.

The Saxons were remarkable for their chaſtity; and deemed it a diſgrace to be without children. Their military ſkill formed their chief pride and excellence; nor is this to be wondered at, when war was their trade, and plunder the fruit of ſucceſs. They had made frequent deſcents on the coaſts of Britain while it was under the domination of the Romans; and had acquired a certain degree of diſcipline which, joined to their native courage, rendered them formidable enemies.

It was to this people that Vortigern propoſed to ſend ambaſſadors, to implore ſuccour and protection againſt the Scots and Picts. They conſequently went on this embaſſy in the year 449; and, according to Witichindus, a Saxon hiſtorian, addreſſed the Saxons in the following abject terms—

" Moſt valiant Saxons, the diſtreſſed and miſe-
" rable Britons, haraſſed by the perpetual incurſions
" of their enemies, have ſent us humbly to ſuppli-
" cate your aſſiſtance and protection. We are poſ-
" ſeſſed of a country beautiful, extenſive, and fertile,
" which we reſign to your command and devotion.
" We formerly enjoyed peace and tranquillity un-
" der the government of the Romans; and now,
" confiding in your ſtrength and courage, we ſeek
" for ſafety beneath the wings of your valour. If
" by your powerful aſſiſtance we ſhould riſe ſuperior
" to our enemies, we ſhall willingly ſubmit to the
" performance of any ſervices which hereafter you
" may be pleaſed to impoſe."

Theſe ſervile ſolicitations were unfortunately crowned with ſucceſs. The Saxons, who had long viewed this iſland with an eye of deſire, were rejoiced at the invitation, which they immediately accepted; and ſent an army of fifteen hundred men to Britain, under the command of Hengiſt and Horſa, two brothers, who landed on the Iſle of Thanet, which was aſſigned them for their reſidence.

Theſe troops did not long remain inactive; for the Scots and Picts having advanced as far as Lincolnſhire, the Britons, joined by their new allies, haſtened to attack them. A deſperate battle was fought near Stamford, in which the courage and diſcipline of the Saxons prevailed, and enabled the Britons to drive the enemy back into their own territories, after forcing them to relinquiſh the booty they had acquired.

Hengiſt and Horſa poſſeſſed great credit among their countrymen, and were much celebrated for their valour, and the ſplendour of their deſcent. Like moſt of the Saxon princes, they claimed Woden for their anceſtor, who was worſhipped as a deity, and they were even ſaid to be his great grandſons; a circumſtance which contributed not a little to the augmentation of their authority. Struck with the fertility of the ſoil, and the beauty of the country, the Saxons ſoon determined to ſecure a ſolid eſtabliſhment in Britain; and, in order to promote their deſign, ſolicited a reinforcement of their countrymen, which met with the full approbation of the Britons; who, highly pleaſed at their late ſucceſs, were far from entertaining the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of their allies. The Saxons required but little perſuaſion to embrace an enterprize which promiſed them an ample opportunity for the diſplay of their valour, and the gratification of their rapacity. The reinforcement, therefore, was ſent over in ſeventeen ſhips, and conſiſted of about five thouſand men.

The Britons, at length, began to perceive the error they had committed, and to entertain apprehenſions of thoſe whom they had lately regarded as their ſaviours and protectors. They took no ſteps, however, to ward off it's fatal effects: but, hoping to reap tranquillity from ſubmiſſion, bore every encroachment on their rights with a patient reſignation; which, had it not proceeded from puſillanimity, muſt have commanded applauſe.

Hengiſt and Horſa, having acquired ſufficient ſtrength by their late reinforcement to inſure ſucceſs to their deſigns, openly prepared to attack thoſe territories which they had been called to defend. When a quarrel is determined on, a pretext is eaſily found. The Saxons complained that their ſubſidies were ill paid, and their proviſions witheld: they demanded that theſe grievances ſhould be redreſſed without delay; and, in the interim, concluded a ſeparate peace with the Scots and Picts, whom they had been paid to repreſs.

The Britons, impelled by the urgency of their misfortunes, and rouzed to indignation by the treachery of their allies, had recourſe to arms. Having depoſed Vortigern, to whoſe vicious conduct and raſh advice they attributed their preſent calamities, they placed themſelves under the command of his ſon Vortimer.

Many were the battles which they fought with their enemies, of which the accounts are very im-

perfect and various, as both the Britiſh and Saxon annaliſts claim the victory for their reſpective nations. But this is a matter ſcarcely worthy of regret, as the narration of battles, in which valour alone was employed, could afford little ſubject for amuſement, and leſs for inſtruction.

In one of theſe actions, near Ailesford, Horſa was ſlain; and his brother Hengiſt became ſole commander of the Saxon forces. This active general, continually reinforced by freſh troops from Germany, purſued his conqueſts with alacrity, and carried devaſtation into the moſt remote corners of Britain. Chiefly anxious to derive ſubmiſſion from terror, he ſpared neither age, ſex, nor condition; but, with relentleſs cruelty, laid waſte the whole country before him.

The prieſts and biſhops found no protection from the ſacred garb of religion, but were ſlaughtered on their altars by theſe remorſeleſs conquerors. The people, flying for ſhelter to the mountains and woods, were intercepted, and butchered in heaps: ſome, who preferred ſervitude to death, purchaſed their lives with their liberties, and became the ſlaves of the victors.

About two years after the death of Horſa, Hengiſt gained a moſt compleat victory over the Britons, at Creecanford, now Crayford, which gave him the poſſeſſion of all Kent, and emboldened him to aſſume the title of King; having before contented himſelf with that of Heretogen, or General.

Thus was the firſt Saxon kingdom—the kingdom of Kent, which contained Kent, Eſſex, and Middleſex—founded, about eight years after the arrival of the Saxons in Britain.

Nennius, and ſome other Britiſh writers, aſſign one cauſe which greatly facilitated the progreſs of the Saxon arms. They ſay, that ſoon after the arrival of Hengiſt, Vortigern preſented him with certain lands in the neighbourhood of Lincoln, on which he built a caſtle, called Thongcaſter. When the caſtle was finiſhed, Vortigern was invited by Hengiſt to partake of a magnificent banquet, at which Rowena, the daughter of Hengiſt, was preſent. She is repreſented as a pattern of lovelineſs; and her charms were deſtined by her father to make a conqueſt of the Britiſh monarch.

At table, Hengiſt ordered his daughter to preſent his royal gueſt with a cup of wine. She obeyed; and, in the elegance of her attitude, diſplayed ſuch inimitable grace as gave irreſiſtible force to her beauty, and made the ſtrongeſt impreſſion on the heart of Vortigern, who refuſed to taſte the wine till the cup had been touched by the lips of Rowena. The lovely cup-bearer complied with his requeſt; and, for her affability, was rewarded by the amorous Briton with a fervent kiſs, the effect of which compleated her conqueſt.

Vortigern, though already married, demanded Rowena for his wife; and Hengiſt, having raiſed as many difficulties as he thought neceſſary to enhance the value of his compliance, at length yielded to the requeſt, on condition that Vortigern ſhould cede to him and his followers the county of Kent. This being complied with, Hengiſt ſoon afterwards found means to form it into a kingdom.

Vortigern, having divorced his wife, married Rowena; by whom he is ſaid to have had a daughter of aſtoniſhing beauty: and it is alſo added that, her charms having captivated the heart of her libidinous father, ſhe was no ſooner marriageable, than Vortigern, who made every thing ſubſervient to his pleaſures, took her alſo for his wife.

The authenticity of theſe accounts, however, has been doubted by many modern writers; and certainly not without ſome reaſon, as both Bede and Gildas, ancient authors of great reſpectability and credit, are totally ſilent on the ſubject. Yet it muſt be allowed, that the vicious diſpoſition of Vortigern, which is univerſally acknowledged, gives an air of truth to every enormity aſcribed to him; and there appears nothing in this part of his conduct inconſiſtent with the principles and character of a profeſſed voluptuary. Indeed, what has been urged againſt the correctneſs of Nennius's account, at beſt, amounts but to a dubious kind of negative proof, which cannot, with any regard to hiſtorical propriety, be admitted in contradiction to a poſitive aſſertion, ſupported by ſtrong appearances of probability.

By the ſame hiſtorians we are likewiſe told that Vortimer died; and that Vortigern, being reſtored to the throne, accepted of a feſtival from Hengiſt, at Stonehenge, where three hundred of the Britiſh nobility were treacherouſly ſlain, and himſelf was detained as a captive.

Be that as it may, Hengiſt, in order to ſtrengthen the Saxon intereſt in Britain, or rather with a view to render himſelf wholly independent on the natives, invited a freſh body of Saxons to come over and form an eſtabliſhment on the iſland. The invitation was joyfully accepted; and Ochto, the brother of Hengiſt, with his ſon Ebeſſa, and a numerous train of followers, landing on the coaſt of Northumberland, from a fleet of forty ſail, immediately took poſſeſſion of that county, and extended their dominion to the whole country from thence to the Frith of Forth, with little oppoſition.

The victories gained by Hengiſt, though they had weakened, had not intimidated the Britons, who ſeem at this period to have recovered ſome portion of their native vigour: their oppoſition was firm, though not ſucceſsful. Under the command of Aurelius Ambroſius, a Britain, though of Roman deſcent, they fought many deſperate battles, and kept the Saxons in continual alarm. Hengiſt, however, ſtill maintained his ground; and at length, in the year 465, gained a compleat victory at Wippidfleet, in the Iſle of Thanet, where twelve Britiſh chieftains were ſlain; though the Saxons only loſt one officer of note, named Wippid, from whom the place of battle derived it's preſent denomination. This victory proved deciſive. The Britons, ſtruck with terror at their repeated loſſes, left Hengiſt in quiet poſſeſſion of his new kingdom, over which he reigned in perfect tranquillity till the year 488, when he died, and bequeathed it to his ſon.

The ſucceſs of Hengiſt induced many other chiefs to come over to Britain, and attempt to eſtabliſh themſelves in the iſland. One of theſe, named

Œlla,

Œlla, arrived in the year 477, with his three ſons, Cymen, Wlencing, and Ciſſa, and a numerous army. They landed at Cymenſhore, near Wittering, in Suſſex; and immediately proceeded to take poſſeſſion of the neighbouring country. The Britons oppoſed them with reſolution; nor did their oppoſition ceaſe till they had been defeated by the Saxons in ſeveral pitched battles.

The moſt remarkable action mentioned by hiſtorians is that which was fought at Mecredeſburn, in the year 485; where, though the Saxons remained maſters of the field, the loſs they ſuſtained was ſo conſiderable as for a time to impede the progreſs of their arms. But Œlla, reinforced by freſh ſupplies of troops from Germany, purſued his conqueſts; and, in the year 490, laid ſiege to Andred-Ceaſter, which was ſtrongly fortified. The Britons defended that important place with determined valour; but, far from deterring the Saxons from compleating their deſign, this obſtinate reſiſtance only tended to urge them to greater exertions, which were at length crowned with ſucceſs. When they had taken the place, they reduced it to aſhes, and put the whole garriſon and all the inhabitants to the ſword.

The conqueſts of Œlla being effectually ſecured by this deciſive victory, he aſſumed the title of King, and founded the kingdom of Suſſex, which comprehended the county of that name, a great part of Surrey, and the New Foreſt, and extended to the frontiers of Kent.

Another tribe of Saxons, under the command of Cerdic and his ſon Cynric, landed in Britain, in the year 495, at a place which, from the Saxon chief, was afterwards called Cerdicſhore.

Experience had taught the Britons to be conſtantly on their guard; ſo that Cerdic found them prepared to oppoſe his landing; and a battle enſued, in which the Saxons were victorious; though their progreſs was impeded by the ſubſequent exertions of the Britons, who continued to oppoſe them with unremitting vigour. Indeed, none of the Saxon tribes met with ſuch formidable reſiſtance, nor evinced ſuch courage and perſeverance in the purſuit of their conqueſts, as that which was commanded by Cerdic. They were not only compelled to make application for aſſiſtance to their countrymen, who were already eſtabliſhed in the iſland; but likewiſe to ſend to Germany for an augmentation of troops, which arrived, in the firſt year of the ſixth century, under the command of Porta, and his two ſons Bieda and Megla. Theſe troops landed at a place ever ſince called *Portſmouth*, from *Porta*, their general. Strengthened by this reinforcement, the Saxons were enabled again to meet the Britons in the field.

The Britiſh army was at this time commanded by a prince of extraordinary courage and conduct; but hiſtorians differ as to his name and perſon. Some aſſert that it was Aurelius Ambroſius; while others are of opinion that it was another Britiſh chief, called Nazan-leod. Camden attempts to reconcile this contradiction, by obſerving that Aurelius Ambroſius was his Roman name, and Nazan-leod an honorary title beſtowed on him by the Britons, in whoſe language it ſignified *the defender of the people*. This conjecture is highly probable, as Ambroſius had long commanded the Britons with diſtinguiſhed valour, and indiſputably merited any title which gratitude could ſuggeſt as expreſſive of important ſervices.

The two armies met in the year 508, and a moſt deſperate action enſued. That of the Saxons was formed into two diviſions; one of which was commanded by Cerdic, and the other by his ſon Cynric. Ambroſius led on the Britons to the attack, which was made on Cerdic's diviſion with ſuch irreſiſtible force, that the Saxons were ſoon routed with conſiderable ſlaughter; but the Britons purſuing with too great eagerneſs, and the other diviſion of the Saxons having repelled and routed their aſſailants, haſtened to the aſſiſtance of Cerdic, and turned the tide of ſucceſs. After an obſtinate conteſt, the Britons were entirely defeated, and compelled to fly, leaving the gallant Ambroſius, with five thouſand of his troops, dead on the field.

The war, however, ſtill continued. The Britons, accuſtomed to defeat, no longer gave way to deſpair, but exerted themſelves in recruiting their exhauſted ſtrength, that they might oppoſe the encroachments of the Saxons with vigour at leaſt, if not with ſucceſs.

Ambroſius was ſucceeded in the command of the Britiſh armies by the celebrated Arthur, who ſhines ſo conſpicuouſly in the fabulous annals of thoſe times, and whoſe military exploits proved an inexhauſtible ſource to the poetical genius of Thalieſſin, and other Britiſh bards.

Where truth is intimately blended with fiction, the hiſtorian who writes at a period remote from the tranſactions he relates, cannot, with any degree of preciſion, draw the neceſſary line of diſcrimination. This is the caſe with Arthur and his atchievements, which have given riſe to ſo many fables, that ſome have been led even to entertain a doubt of his exiſtence.

So obſcure is the origin of this renowned prince, that he is ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſon of Ambroſius; by others, his nephew: but the moſt prevalent and probable ſuppoſition is, that he was of Corniſh extraction, and ſon of Gurlois, King of Cornwall. Whatever might be his birth, his valour and military ſkill were undoubtedly great, as they proved alone ſufficient to check the progreſs of the Saxons, and for a time to repreſs their incurſions.

According to Nennius, and the moſt authentic hiſtorians, this illuſtrious chief defeated the Saxons in twelve ſucceſſive engagements. The laſt and moſt conſiderable victory which he gained was that of Mountbadon, near Bath, in the year 520. This battle ſeems to have been the moſt deſperate and bloody that ever was fought between the two nations. According to Bede, it laſted from noon to night, without any viſible advantage on either ſide; and both armies remained on the field to renew the action in the morning. When the day began to dawn, the Saxons appeared on the ſummit of a ſmall hill, which they had taken poſſeſſion of in the night; and which, though a poſt of importance, had been equally neglected by the two armies the preceding day. Arthur, finding it neceſſary to diſlodge them, the

attempt

attempt was made, and ſucceeded: the Saxons were compelled to quit the hill; and the Britons, perceiving the irregularity of their deſcent, ruſhed upon them with great impetuoſity, and compleated the victory. Malmſbury goes ſo far as to aſſert, that in this engagement Arthur ſlew four hundred of the enemy with his own hand.

This victory proved ſuch a check to the Saxons, that for ſeveral years they made not the ſmalleſt advancement in their conqueſts. But Cerdic, having received a conſiderable reinforcement from Germany, in the year 527, defeated the Britons, at a place from thence called Cerdicsford; and, about three years after, entirely ſubdued the Iſle of Wight. He, and his ſucceſſor Cynric, who had been the partner of his toils, and the companion of his victories, eſtabliſhed the kingdom of the Weſt Saxons, or of Weſſex, which comprehended Hampſhire, Dorſetſhire, Wiltſhire, Berkſhire, and the Iſle of Wight. Cerdic died in 534; and Cynric in 560.

Arthur, in the decline of his life, had the mortification to find himſelf unable to reſiſt the Saxons; and was compelled to be a paſſive ſpectator of their conqueſts, from his attention being wholly engroſſed by his own private affairs. A civil war was the fatal conſequence of his domeſtic troubles, which terminated but with his life.

His firſt wife had been carried off by Meluas, King of Somerſetſhire, who detained her a whole year at Glaſtonbury; till Arthur, diſcovering the place of her retreat, advanced with an army againſt the raviſher, with an intent to puniſh him for his preſumption: but, by the mediation of his wife's uncle, Gildas Albanius, peace was effected, and the lady reſtored.

Hiſtorians make no particular mention of his ſecond wife: but ſuch was the connubial infelicity of the heroic Arthur, that his third was debauched by his own nephew, Mordred, who found means to divert the attention of his uncle from the puniſhment which he was conſcious of meriting, and doubtleſs expected to receive, by exciting a rebellion in his dominions, and thus adding the crime of treaſon to that of adultery. At length, however, Arthur and Mordred met, at the battle of Camlan, in Lancaſhire. The rencontre was furious, and fatal. Mordred found the death he ſo richly deſerved: but he had, in the conteſt, given his uncle a wound, of which the unfortunate monarch ſoon after died; and was interred, as he had requeſted to be, in the old church of Glaſtonbury, by the ſide of Guinever, his ſecond wife.

In Stow's Chronicle, we are told that, about ſix centuries afterwards, in the reign of Henry II. that king paſſing through Wales, and hearing the ſongs of the bards which were deſcriptive of the burial-place of Arthur, was ſeized with an ardent deſire to diſcover the truth of their deſcriptions; and accordingly, in the year 1189, he iſſued an order to ſearch for the body of Arthur. After digging to the depth of ſeven feet, a broad grave-ſtone appeared, in the lower ſurface of which was fixed a leaden croſs, thus inſcribed—*Hic jacet ſepultus Inclitus Rex Arthurus, in Inſulâ Avalloniâ.* Some feet deeper in the ground, a wooden coffin was diſcovered, which contained the ſkeleton of a man of very large dimenſions; and Giraldus Cambrenſis, who was preſent, ſays he counted ten wounds on the ſcull, all of which had been healed up, except one that remained ſtill open, and was ſuppoſed to have been the immediate cauſe of his death. At the ſame time, the coffin of his ſecond wife Guinever was opened, when her golden treſſes, plaited in a very curious manner, appeared bright and entire; but, on being touched, they mouldered into duſt. The two ſkeletons were removed into the new church, and there buried in a marble tomb; and the leaden croſs with the inſcription was preſerved in the treaſury of Glaſtonbury till the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

Arthur was indiſputably a great general; and, though his actions have given riſe to numberleſs fables, and ſerved to embelliſh the motley volumes of romance, they certainly were not unworthy to decorate the page of hiſtory. His ſkill and courage were great, his morals were unblemiſhed, and his generoſity was unbounded. He is ſaid to have inſtituted the order of *The Knights of the Round Table*; and though this inſtitution has been generally regarded as altogether chimerical, we are told by Caſſiodorus, that Theodoric, King of the Oſtrogoths, actually inſtituted an order of a ſimilar nature in Italy, in the ſame century.

The loſs of Arthur was more ſenſibly felt by the Britons, as he left no perſon capable of aſſuming the reins of government, at ſo critical a conjuncture, when the Saxons were rapidly advancing into the heart of the kingdom, and threatening the natives with total annihilation.

The Britiſh territories were at this time governed by ſeveral petty princes; who, releaſed by the death of Arthur from the dread of ſuperior authority, exerciſed every ſpecies of cruelty and oppreſſion, and reduced their unfortunate ſubjects to the moſt deplorable ſituation.

Gildas has preſerved the names of five of theſe tyrants, whom he repreſents as monſters of iniquity. Aurelius Conanus, an infamous parricide, whoſe kingdom lay to the eaſt of the River Severn; Conſtantinus, King of Cornwall, a prince of inſatiate cruelty and unbounded luſt; Vortiporius, King of the Demetæ, a man diſtinguiſhed for his pride and contempt of religion, ſtrongly evinced in his perſecutions of the clergy, and who, to render his infamy compleat, committed inceſt with his own daughter; Cuneglaſius, who reigned over ſome part of North Wales, and had grown old in every ſpecies of vice; and Magoclunus, King of Mona, or Angleſey, a man of a moſt violent and rapacious ſpirit, who is repreſented to have been the greateſt in power, as well as the moſt atrocious in wickedneſs.

Their congeniality of diſpoſition did not induce theſe princes to enter into any alliance to repreſs the Saxons: they were only ſtudious of deſtroying that authority which they envied in each other; and, by the vicious ſpirit of contention that prevailed among them, their ſubjects were not only a prey to the private oppreſſion of their ſeparate tyrants, but became the

the unhappy victims of public and mutual deſtruction. Nothing could be more favourable to the progreſs of the Saxons than this ſtate of anarchy; and it was accordingly rapid.

The kingdoms of Kent, Suſſex, and Weſſex, were already eſtabliſhed; and other bands of Saxon adventurers, tempted by the ſucceſs of their countrymen, came in ſwarms from the continent to ſeek for a ſettlement in Britain. They landed on the eaſtern coaſts of the iſland, at different times, and under different leaders, whoſe names and atchievements have not been preſerved by hiſtorians. By degrees, however, theſe intruſive marauders gained ſo firm a footing, that three of their chieftains aſſumed the title of King, and founded three ſmall kingdoms in the eaſt and midland parts of the iſland.

The kingdom of Eaſt Saxony, or Eſſex, was chiefly diſmembered from that of Kent, and conſiſted of the counties of Eſſex and Middleſex, and part of Hertfordſhire. It's firſt monarch was named Erkenwin; but the year in which he commenced his reign, and the particulars of his life, are equally unknown.

The kingdom of the Eaſt Angles was founded by Uffa, in the year 575, and conſiſted of the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk. All the ſucceſſors of Uffa in that kingdom, from him, had the ſurname of Uffans.

The kingdom of Mercia was founded by Crida, in the year 585; and comprehended all the middle counties of England to the eaſt of the Severn, and ſouth of Yorkſhire and Lancaſhire.

Though a colony of Saxons, ſoon after the arrival of Hengiſt, had ſettled in Northumberland, the reſiſtance they experienced was ſo firm, that their progreſs in ſubduing the inhabitants was ſlow and inconſiderable. Surrounded by enemies, and at a diſtance from their countrymen in the ſouth, they continued long in a weak and unſettled ſtate; ſo that none of their chieftains had the preſumption to aſſume the royal dignity and title of king. At length, however, they received a powerful reinforcement from Germany, which arrived at Flamborough, in fifty veſſels, in the year 547, under the command of Ida, a Saxon prince of great wiſdom and undaunted courage, who founded the kingdom of Bernicia. The caſtle of Bamburgh, or Bamborough, was the capital of this kingdom, which comprehended Northumberland, the counties of the Merſe, and the Three Lothians.

Œlla, another Saxon prince, having ſubdued all the country between the Humber and the Tyne, founded another ſmall ſtate, which was called the Kingdom of Deira.

Theſe two kingdoms were ſoon after united in the perſon of Ethelfred, grandſon of Ida, who married Acca, the daughter of Œlla; and, having expelled her brother Edwin, formed of their joint territories the powerful kingdom of Northumberland.

Thus were the ſeven Saxon kingdoms, generally called the Heptarchy, eſtabliſhed in that part of the iſland which ſoon after received, from the *Angles*, who formed the moſt numerous and powerful tribe of the Saxons, the denomination of *England*.

A total revolution was by this means effected in Britain, after a vigorous conteſt which had laſted for a century and a half; and, with it's inhabitants, the greateſt part of the iſland ſouth of the Tweed had changed it's language, cuſtoms, and political inſtitutions.

Such of the Britons as had eſcaped the fury of the Saxon invaders, retired to the weſtern extremity of the iſland; where they poſſeſſed a conſiderable tract of country on the coaſt, which extended from the Land's End to the Frith of Clyde. They were divided into four ſtates or principalities: thoſe of Cornwall, South Wales, North Wales, and Cumberland. Each ſtate was governed by a prince, who had ſome authority over the chieftains or heads of clans; but that authority was very limited, as every chief poſſeſſed ſovereign power in his own diſtrict.

To theſe Britons the Saxons gave the name of *Gwalliſh*, or *Walliſh*; that is, Gauls; from their being of Gauliſh extraction: and hence is derived the word *Wales*, by which Cambria is at preſent diſtinguiſhed.

The conqueſts of the Saxons, whoſe animoſity had been highly inflamed by the firm oppoſition they experienced in the purſuit of their encroachments, were marked with ruin and devaſtation. Not content with reducing their captives to a ſtate of the moſt abject ſervitude, by compelling them to cultivate for their tyrants and oppreſſors the lands which ſo lately they could claim as their own, they totally demoliſhed all the towns, villages, and villas of pleaſure, which had been built by the Romans. In ſhort, every veſtige of Roman magnificence was deſtroyed by theſe ferocious conquerors, who appeared anxious to reduce the iſland to it's ancient ſtate of compleat barbariſm.

THE

SAXON HEPTARCHY.

THE Heptarchy being firmly eſtabliſhed, and the Saxons left in quiet poſſeſſion of the moſt fertile parts of the iſland without any fear of moleſtation from the Britons, that band of alliance which ambition had formed, and danger cemented, was now in a great meaſure diſſolved; and the views of each prince were confined to his own private intereſt, without any concern for the general welfare.

A country thus divided into a number of independent principalities muſt ever be ſubject to contention, as jealouſy and ambition have more frequent incentives to operate. It could not be expected, from the martial and turbulent diſpoſitions of the Saxons, that they would preſerve in tranquillity what they had gained by conqueſt. Their wars and diſſenſions were numerous; but the accounts of them,

them, as tranſmitted to us by the monks, who were the only annaliſts of thoſe times, are ſo ſterile and imperfect, that to relate the tranſactions of the different kingdoms of the Heptarchy with any tolerable perſpicuity is rendered a matter of extreme difficulty. Even the ſtrong mind of Milton failed in the laborious attempt; and he was induced to declare, that the confuſed events of that period were unworthy the notice of the hiſtorian.

It will be neceſſary, however, in order to preſerve the thread of our Hiſtory, to give ſome account of the different monarchs, and of the moſt remarkable revolutions, in each particular kingdom. We ſhall begin with that of Kent, which was the firſt eſtabliſhed.

THE KINGDOM OF KENT.

HENGIST, the founder of the kingdom of Kent, and the firſt Saxon monarch in Britain, was ſucceeded by his ſon Œſc, or Eſcus, who reigned twenty-four years in profound tranquillity, and left his dominions to his ſon Octo, whoſe reign commenced in the year 512. During the reign of this monarch, which laſted twenty-two years, the counties of Eſſex and Middleſex were taken from him by the Eaſt Saxons.

At the death of Octo, his ſon Hermenric ſucceeded to the throne in 534, who performed nothing memorable during a reign of thirty-two years; but Ethelbert, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Hermenric, revived the drooping fame of his family, which ſince the death of Hengiſt had made no figure among the princes of the Heptarchy.

This prince, being poſſeſſed of an aſpiring genius, determined to regain that ſuperiority which his anceſtor Hengiſt had maintained over all the Saxon monarchs, and which was now veſted in Ceaulin, King of Weſſex. His firſt attempts, however, to promote this deſign, proved very unſucceſsful, being twice defeated by Ceaulin; who, elated with his victories, preſerved no moderation, but turned his arms againſt the kingdom of Suſſex, which he reduced to ſubjection.

This inconſiderate action inſpired all the other princes with jealouſy; and, at the inſtigation of Ethelbert, an aſſociation was formed to repreſs the growing power of Ceaulin. The command of the allied army being conferred on Ethelbert, he gave battle to his adverſary, and obtained a deciſive victory. Ceaulin died ſoon after; and Ethelbert ſucceeding, as well to his aſcendancy over the other ſtates, as to thoſe projects of ambition which had occaſioned his fall, extended his authority over all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, except that of Northumberland, which found means to preſerve it's independence.

At the death of Crida, King of Mercia, he had ſeized on that kingdom, and evinced an ambition to render himſelf abſolute monarch of the whole iſland: but the Saxon princes, juſtly alarmed at this daring uſurpation, were rouzed from their lethargy, and proceeded to take proper meaſures to prevent his farther encroachments. Apprehenſive, however, that a league would be formed againſt him ſimilar to that by which he had been enabled to thwart the projects of Ceaulin, he had the prudence to reſign the crown of Mercia to Webba, ſon of Crida, who was the lawful heir. Contented with this appearance of moderation, the princes immediately diſarmed; pleaſed with ſo favourable an opportunity of declining a conteſt which neceſſity, not inclination, had urged them to undertake.

The moſt memorable event which diſtinguiſhed this reign was the introduction of the Chriſtian religion among the Anglo Saxons, by the converſion of Ethelbert. During the life of his father, he had married Bertha, the only daughter of Caribert, King of Paris; who, previous to her marriage, had obliged him to ſtipulate that ſhe ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of her religion. In conſequence of this ſtipulation, Bertha brought over Luidhard, a French biſhop, to the court of Canterbury, who publicly performed all the rites of the Chriſtian worſhip, in a ſmall church without the walls of the city. The exemplary conduct and perſuaſive eloquence of this primitive prelate, joined to thoſe arts of inſinuation and addreſs which the ardent zeal of Bertha for the propagation of her religion had induced her to exert, operated the converſion of Ethelbert, and paved the way for the reception of the Chriſtian doctrine throughout the iſland.

The marriage of Ethelbert with Bertha produced a connection between his ſubjects and the French, Italians, and other nations on the continent, which tended to reclaim them from that groſs ignorance and barbarity in which all the Saxon tribes had been hitherto involved.

By the advice of the wiſeſt men in his dominions, Ethelbert ordered a body of laws to be digeſted and publiſhed; which were the firſt written laws promulgated by any of the northern conquerors.

After the death of Bertha, by whom he had two children—Eadbald, who ſucceeded him on the throne; and Ethelburga, married to Edwin, King of Northumberland—he took a ſecond wife, whoſe name is unknown.

Ethelbert died in 616; having reigned fifty years over the kingdom of Kent.

Eadbald is repreſented as a profligate prince, who was more ſtudious to promote the gratification of his paſſions than the cauſe of religion, or the welfare of his ſubjects. Seduced by a marriage with his mother-in-law, he renounced Chriſtianity, by whoſe laws ſuch inceſtous alliances were prohibited, and relapſed, with his whole people, into paganiſm: but he was afterwards reformed by the pious admonitions of Laurentius, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who perſuaded him to part with his wife, and paſs the remainder of his days in acts of penance and devotion.

The other Saxon princes took advantage of the weakneſs of Eadbald to reſcue themſelves from that ſtate of ſubjection to which his father had reduced them; and as the former part of his reign was devoted to the purſuits of pleaſure, and the latter to the duties of religion, he could find no time to enforce his authority.

Eadbald died in 640, after a reign of twenty-five years; leaving two ſons, Erminfrid and Ercombert.

Ercombert,

Ercombert, though the younger ſon, by Emma, a French princeſs, aſcended the throne, to the prejudice of his elder brother, who ſubmitted to this appointment of his father, on condition that his children ſhould ſucceed to the kingdom at the death of Ercombert: but this reſtitution, though ſolemnly promiſed, was never made.

Ercombert is highly praiſed by Bede for eſtabliſhing the faſt of Lent throughout his kingdom: as well as for the utter extirpation of idolatry; which, notwithſtanding the prevalence of Chriſtianity, had met with toleration from the two preceding monarchs. This extirpation he effected by the total demolition of the heathen temples, and the deſtruction of the idols.

He died in 664, leaving two ſons, Egbert and Lothaire; and two daughters, Ermenilda, wife of Wulphere, King of Mercia; and another, who was a nun.

Egbert ſucceeded his father, and began his reign by an act of ſignal barbarity; cauſing the two ſons of Erminfrid, his uncle, to be put to death, that he might thereby ſecure to himſelf the quiet poſſeſſion of a throne to which he knew his couſins were the legitimate heirs.

This monarch was celebrated for his encouragement of learning; and is greatly commended, by the eccleſiaſtical writers, for having beſtowed on his ſiſter Donmona certain lands in the Iſle of Thanet, on which ſhe founded a monaſtery. In theſe times, probably, when a rage for monaſtic endowments began to prevail, ſuch a donation was ſufficient, in the ſcale of ſuperſtition, to balance the crime of aſſaſſination, if not to procure a general remiſſion of paſt offences, and a promiſe of abſolution for any that might be committed in future.

Egbert died in 673, and left two ſons, Edric and Widred.

Lothaire, the brother of Egbert, in imitation of that monarch, uſurped the crown, which was the lawful inheritance of his nephews; and, having enjoyed the fruits of his uſurpation for ten years, he admitted his ſon Richard as an aſſociate in the government, with a view to enſure the ſucceſſion to his family. But Edric having applied for aſſiſtance to Adelwalch, King of Suſſex, and being ſupported by that prince, who placed him at the head of a powerful army, he marched into the kingdom of Kent, and fought a battle with Lothaire, who was defeated and ſlain.

Richard fled into Germany; where he married the ſiſter of Boniface, Archbiſhop of Mentz, by whoſe influence he is ſaid to have obtained the crown of Suabia. His tomb is ſtill to be ſeen at Lucca, in Tuſcany, where he is ſuppoſed to have died; probably, as he was going on, or returning from, a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

The bad fortune of Lothaire, who reigned only eleven years, is aſcribed, by William of Malmeſbury, to his concurrence in the murder of his couſins, and his contempt for reliques.

Edric, who ſucceeded his uncle, reigned only two years; during which time his kingdom was one continued ſcene of confuſion, owing to the numerous partizans of the late king, who were ſtudious to foment diſputes, and to promote rebellion.

At Edric's death, Widred, his brother, aſcended the throne: but, the kingdom being ſtill ſhaken by internal commotions, Cedwalla, King of Weſſex, and his brother Mollo, were tempted to attack it. Theſe invaders ravaged the whole country before them, till they were defeated by the Kentiſhmen in a pitched battle, and compelled to retire.

After the battle, Mollo, with twelve of his followers, took poſſeſſion of a houſe, which they long defended with the moſt heroic valour, till their adverſaries ſet fire to the building; when he and his brave companions periſhed together in the flames.

Cedwalla, to revenge the death of his brother, ſoon after entered Kent at the head of a powerful army, committing great devaſtations, and marking his progreſs with indiſcriminate deſtruction.

The kingdom remained in a ſtate of anarchy for five years; when Widred, having purchaſed a peace of his enemies, admitted one Swabert to a ſhare in the government. Swabert lived but four years to enjoy his elevation; and Widred alſo dying, after a reign of thirty-two years, left the crown to his children.

Edbert, his eldeſt ſon, was his immediate ſucceſſor, who reigned twenty-three years in perfect tranquillity, and was ſucceeded by his brother Ethelbert.

Ethelbert aſſociated his ſon Ardulph with him in the government, whom he ſurvived. After a peaceable reign of eleven years, he died, and his crown devolved to his younger brother Aldric.

Aldric was haraſſed by perpetual attacks from the neighbouring princes. Offa, King of Mercia, allured by the proſpect of conquering Kent, which was now ſo reduced as to be almoſt incapable of defending itſelf, entered the kingdom with his army; and meeting Aldric at Otford, a battle enſued, in which the Kentiſh monarch was defeated. But the ſucceſs of Offa exciting the jealouſy of the other princes of the Heptarchy, he was prevented from improving his victory; and his attention being ſoon after called to his own dominions, which were invaded by the Britons, he was compelled to relinquiſh his projects, which tended to unite the kingdom of Kent to that of Mercia.

Alcmund, the ſon of Aldric, dying before his father, the race of Hengiſt became extinct at the deceaſe of Aldric, which happened in 794.

The ſucceſſion was diſputed by ſeveral pretenders, whoſe claims were variouſly ſupported by wealth, intereſt, or power. Edbert, ſurnamed Pren, proving the moſt potent, aſcended the throne, which he enjoyed but two years in peace; at the expiration of which his kingdom was invaded by Cenulph, King of Mercia. Edbert-Pren was vanquiſhed and taken priſoner; and Cenulph, having conveyed him into Mercia, ordered his eyes to be put out, and placed Cudred on the throne of Kent.

This tributary prince reigned eight years as vaſſal to the Mercian monarch, who permitted his ſon Baldred to ſucceed him, in the year 805.

Baldred, after a troubleſome reign, was dethroned by Egbert, King of Weſſex, who diſſolved the Saxon Heptarchy, by uniting the kingdoms of which it was compoſed under his own domination.

THE KINGDOM OF SUSSEX.

Sussex was the ſmalleſt kingdom of the Heptarchy, it's length not exceeding fifty miles, nor it's breadth forty. The capital was Chicheſter, built by Ciſſa, ſon of Œlla, the founder of the monarchy. Œlla died in 514, and left the crown to Ciſſa, whoſe reign is only remarkable for the length of it's duration. Though trained to arms under his martial father, he preferred the character of a pacific prince to that of an intrepid warrior; and, rather than diſturb the tranquillity of his kingdom, ſuffered it to become dependent on Cerdic, King of Weſſex, to whom he ſubmitted to pay an annual tribute.

Ciſſa dying without iſſue, after a reign of ſeventy-ſix years, his kingdom was invaded, and his throne uſurped, by Ceaulin, King of Weſſex, from whom it deſcended to his nephew Ceolric.

The South Saxons, however, did not tamely ſubmit to the yoke, but made repeated efforts to recover their independence. They revolted againſt Ceolwolf, who ſoon reduced them to obedience: but in 648, during the exile of Cenwal, King of Weſſex, they actually inveſted Adelwalch with the regal authority; and the kingdom of Weſſex was ſo weakened by the invaſion of Penda, that Cenwal, after his reſtoration, was compelled to leave Adelwalch in quiet poſſeſſion of the throne of Suſſex. Wulphere, King of Mercia, however, having attacked and defeated Cenwal, advanced into Suſſex, made Adelwalch priſoner, and took poſſeſſion of his kingdom.

Adelwalch being afterwards converted to Chriſtianity by Wulphere, was releaſed from captivity; preſented with the Iſle of Wight, which Wulphere had ſubdued; and, at the death of that monarch, reſtored to the throne of Suſſex, which he enjoyed in peace, till his dominions were again invaded by Ceadwalla, a Weſt Saxon prince, whoſe incurſions he haſtened to repreſs; and a battle enſuing, Adelwalch was defeated and ſlain.

Ceadwalla was prevented from taking poſſeſſion of the kingdom by the exertions of Authun and Burthun, who are ſaid by ſome to have been the ſons of Adelwalch; by others, only his generals. Burthun was ſoon after ſlain in battle; but Authun continued his oppoſition to the encroachments of the Weſt Saxon monarch.

All attempts, however, to preſerve the independence of the kingdom, in the end, proved fruitleſs. It was finally ſubdued by the Weſt Saxons; and it's reduction was the firſt ſtep which they made towards the acquiſition of the ſole monarchy of England.

THE KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Ethelfred, King of Bernicia, by his marriage with Acca, the daughter of Œlla, King of Deira, and the expulſion of her infant brother Edwin, had united the two kingdoms into one monarchy, and acquired a conſiderable influence in the Heptarchy. Urged by ambition to an extenſion of his territories, he engaged in a war with the Scots and Picts, and obtained a ſignal victory over Aidan, King of Scots, in the year 603. His arms being next employed againſt the Britons, he advanced with his army to beſiege Cheſter, which was then in their poſſeſſion. The Britons marched out with all their forces to engage him, and were attended by twelve hundred and fifty monks from the monaſtery of Bangor, who were placed at a ſmall diſtance from the field of battle, to inſpire the troops with confidence, by offering up prayers for their ſucceſs.

Ethelfred's firſt attack was directed againſt this body of ſpiritual adverſaries, twelve hundred of whom were put to the ſword; and the army, being ſtruck with conſternation and diſmay by the ſlaughter of their holy protectors, made but a feeble reſiſtance, and were totally defeated.

By this victory, the city of Cheſter and the adjacent country fell under the domination of the conqueror; who, purſuing his advantage, took Bangor, and reduced the monaſtery to ruins.

So extenſive was this celebrated convent, that the diſtance from one gate of it to another is ſaid to have been a mile: and it contained two thouſand one hundred monks; who, according to Bede and Malmſbury, maintained themſelves by their own labour.

While Ethelfred was thus gratifying his ambition in the purſuit of conqueſt; and, by freſh acquiſitions of power and poſſeſſions was increaſing his influence, and rendering himſelf an object of terror to his enemies; the unfortunate Edwin was wandering from court to court in queſt of ſuch aſſiſtance as might enable him to recover his lawful inheritance. Some friends of his deceaſed father had removed him, in his infancy, to the court of Cadvan, King of North Wales, who received him with hoſpitality, and took care of his education, till a diſpute with Cadwallon, the ſon of Cadvan, compelled him to retire from the territories of that monarch.

The court of Ceorl, King of Mercia, next afforded him an aſylum from the machinations of Ethelfred. Here he remained ſeveral years ſecure from danger, though not free from apprehenſion; and married Quoenburga, daughter of the Mercian prince, by whom he had two ſons, Oſfred and Eodfred.

The perſecutions of Ethelfred, however, increaſing with his fears, which by this time had riſen to ſuch a height as to embitter his moments of reflection and ſolitude, and to deprive him of thoſe enjoyments which the gratification of his ambitious projects ſeemed to enſure, Edwin judged himſelf unſafe even in the court of his father-in-law, and fled to Redwald, King of Eaſt Anglia; who, ſtruck with his gallant deportment and winning manners, ſympathized in his misfortunes, and promiſed him effectual protection. But he had not long enjoyed the comforts of a ſafe retreat, when Ethelfred diſpatched an ambaſſador to Redwald, to tempt him, by offers of magnificent preſents, to deliver up his princely gueſt, and to menace him with an inſtant declaration of war in caſe of a refuſal.

Redwald, allured by the bribe, and intimidated by the threats of the Northumbrian monarch, wavered for ſome time between Intereſt and Honour, and retained the ambaſſador till the conteſt between thoſe common and inveterate adverſaries ſhould come

come to a deciſion. Edwin, though informed by a friend of the diſpoſition of the king's mind, reſolved to wait the event with calmneſs and fortitude; thinking that, if Redwald ſhould withdraw his protection, death would be preferable to a life continually expoſed to the perſecutions of ſuch a reſtleſs and powerful enemy.

This was a fortunate reſolution: for the queen, to whom Redwald had imparted his thoughts on the ſubject, was induced to eſpouſe his cauſe; and ſhe repreſented to Redwald, with ſuch ſtrength and energy of language, the infamy of violating, from motives of intereſt or fear of danger, the ſacred rights of hoſpitality, as not only produced immediate conviction, and made him reſolve to diſmiſs the ambaſſador with a peremptory refuſal, but impelled him to enforce the claims of Edwin with warmth and effect. Accordingly, he aſſembled his army with ſecrecy and expedition, and marched into the dominions of Ethelfred, whom he hoped to ſurprize before he ſhould be prepared to receive him.

Ethelfred, aſtoniſhed at this unexpected attack, collected a ſmall army with precipitation; and truſting to Fortune, whoſe frowns he had never experienced, marched to the banks of the River Idle, in Nottinghamſhire, where he met Redwald.

Redwald had drawn up his army in three diviſions; the firſt of which was commanded by his eldeſt ſon Rainer; the ſecond by himſelf; and the third by Edwin. Rainer's diviſion was firſt attacked; and it's commander being ſlain by Ethelfred, it gave way, and was routed with great ſlaughter.

Redwald, enraged at the loſs of his ſon, advanced with his diviſion, and made a furious attack on the enemy. Ethelfred ſuſtained it with firmneſs and reſolution; and, determined to preſerve the glory he had acquired in former wars, performed prodigies of perſonal valour: but Redwald being well ſupported by the gallant Edwin; who, inſpired by the idea that all his hopes of future greatneſs depended on the fate of that important day, was urged to uncommon exertions; the Northumbrians were compelled to yield, Ethelfred was ſlain, and his army cut in pieces.

So compleat was the victory, that Redwald met with no farther oppoſition to his progreſs; and, the ſons of the uſurper having fled into Scotland, he took quiet poſſeſſion of Northumberland, and eſtabliſhed Edwin on the throne, in the year 617.

Edwin, who had received his education in the ſchool of Adverſity, became the greateſt prince of the age. He enacted many wiſe laws and wholeſome regulations, by which the civilization of his ſubjects was promoted, and the ſtrict execution of juſtice enforced.

The native ferocity of the Northumbrians, which the martial diſpoſition of their late monarch had ſerved to increaſe, was now tempered into ſocial benevolence; and it is remarked by Bede, that during the reign of Edwin, a woman or a child might carry a purſe of gold expoſed to public view, without danger of violence, or fear of robbery. He ſoon obtained an influence in the Heptarchy, which excited the jealouſy of Quicelm, King of Weſſex, who reſolved to deprive him of his ſuperiority; but being reſtrained, by the power and gallantry of Edwin, from an open declaration of war, that perfidious monarch determined to accompliſh his purpoſe by treachery.

In the year 626, Quicelm ſent Eumer to the court of Northumberland; who having, in the quality of ambaſſador, gained admittance to Edwin, at the palace of Aldby, on the banks of the Derwent, drew a poiſoned dagger from beneath his robe, and aimed a blow at the monarch's breaſt: which was prevented from taking the deſired effect by the affectionate heroiſm of Lilla, one of the king's domeſtics; who, ſeeing the danger to which his maſter was expoſed, and having no means of defence, intercepted the blow with his body, and fell dead at the foot of the throne. The treacherous aſſaſſin was ſoon diſpatched by the attendants; though not till he had ſlain another of the king's ſervants, named Frodheri. Edwin, juſtly incenſed at the baſeneſs of Quicelm, marched an army into Weſſex, and laid waſte his territories.

Redwald having loſt his life, in conſequence of a conſpiracy formed againſt him by his ſubjects, the Eaſt Angles offered the throne to Edwin, of whoſe courage and abilities they had experienced ſuch repeated proofs: but Edwin, who ever retained a due ſenſe of gratitude to his benefactor, rejected their offer, and compelled them to inveſt Earpwold, the ſon of Redwald, with the ſovereign authority.

Edwin having buried his wife Quoenburga, after his acceſſion to the crown, married Ethelberga, daughter of Ethelbert, King of Kent, a princeſs diſtinguiſhed for her merit and piety. Before ſhe would conſent to eſpouſe a pagan, ſhe inſiſted on a ſtipulation that ſhe ſhould be allowed the free exerciſe of her religion; and that Paulinus, a prelate of great learning, might be permitted to accompany her to Northumberland.

It will readily be ſuppoſed, that a queen of this pious diſpoſition would not fail to exert her utmoſt efforts for the converſion of her huſband. No arguments which the force of conviction could ſuggeſt were left unemployed; and the endeavours of Ethelberga were powerfully ſeconded by the eloquence of Paulinus: but Edwin was poſſeſſed of too much wiſdom to forego the religion of his anceſtors without due conſideration; and his mind was too ſtrong to become a convert to importunity. Open to conviction, he liſtened with patience to the arguments of Paulinus; raiſed objections which the prelate removed, and difficulties which he expounded; and, after a candid inveſtigation, he deliberately weighed the reſult of his enquiries in the ſcale of impartial reaſon, and became a convert to Chriſtianity. His ſubjects, awed by the influence and authority of a monarch whom they feared and reſpected, ſoon followed his example. But the propagation of the Chriſtian doctrine in Northumberland was greatly aſſiſted by the converſion of Coifi, the high-prieſt, after a public conference with Paulinus. This new convert, anxious to make atonement for his paſt idolatry, was the firſt to devote to deſtruction thoſe very idols which had been the objects of his former adoration.

All the enterprizes of Edwin had hitherto met

with ſucceſs: he had thwarted the projects of his enemies, ſecured to his ſubjects thoſe enjoyments which reſult from the eſtabliſhment of peace and good order, and remained in quiet poſſeſſion of that ſuperiority and influence over his cotemporaries which he had acquired by his conduct and talents.

Penda, King of Mercia, as ſanguinary and tyrannical a monarch as ever diſgraced royalty, viewed the aggrandizement of Edwin with an eye of envious jealouſy, and reſolved to chaſtiſe him for daring to poſſeſs abilities of which he was himſelf deſtitute. For this purpoſe he formed an alliance with Cadwallon, Prince of North Wales, who had not forgotten his quarrel with Edwin in their youthful days. Theſe princes having effected a junction of their forces, marched towards Northumberland with a powerful army: and had advanced as far as Hatfield, in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, when they were met by Edwin; who, being apprized of their intentions, had prepared to receive them.

The engagement commenced with deſperate fury on both ſides; and, though the confederates had greatly the advantage in numbers, ſuch was the ſuperior capacity of Edwin, that his exertions would, in all probability, have been crowned with ſucceſs, had not an accident deprived him of that coolneſs of conduct and preſence of mind which ſo eſſentially contribute to the attainment of victory, and which he generally poſſeſſed in a very eminent degree. His ſon Oſfrid, who fought by his ſide, and gave ſtrong proofs of hereditary valour, being pierced by an arrow, fell lifeleſs at his feet. The prudence of the general was inſtantly ſunk in the feelings of the parent; and Edwin, giving way to the dictates of rage, ruſhed into the thickeſt of the enemy, wholly regardleſs whether he was followed by his ſoldiers, when he was ſpeedily ſurrounded, and fell a victim to paternal affection. With his life the day was loſt. His troops, diſmayed by the loſs of their general, made but a faint reſiſtance; and, being vigorouſly preſſed by the enemy, who gained new courage from the death of Edwin, they gave way on all ſides, and abandoned the field of battle to their brutal conquerors, who purſued with cruelty the victory they had gained by accident. The confederate princes entered the kingdom of Northumberland without farther oppoſition, laid waſte the country, and put the inhabitants to the ſword.

Thus periſhed the illuſtrious Edwin, on the 12th of October 633, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and ſeventeenth of his reign.

When Penda and Cadwallon had returned to their own dominions, Eanfred, the eldeſt ſon of Ethelfred, coming from Scotland with his brothers Oſwald and Oſwy, took poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Bernicia: and Oſric, a couſin of Edwin, uſurped the throne of Deira, to the prejudice of Edfrid, Edwin's eldeſt ſon, who fled for protection to the court of Penda; where, by order of that inhuman tyrant, he was put to death.

Theſe two monarchs, who had embraced Chriſtianity, were no ſooner ſeated on the thrones of Deira and Bernicia, than they relapſed into paganiſm, and were followed by their ſubjects; for Paulinus, who was the firſt Archbiſhop of York, and to whom they owed their converſion, had retired with Ethelberga into Kent, where that princeſs founded a monaſtery, in which ſhe ended her days. But the new kings of Northumberland did not long enjoy their dignity, being both ſlain by Cadwallon, in the year 634.

After the death of Eanfred, Oſwald his brother, having collected a ſmall but reſolute army, marched againſt Cadwallon, whom he defeated and ſlew, in the year 635, at a place called Heſenfield, now Benfield, in Northumberland.

Bede, whoſe Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory is too frequently embelliſhed by ſuperſtitious tales, attributes the ſucceſs of Oſwald in this engagement to his piety, which he evinced by erecting a croſs in the front of his army, ordering all his men to kneel to it, and to implore the aſſiſtance of Heaven, which was ſo viſible in the event of the battle, that Oſwald named the field *Heofenfelt*, or *Heaven's Field*.

By this victory, Oſwald became poſſeſſed of the two kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, which he again united in one monarchy, and ſoon reſtored it to it's former proſperity by the wiſdom and mildneſs of his government. He is repreſented as a prince of ſound underſtanding, refined by extenſive learning. His piety was great, and his charity unlimited: he reſtored the Chriſtian religion in his dominions, and the propagation of it's doctrine was his peculiar care. Daily relief was adminiſtered to the poor at the gate of his palace; and, in ſhort, nothing was neglected by Oſwald, which could ſecure the happineſs or conciliate the eſteem of his ſubjects. But the tranquillity of his reign was at length diſturbed by the reſtleſs ſpirit of Penda, King of Mercia; who, ever envious of ſuperior merit, and enraged at the ſupremacy which Oſwald; had acquired over the other princes of the Heptarchy, reſolved if poſſible to effect his deſtruction. With this intent he aſſembled his forces; and, without any previous declaration of war, began his march to Northumberland, in hopes of finding Oſwald wholly unprepared for his reception. Unfortunately, his hopes were but too well founded; for Oſwald was only apprized of his intentions in time to collect a very ſmall army, with which he advanced in great haſte to meet him, that he might prevent him from entering his dominions.

The two kings met at a place called Maſerfilth, now Oſweſtry, in Shropſhire, on the 5th of Auguſt, in the year 642; and a deſperate battle enſued, in which Oſwald loſt his life, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and eleventh of his reign.

The victory of Penda was, as uſual, followed by every act of cruelty which the ferocity of a barbarian could ſuggeſt. The body of Oſwald was ſelected from the ſlain, cut into pieces, and ſtuck on poles, which he ordered to be erected on the field of battle. When he had committed every ſpecies of devaſtation in the kingdom of Northumberland, whither he had marched after the action, he laid ſiege to Bamborough, the capital of Bernicia, then called Bebbanburgh, from Bebba, the conſort of Ida, by whom it was built. Here, however, he met

met with a repulſe as ſtrange as it was unexpected, and which is aſcribed by Bede to the never-failing prayers of Aidan, Biſhop of Holy Iſland.

Penda having experienced a vigorous reſiſtance, and deſpairing to reduce the town by dint of arms, reſolved to burn it: for this purpoſe, he collected a vaſt quantity of wood, which he placed againſt the walls; and, when the wind favoured his deſign by blowing towards the city, ſet fire to it. But when the wood was thoroughly lighted, and the flames had begun to ſpread, the wind ſuddenly changed, and blew them with great violence on the beſiegers, many of whom were burnt to death, and the reſt compelled to retire.

After the death of Oſwald, the kingdom of Northumberland was once more divided between his brother Oſwy, who ſucceeded to the throne of Bernicia; and Oſwin, the ſon of Oſric, who aſcended that of Deira.

While they were in dread of an invaſion from the furious Penda, a perfect amity ſubſiſted between theſe two monarchs; but their fears had no ſooner ſubſided, on ſeeing the Mercian king wholly occupied by other wars, than Oſwy formed the reſolution of uniting the dominions of Oſwin to his own. Oſwin, whoſe diſpoſition was better adapted to acts of devotion than to military atchievements, made repeated attempts to divert Oſwy from his purpoſe; but, finding all his efforts for the preſervation of tranquillity fruitleſs and unavailing, he was at length compelled to have recourſe to arms.

Having aſſembled his forces, he advanced to meet his enemy; but before he could come to action, ſtruck with horror at the idea of ſhedding the blood of his fellow-creatures—an inſtance of humanity which, in thoſe times of murder and conqueſt, but ſeldom occurred—he privately withdrew from his army, and repaired to the houſe of a nobleman, with the intent of retiring, as ſoon as he could with ſafety, to ſome monaſtery, where he might paſs the remainder of his days in that tranquil gloom which his mind was formed to reliſh: but he was prevented from putting his deſign in execution by the treachery of the nobleman with whom he had taken refuge, who baſely betrayed his royal gueſt into the hands of Oſwy; and that magnanimous prince, thinking that the promotion of his ambitious projects would be eſſentially favoured by his death, with heroiſm truly Saxon, ordered his unfortunate captive to be aſſaſſinated. Oſwy, however, did not reap the fruits of his villainy; for the people of Deira, juſtly dreading the government of ſuch a ſanguinary tyrant, beſtowed the crown on Edelwald, ſon of the illuſtrious Oſwald.

Some time after, the Bernician monarch, actuated by remorſe, was determined to give a faſhionable proof of his repentance, by founding the monaſtery of Ingethlingum, afterwards Yeding Priory, in Yorkſhire, on the ſpot where Oſwin was murdered.

Edelwald, knowing the diſpoſition of his uncle Oſwy, judged it expedient to liſten to propoſals of alliance from the kings of Mercia and Eaſt Anglia, who projected a combination of forces againſt Oſwy, which motives of ſelf-preſervation urged Ethelwald to favour.

Though Penda was allied to Oſwy by a double marriage between their children—Alchfred, the ſon of Oſwy, being married to Cyneburga, the daughter of Penda; and Peada, the ſon of Penda, to Alchfleda, the daughter of Oſwy—no perſuaſions could induce him to deſiſt from an invaſion of his territories. Every endeavour of Oſwy to avert the impending ſtorm proved ineffectual; all his offers of valuable preſents were diſdainfully rejected by the hoary tyrant, whoſe ferocity increaſed with age. Though now approaching his eightieth year, Penda placed himſelf at the head of a powerful army; and, accompanied by Ethelhirc, King of the Eaſt Angles, entered Northumberland, menacing the inhabitants with total extirpation.

Oſwy, perceiving that nothing but a due exertion of courage and activity could preſerve him from deſtruction, made every neceſſary preparation for a vigorous reſiſtance. He alſo made a vow to found twelve monaſteries, and to oblige one of his daughters to take the veil, if his arms ſhould prove victorious.

The two armies met, in the year 655, on the banks of a river then called Wenuaid, now Broad-Arc, which runs by Leeds, in Yorkſhire; but Edelwald, who had joined the confederate forces, reflecting that, for which ever ſide victory ſhould declare, he ſhould in all probability become a prey to the conqueror, prudently reſolved to remain a quiet ſpectator of the action, that he might the better be enabled to oppoſe the deſigns of the victor. Accordingly, when the battle commenced, he drew off his troops; which being obſerved by the Mercians and Eaſt Anglians, they thought themſelves betrayed, and no longer fought with their accuſtomed ſpirit. Oſwy and his Northumbrians, on the contrary, diſplayed proofs of the moſt deſperate valour; and, notwithſtanding the courageous efforts of the two confederate monarchs, obtained a ſignal victory. Penda and Ethelhirc were both ſlain, with thirty other chieftains, and a vaſt number of their troops.

By this important victory, Oſwy not only ſecured the poſſeſſion of his own kingdom, but obtained that of Mercia, the ſouthern part of which, beyond the Trent, he beſtowed on Peada, the ſon of Penda, who had married his daughter. But Peada being ſoon after ſlain by treachery, Oſwy governed the kingdom of Mercia for about three years by his officers; when, having incurred the hatred of the Mercians by repeated acts of ſeverity, they were expelled by a combination of the nobles; and Wulphere, the ſecond ſon of Penda, placed on the throne of Mercia, in the year 659.

At the death of Edelwald, King of Deira, Oſwy ſucceeded to his kingdom, and once more united the two monarchies; but the union was of ſhort duration, as he ſoon beſtowed the kingdom of Deira on his natural ſon Alfrid. After a reign of twenty-eight years, Oſwy died, in 670, and was buried in Whitby monaſtery, in Yorkſhire, called by the Saxons Streaneſheal, which was founded by his daughter Alchfleda.

Bede ranks Oſwy among the beſt and moſt illuſtrious princes of the Heptarchy; but this ill-merited

diſtinction

diſtinction muſt not be wondered at in an author who viewed every tranſaction through the medium of ſuperſtition, and who wrote in an age when the moſt ſanguinary murders were eſteemed rather as virtues, than as vices, when perpetrated by the founders of monaſteries.

Oſwy was ſucceeded in the kingdom of Northumberland by his ſon Egfrid, under whom Deira and Bernicia were again united; for, at the death of Oſwy, the Deiri had revolted and dethroned Alfrid, who fled into Ireland.

Egfrid is repreſented as a prince of great courage and activity. He repelled an invaſion of the Mercians, who had entered his territories, and compelled them to retire with conſiderable loſs: and, during his reign, he undertook ſeveral expeditions againſt the Iriſh, the Scots, and the Picts; but was at laſt ſlain in a battle with the latter, after enjoying the regal authority for fifteen years.

He died without iſſue, as Adelfrida his wife, who was daughter of Annas, King of Eaſt Anglia, refuſed to violate her vow of chaſtity. This princeſs is ſaid to have died a virgin, though twice married; for, previous to her marriage with Egfrid, ſhe had eſpouſed Thombert, an Engliſh nobleman, who died ſoon after. She founded a monaſtery at Ely, of which ſhe was the firſt abbeſs, and was afterwards reverenced in England by the title of St. Auldry.

Alfrid was now called from Ireland to govern the Northumbrians; and, after a reign of twenty years amidſt inceſſant alarms from the incurſions of the Scots, Picts, and Britons, who attacked him on all ſides, died in the year 705, and left the kingdom to his ſon Oſred, an infant of eight years of age.

Eadwulf, a nobleman of great ambition, reſolved to profit by the minority of Oſred; and accordingly uſurped the throne, compelling Oſred, and his guardian Brithric, to fly for ſhelter to the caſtle of Bamborough, where they were followed and beſieged by the uſurper. An obſtinate defence having protracted the ſiege to a conſiderable length, Brithric had been enabled to make applications for aſſiſtance to the friends of the deceaſed monarch; who, taking arms in favour of Oſred, obliged Eadwulf to raiſe the ſiege, and retire with precipitation: when, being cloſely purſued by Brithric at the head of the prince's adherents, he was taken priſoner, and beheaded as a traitor.

Oſred, as he advanced in years, became a profeſſed voluptuary. Impatient of obſtructions in the purſuit of pleaſure, he is ſaid to have violated all the laws of decency, and not even to have ſuffered the ſacred precepts of religion to impede the gratification of his ſenſual appetite. He converted convents into brothels; or rather regarded them as ſeraglios, whoſe inhabitants were devoted to his ſole uſe: and, when the arts of ſeduction and the ſplendor of royalty proved inſufficient, he made no ſcruple to exert violence, in order to enforce ſubmiſſion to his will.

Such is the character given of Oſred by monkiſh hiſtorians; whoſe impartiality may juſtly be queſtioned, as his enmity to monks is known to have been great. Indeed, his general contempt of the clergy proved the means of his deſtruction; for, by their influence, a ſpirit of revolt was promoted among his ſubjects, and a conſiderable party formed, at the head of which were placed Kenred and Oſric, who were deſcended from a natural ſon of Ida. Theſe formidable competitors having ſufficiently ſtrengthened their party by the acquiſition of numerous adherents, gave battle to Oſred, who was ſlain in the nineteenth year of his age and the eleventh of his reign.

He was ſucceeded by Kenred, who enjoyed the elevation but two years; when the crown devolved to Oſric, who had aſſiſted him in obtaining it.

Oſric, during a reign of eleven years, performed nothing worthy to be recorded in hiſtory. He died in 726, and bequeathed his kingdom to Ceolwulf, brother of his predeceſſor Kenred.

Ceolwulf, in the year 737, relinquiſhed the throne in favour of his couſin Eadbert, and retired to the monaſtery of Lindesfarne.

Bede, the hiſtorian, lived in this reign, and was eſteemed and patronized by Ceolwulf.

Eadbert had ſcarcely taken poſſeſſion of the throne, when his kingdom was invaded in the north by the Picts, and in the ſouth by the Mercians; who, after committing great devaſtations, returned laden with booty.

Towards the concluſion of his reign, Eadbert formed a treaty of alliance with Oengus, King of the Picts, and with their joint forces invaded the kingdom of Areclute, which was poſſeſſed by the Britons, and forced Dunbritton, the capital, to ſurrender. This country, which was formerly the Cumbrian kingdom, had been ſubdued by the Saxon monarchs of Northumberland, and united to their dominions, from which it was diſmembered by the Britons in the reign of Alfrid. It was now recovered by Eadbert, after he had defeated Deobama, the Britiſh chief, who had marched to the relief of Dunbritton.

Eadbert poſſeſſed all the requiſite talents for a great prince and an able general; his affability was dignified by firmneſs, and his valour tempered with moderation: yet, after he had triumphed over his enemies, and ſecured the eſteem and admiration of his ſubjects, ſeized with the faſhionable frenzy of the times, he abdicated his crown, and retired to a monaſtery; where he lived to ſee the ruin into which ſo imprudent an inſtance of enthuſiaſtic folly precipitated his family and kingdom.

Oſulf, the ſon of Eadbert, ſucceeded his father, and was aſſaſſinated by his own domeſtics, July 4, 759, a year after his acceſſion to the throne.

The royal dignity was now conferred by the people on Ethelwold, the ſon of Mollo; but Ethelwold not being related to the royal family, his election was productive of numerous calamities, which ended in the deſtruction of the kingdom.

When the Northumbrians had diverted the ſtream of royalty from it's natural courſe, every man, whoſe ambition led him to aſpire to regal authority, found means ſufficiently ſpecious to give a ſemblance of validity to his claims. This gave riſe to perpetual contentions, which rendered the kingdom one con-

continued

tinued ſcene of tumult and confuſion. Oſwin, a prince of the blood, attempted to dethrone Ethelwold; but was defeated and ſlain in a battle fought at Eldem, near Melroſs. Ethelwold, however, periſhed ſoon after, by the treachery of Alchred, who took poſſeſſion of the throne in 765; from which he was expelled, in 774, by Ethelred, the ſon of Ethelwold.

Ethelred, thinking to ſecure his authority by acts of ſeverity, doomed to deſtruction the leaders of that party which had ſupported his predeceſſor. He ordered three noblemen of high rank to be put to death on ſome frivolous pretext: but the machinations of his enemies acquiring freſh ſtrength from his violence and injuſtice, a revolt enſued; and the king's troops being defeated in two ſucceſſive engagements, he was compelled to quit his dominions in 779, and reſign the throne to Elfwold, the brother of Alchred.

Though Elfwold was diſtinguiſhed for his moderation and equity, ſuch a ſpirit of faction prevailed in thoſe times throughout the kingdom of Northumberland, that a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by two of his ſubjects, Oſbald and Ethelheard; but Elfwold found means to defeat their projects, and to quell the rebellion which they had excited.

The irreproachable conduct and numerous virtues of this monarch, however, could not preſerve him from the fate of many of his predeceſſors; for he was baſely aſſaſſinated by one of his own generals, in 788, and was ſucceeded by his nephew Oſred, the ſon of Alchred.

Oſred had ſcarcely compleated the firſt year of his reign, when he was depoſed and confined in a monaſtery by his ſubjects, who recalled Ethelred to the throne, which he had been compelled to relinquiſh about ten years before.

Ethelred, inſtead of profiting by his experience, began again to exhibit the moſt ſanguinary proofs of his cruel and vindictive diſpoſition. The deſigns of Eardulf, a nobleman of high rank and extenſive influence, incurring his ſuſpicion, he ordered him to be put to death; and having by fair promiſes ſeduced Elf and Elfwene, the two ſons of Elfwold, into his power, he murdered them both.

The unhappy Oſred, alſo, who had fled from the convent, and made a fruitleſs attempt to recover his dominions, ſhared the ſame fate.

To ſtrengthen that intereſt to which ſo many lives had been ſacrificed, Ethelred married Elfleda, daughter of Offa, King of Mercia: but all his precautions proved fruitleſs; for he, at laſt, met the death he ſo richly deſerved, being murdered by his own ſubjects, in the year 794, about four years after his reſtoration to the throne.

During the reign of Ethelred, the Danes made a deſcent on Northumberland, and burnt the monaſtery of Lindesfarne, or Holy Iſland. Encouraged by the ſucceſs of their firſt attempt, and allured by the riches they had acquired, theſe piratical freebooters returned the following year, and plundered the monaſtery of Tinmouth; but, being driven to their ſhips by Ethelred, and his father-in-law Offa, they put to ſea, and were overtaken by a ſtorm, in which moſt of them periſhed on the Britiſh coaſt.

Revolutions ſo ſudden and ſanguinary are ſcarcely to be paralleled in the annals of hiſtory: their conſequence was natural. The ſplendor of regal dignity being eclipſed by the dangers which attended the exerciſe of ſupreme authority, none were found raſh enough to aſpire to a crown which had proved ſo fatal to it's poſſeſſors.

After the death of Ethelred, therefore, an univerſal anarchy obtained in Northumberland; and, if we may credit William of Malmeſbury, there was a total diſſolution of government for more than thirty years; when the kingdom ſubmitted to the dominion of Egbert, King of Weſſex, who put an end to the Heptarchy.

THE KINGDOM OF EAST ANGLIA.

Uffa, the firſt King of Eaſt Anglia, died in 578; and was ſucceeded by his ſon Titel, whoſe reign was as obſcure as that of his father: but Redwald, his ſon and ſucceſſor, the gallant protector of Edwin, King of Northumberland, was diſtinguiſhed for his wiſdom and valour, which had gained him great influence in the Heptarchy. He loſt his life, by a conſpiracy of his own ſubjects, in 624; and by the intereſt of Edwin, who refuſed the vacant throne, was ſucceeded by his ſon Earpwold.

Earpwold is only famous for his converſion to Chriſtianity; which probably gave offence to his pagan ſubjects, by one of whom he was aſſaſſinated in 633, after a reign of nine years.

Sigibert, half-brother to Earpwold, next aſcended the throne. He had received his education in France, where he embraced Chriſtianity, which he was anxious to propagate in his new-acquired dominions; and is alſo ſaid to have introduced learning among the Eaſt Angles. Some aſſert, that the univerſity of Cambridge was founded by this prince; but they are evidently miſtaken, as it was not founded till the reign of Edward the Elder, though it is probable that Sigibert cauſed ſome ſchools to be erected in that place. When he had eſtabliſhed the Chriſtian religion in his kingdom, in which pious work he had been greatly aſſiſted by a Burgundian prieſt, named Felix, he avoided aſſaſſination, the uſual fate of royalty in thoſe barbarous times, by retiring into a monaſtery, and reſigning the crown to his couſin Egric.

Egric, ſoon after his acceſſion, was attacked by Penda, King of Mercia; and the Eaſt Angles, repoſing but little confidence in his abilities, requeſted Sigibert to leave his retreat, and take the command of their army. After ſome reſiſtance, he yielded to their ſolicitations; and, armed with a ſimple wand, accompanied Egric to the field, where the Mercians obtained a compleat victory, and both the Eaſt Anglian princes were ſlain.

Egric was ſucceeded by Annas, nephew of Redwald, who was one of the moſt illuſtrious kings of Eaſt Anglia, and afforded protection to Cenwal, King of Weſſex, againſt Penda, the Mercian tyrant. But Penda, enraged at his kind reception of Cenwal, invaded his territories in 654, ſlew him in battle, and cut almoſt his whole army in pieces.

The crown now devolved to his brother Ethelhirc: who, finding himſelf unable to ſupport a war againſt ſo formidable an enemy as Penda, conſented to purchaſe his friendſhip with a conſiderable ſum of money; and, to ſtrengthen their alliance, accompanied him in his invaſion of Northumberland, where they were both ſlain by Oſwy.

He was ſucceeded by his brother Ethelwald; who, at his death, bequeathed the crown to Aldulf, ſon of Ethelhirc. Of theſe princes nothing more is known, than that the latter aſſiſted at the Council of Hatfield.

Elfwold, Beorna, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Ethelbert, ſucceſſively reigned over Eaſt Anglia in peace and obſcurity. The laſt of theſe princes was treacherouſly murdered by Offa, King of Mercia, in the year 792, who took poſſeſſion of his kingdom, which was thenceforth annexed to that of Mercia.

THE KINGDOM OF MERCIA.

MERCIA was the moſt conſiderable kingdom of the Heptarchy in extent, if not in power. It derived it's name from the Saxon word *Merc*, a Bound; becauſe it ſerved as a boundary to all the other kingdoms. The inhabitants of Mercia are ſometimes called, by ancient hiſtorians, *Mediterranei Angli*, or the Midland Engliſh; and ſometimes *South Humbrians*, as living ſouth of the Humber: but they are generally diſtinguiſhed by the name of Mercians.

Crida, the founder of the monarchy, died in the year 593, according to the Saxon annals; and at his death the kingdom was ſeized by Ethelbert, King of Kent, who afterwards reſtored it to his ſon Wibba.

Wibba, after a reign of nineteen years, was ſucceeded by his couſin Ceorl, who was placed on the throne by the influence of Ethelbert, to the prejudice of Penda, ſon of the deceaſed king, whoſe turbulent and ferocious diſpoſition afforded juſt grounds for apprehenſion to the Kentiſh monarch.

Ceorl reigned nine years, but performed nothing worthy of remark. As he died without iſſue, the crown of courſe devolved to Penda, who was in his fiftieth year when he aſcended the throne.

Neither time nor experience had been capable of humanizing the brutal mind of this reſtleſs tyrant: fierce and ſanguinary, war and murder formed his chief occupation and amuſement. He was engaged in continual hoſtilities with the neighbouring princes, to whom he was an object of deteſtation; while his violence and injuſtice rendered him odious to his ſubjects. He proved the deſtruction of five Chriſtian kings, whoſe religion he ſeems to have held in contempt: though it does not appear that he iſſued any prohibition againſt the exerciſe of it in his dominions; nor that he took umbrage at the conduct of his ſon Peada, who, after his marriage with a Northumbrian princeſs, embraced Chriſtianity, and brought a great number of miſſionaries into Mercia to promote the propagation of the Goſpel. At laſt, this inhuman monſter met the fate he deſerved; being ſlain in battle, in the eightieth year of his age, by Oſwy, King of Northumberland.

After the death of Penda, the kingdom was governed by Oſwy, except a ſmall part which he beſtowed on Peada; but Peada being treacherouſly ſlain, and the Mercians having emancipated themſelves from their ſubjection to Oſwy, Wulphere, brother to Peada, aſcended the throne.

The reign of this prince, who was conſtantly engaged in wars with his neighbours, was almoſt as turbulent as that of his father. But the accounts of theſe wars, which are very imperfectly related by ancient hiſtorians, being neither inſtructive nor amuſing, we ſhall only obſerve, that Wulphere, after a life of greater action than utility, died in the year 675, and bequeathed the throne to his ſon Cenred, who was deprived of his inheritance by his uncle Ethelred.

Ethelred inherited a certain portion of his father's martial diſpoſition; which evinced itſelf, ſoon after his uſurpation of the throne, in the invaſion of Kent, which kingdom he ravaged without oppoſition.

He next turned his arms againſt Egfrid, King of Northumberland, from whom he recovered Lincolnſhire, which had been taken from his predeceſſor, and whom he defeated in a bloody battle, fought on the banks of the Trent, in the year 679, in which Elfwin, the brother of Egfrid, was ſlain: but, by the mediation of Theodore, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, a peace was concluded between Egfrid and Ethelred; and the reign of the latter was perfectly tranquil till the year 697, when his wife Oſtrith was aſſaſſinated. As Ethelred took no ſteps to promote the diſcovery and puniſhment of the aſſaſſins, he afforded juſt grounds for ſuſpicion that he was acceſſary to the murder.

Be that as it may, after a proſperous reign of thirty years, he reſigned the crown to his nephew Cenred, and became a monk in the monaſtery of Bardney, of which he was afterwards abbot.

Cenred reigned but four years: and then, following the example of his uncle, abandoned his throne; and, accompanied by Offa, King of Eſſex, another royal vagrant, made a pilgrimage to Rome, in 709. Having received the tonſure from the hands of the Pope, they both embraced the monaſtic life, and dedicated the remainder of their days to penance and devotion.

Cenred was ſucceeded in the throne of Mercia by his couſin Ceolred, ſon of Ethelred; who, far from adopting the pious reſolutions of his predeceſſors, fell into the oppoſite extreme, treating the monks with infinite contempt, and even violating the privileges of the clergy, who, in their accounts of his reign, have repaid his ſeverity with aſperſion.

Ceolred, being alarmed at the increaſing power of Ina, King of Weſſex, was induced to declare war againſt him; and a moſt deſperate action was fought between the two monarchs, in the year 715, at Wodenſburg, in Wiltſhire, in which neither could claim the victory; though both ſuffered ſo much, that a farther continuation of hoſtilities was rendered impracticable.

Ceolred did not long ſurvive this battle; but dying in 716, was ſucceeded by Ethelbald, who was the next heir to the crown.

Ethelbald was one of the moſt illuſtrious princes who ever reigned over the kingdom of Mercia; and, after

after the abdication of Ina, King of Weſſex, he was elected chief of the Anglo Saxons. This dignity appears to have originally conſiſted merely in the right of preſeance at general aſſemblies, and of commanding the forces of the Anglo Saxons when united againſt a common enemy. But Ethelbald, whoſe ambition increaſed with his conſequence, endeavoured to convert this honorary and limited privilege into real and abſolute authority.

So daring an aſſumption of power, to which he could have no poſſible claim, naturally excited the jealouſy of the other Saxon princes; and the kings of Weſſex and Northumberland engaged in a league to humble his pride and reſtrain his encroachments.

Ethelbald, apprized of their projects, marched an army into Northumberland; and, after committing great devaſtations, returned laden with plunder. But, while he was ravaging the country of his enemy, his own territories were invaded by Ethelhard, King of Weſſex, who had already defeated a detachment of his troops, commanded by his ſon Oſwald: Ethelbald, therefore, marched to oppoſe him, ſoon compelled him to retire, and afterwards took Somerton in Somerſetſhire.

He alſo maintained wars with other of the Saxon princes; and, in conjunction with Cuthred, King of Weſſex, defeated the Britons: but Cuthred, in the ſequel, becoming his rival, a war enſued between them; and the two monarchs, reſolved to ſettle their diſpute by one deciſive action, met at the head of two powerful armies, in the year 752, at Burford, where a long and deſperate battle was fought, which terminated in favour of Cuthred. At laſt, Ethelbald, after a long reign of forty-one years, was killed in battle, at Seckington, in Warwickſhire.

He was ſucceeded by Beornred, who appears to have been an uſurper; but, before he had time to enjoy the fruits of his uſurpation, he was depoſed, in 755, by a general inſurrection of the Mercians, under the conduct of Offa, nephew of Ethelbald, who was raiſed to the throne of his anceſtors by univerſal conſent.

Offa was certainly poſſeſſed of talents which, if properly directed, might have rendered his greatneſs equal to his power; but he was unfortunately more anxious to extend his authority, than to eſtabliſh his reputation; deeming the acquiſitions of war far preferable to the arts of peace, and the character of a martial prince more deſirable than that of a virtuous monarch.

Impatient to diſtinguiſh himſelf by military atchievements, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, he invaded the kingdom of Northumberland, from which he diſmembered the county of Nottingham, and annexed it to his own dominions.

Aldric, King of Kent, next felt the effects of his warlike diſpoſition. Offa marched into his kingdom; and, meeting Aldric at Otford, an engagement enſued, in which the Kentiſh monarch was vanquiſhed and ſlain.

Cynewulf, King of Weſſex, alarmed at the rapid progreſs of Offa, raiſed an army to oppoſe him; but was defeated at Benſington, in Oxfordſhire, in 775. In conſequence of this victory, Offa enlarged his dominions by the acquiſition of the two counties of Oxford and Glouceſter, which had long appertained to the kingdom of Weſſex.

The Britons, taking advantage of the diſſenſions which prevailed between two of their moſt powerful enemies, made incurſions into their territories, which proved the means of promoting a peace, and induced the two monarchs to effect a junction of their forces, the more effectually to oppoſe the common foe. The unfortunate Britons, unable to reſiſt the combined efforts of ſuch formidable adverſaries, were defeated on all ſides, and at laſt compelled to take ſhelter among the mountains of Wales, abandoning all the low countries to the conquerors.

To ſecure theſe territorial acquiſitions, Offa cauſed a ſtrong rampart to be raiſed; and a broad and deep ditch to be made, which extended from the mouth of the River Wye, on the ſouth, to the River Dee, in Flintſhire, on the north. Of theſe ſome veſtiges are ſtill viſible.

After this expedition, he admitted his ſon Egfrid to a ſhare in the government; and married his daughter Eadburga to Brithric, King of Weſſex: he likewiſe defeated a body of Daniſh pirates, who had made a deſcent on the coaſt; and eſtabliſhed that reputation for military talents which he had been ſo ſedulous to acquire. But, not ſatisfied with the important additions which he had already made to his hereditary dominions by the victorious progreſs of his arms, he reſolved to obtain a farther extenſion of territory by treachery and aſſaſſination.

Though the kings of Eaſt Anglia had long been reduced to a ſtate of dependence on the monarchs of Mercia, they were ſtill permitted to enjoy the title with many of the prerogatives of royalty.

Ethelbert, who now governed Eaſt Anglia, and was an object of univerſal eſteem, by the advice of his council, in 792, made propoſals of marriage to Althrida, the daughter of Offa; which meeting with a favourable reception, Ethelbert was invited to ſolemnize the nuptials at the court of Mercia. On his arrival, he was ſeized by Offa; and, in violation of the moſt ſacred rights of hoſpitality, treacherouſly murdered: and though Althrida, who held the cruelty of her father in abhorrence, had ſecretly warned the Eaſt Anglian nobility who had accompanied their monarch to eſcape; yet Offa, having effected the extinction of the royal family, ſucceeded in his deſigns on the kingdom, which he annexed to his own.

Feigning to be ſtruck with compunction for this inhuman deed, he ſought to make atonement for his cruelty, by practiſing all thoſe acts of external devotion which, in an age of ignorance and ſuperſtition, were well calculated to impoſe on the credulous and weak. He was ſedulous in his attention to the clergy, and beſtowed liberal donations on the church: nay, to ſuch a length did this royal hypocrite proceed in his profeſſions of remorſe, that he actually undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, that he might obtain abſolution from the Pope himſelf; who, even in thoſe days, diſtributed pardons of all prices, adapted to the ability of the purchaſer, from the prince to the peaſant. In order to ingratiate himſelf with the

ſovereign

ſovereign pontiff, Offa conſented to pay him an annual tribute for the ſupport of an Engliſh college at Rome, which had been founded by Ina, King of Weſſex, in 728; and, to raiſe the required ſum, impoſed a tax of a penny on each houſe poſſeſſed of thirty pence a year. This impoſt being afterwards extended to all England, was commonly denominated Peter's Pence, from being paid on the feſtival of St. Peter *ad Vincula*; and though at firſt merely conferred as a gift, it was afterwards demanded, in the moſt imperious manner, as a lawful tribute, and as a mark of ſubjection of the kingdom of England to the church of Rome.

Carrying his hypocriſy ſtill farther, he pretended that the place where the reliques of St. Alban, the Britiſh martyr, were depoſited, had been diſcovered to him in a viſion, in 794; and, accompanied by three biſhops, who probably favoured the impoſition, he went to take them up, and built a magnificent monaſtery on the ſpot, which he richly endowed, and which he named St. Alban's. In this monaſtery he replaced the ſacred remains, after incloſing them in a ſplendid urn adorned with gold and jewels.

Theſe acts of monkiſh piety induced William of Malmeſbury, an old Engliſh hiſtorian, who doubtleſs weighed, with prieſtly preciſion, the commiſſion of a murder againſt the erection of a monaſtery, to declare himſelf at a loſs whether to tranſmit Offa to poſterity as a virtuous or a vicious monarch.

During his reign, he erected the ſee of Litchfield into an archbiſhopric; and promulgated a body of laws, under the title of *Mercen Lage*, or Laws of the Mercians; the greateſt part of which were inſerted in the laws of Alfred, publiſhed at the end of the ſucceeding century.

Offa died, after a reign of thirty-nine years, in 794; and was ſucceeded by his ſon Egfrid, whom he had already admitted to a ſhare in the adminiſtration.

Egfrid ſurvived his father but five months; and at his death the crown devolved to Cenulph, a deſcendant of the royal family. This monarch invaded Kent; and, taking Edbert-Pren priſoner, had the barbarity to deprive that unhappy monarch of his eye-ſight, and to order his hands to be cut off.

Cenulph being afterwards ſlain in an inſurrection of the Eaſt Anglians, whoſe crown had been uſurped by Offa, left his kingdom to his ſon Kenelm, then a minor. Kenelm was murdered the ſame year by his ſiſter Quendrade, whoſe ambitious mind led her to aſpire to the throne. But her projects were thwarted by her uncle Ceolulf, who aſſumed the reins of government; which he was compelled to reſign, at the expiration of two years, to an uſurper named Bernulf.

Bernulf was ſoon after defeated by the Weſt Saxons, and killed by the Eaſt Angles. Ludican, his ſucceſſor, met the ſame fate; and Wiglaff, the laſt monarch of Mercia, was forced to ſubmit to the ſuperior power and good fortune of Egbert, the conqueror of all the Saxon kingdoms.

THE KINGDOM OF ESSEX.

Erkenwin was the founder of this kingdom; but the particulars of his reign are wholly unknown, though it was protracted to ſixty years. At his death, the crown devolved to his ſon Sleda; who was ſucceeded by Sibert, his ſon, whom his uncle Ethelbert, King of Kent, perſuaded to become a convert to the Chriſtian religion.

During the reign of this monarch, Ethelbert, as chief of the Saxon confederacy, exerciſed the privilege of ſupremacy in the dominions of his nephew, by building the church of St. Paul, in London, on the foundation of an old temple of Diana. It was conſecrated by Mellitus, who was the firſt biſhop.

Sexted and Seward, the ſons and joint ſucceſſors of Sibert, relapſed into idolatry; and, engaging in an unequal conteſt with the kings of Weſſex, were vanquiſhed and ſlain.

Sigebert the Little was the next monarch of Eſſex, of whom we know nothing but the name. He was ſucceeded by Sigebert the Good, who re-eſtabliſhed the Chriſtian religion in his dominions, by the perſuaſion of his friend Oſwy, King of Northumberland, and the aſſiſtance of Chad, a Northumbrian prieſt, who was conſecrated Biſhop of London by Finanus, Biſhop of Lindesfarne.

Sigebert having been aſſaſſinated by one of his kinſmen for refuſing to inflict a puniſhment on Chad, by whom he had been excommunicated, was ſucceeded by his brother Swithelm; who bequeathed the crown to Sebba and Siger, his joint ſucceſſors.

Siger, diſpleaſed with the Chriſtian religion for not preventing a mortality which took place among his people ſoon after his acceſſion, returned to idolatry.

Theſe princes poſſeſſed little more than the title of monarchs, being vaſſals to Wulphere, King of Mercia.

Sebba ſurvived his aſſociate; and, having kept ſole poſſeſſion of the throne for eleven years, turned monk in the year 694, and reſigned his kingdom to his ſons, Sighard and Senofrid; who, after a ſhort but tranquil reign, died about the ſame time.

They were ſucceeded by Offa, who made a pilgrimage to Rome, and embraced a monaſtic life. The crown then devolved to Selred, who was the laſt of the royal line, and reigned thirty-eight years. At his death, the kingdom became entirely dependent on the Mercian monarch, by whom Switherd was firſt inveſted with the royal dignity, and then Sigeric.

The laſt king of Eſſex was Sigered, who governed the kingdom when it was reduced to ſubmiſſion by Egbert.

THE KINGDOM OF WESSEX.

Cerdic, the founder of this monarchy, and his ſon Cynric, who was his immediate ſucceſſor, having experienced the moſt violent oppoſition in the eſtabliſhment of their kingdom from the Britons, whoſe exertions to impede their progreſs forced them to continual engagements, their ſubjects became the moſt fierce and warlike people of the Heptarchy.

Ceaulin, who ſucceeded his father Cynric in 560, poſſeſſed a ſpirit of ambition and enterprize which led him to aſpire to an extenſion of his territories at the

the expence of the neighbouring princes. Aſſiſted by his brother Cutha, he defeated Ethelbert, King of Kent, in the year 568; and, nine years after, obtained a ſignal victory over the Britons, at Durham, in Glouceſterſhire, where three of their princes, Commail, Condidan, and Farinmail, were killed. Nor were his victories unattended by profit; for they conduced to the enlargement of his kingdom, by the addition of the counties of Devon and Somerſet to his hereditary dominions.

Prompted by ambition, and encouraged by ſucceſs, he attacked all the other Saxon monarchs whoſe territories lay contiguous to his own; till, becoming an object of univerſal terror, he provoked a confederacy againſt him, which was joined by ſome of the Britons: and, meeting with the combined armies at Wodenſdike, now Wanſdike, in Wiltſhire, in the year 591, he experienced a total defeat. To render his misfortunes compleat, his ſubjects, whoſe affections were eſtranged by the violence of his temper, revolted; and, having expelled him from the throne, doomed him to perpetual baniſhment.

This reverſe of fortune being ſpeedily followed by his death, he was ſucceeded by his nephew Ceolric; who dying in 596, after a tranquil reign of five years, left his dominions to his brother Ceolwolf, a prince of an active and martial ſpirit, who was conſtantly engaged in wars with the Scots, Picts, and Saxons.

At his death, which happened in 611, Cinigeſil, his nephew, the ſon of Ceolric, ſucceeded to the throne; and ſoon after admitted his brother Quicelm an aſſociate in the government. Their reign was ſignalized by a battle in which they defeated the Britons, in 614, at Beamdune; ſuppoſed by Camden either to be Bampton, in Devonſhire; or Bindon, in Dorſetſhire.

Theſe two princes were afterwards engaged in a war with Penda, King of Mercia; of which nothing has been recorded by hiſtorians but the famous battle of Cirenceſter, which produced an immediate peace.

During this reign, the people of Weſſex were converted to Chriſtianity by Berinus, a miſſionary from Rome; and Cinigeſil himſelf, by the perſuaſions of Oſwald, King of Northumberland, who had married his daughter, and who had gained a conſiderable aſcendancy in the Heptarchy, was induced to follow the example of his ſubjects in 635; and founded an epiſcopal ſee at Dorcheſter, of which Berinus was the firſt biſhop.

His brother Quicelm did not immediately embrace the Chriſtian religion; but, being dangerouſly ill, at length received baptiſm, and died ſoon after. Cinigeſil ſurvived his brother about ſeven years; and dying in 643, was ſucceeded by his ſon Cenwal.

Cenwal, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, divorced his queen, who was ſiſter to Penda, King of Mercia, by which he incurred the indignation of that impatient monarch: who, to revenge the inſult offered to his ſiſter, invaded the dominions of Cenwal; and, having defeated him in ſeveral battles, compelled him to relinquiſh his kingdom in 645, and fly for ſhelter to the court of Annas, King of Eaſt Anglia.

Cenwal having remained in exile about three years, in which time by the admonitions of Annas he returned to Chriſtianity, whoſe doctrines he had previouſly renounced, found means to recover his kingdom, which he afterwards defended with great valour and ſucceſs during the remainder of his reign.

Cenwal obtained two ſignal victories over the Britons; one at Bradford upon Avon, in the year 652; and another at Pen, in Somerſetſhire, in 658.

He died in 672, and left the crown to his widow Sexburga, a princeſs of high ſpirit and great talents, who kept poſſeſſion of the throne till her death, which happened about twelve months after that of her huſband.

At this time the ſucceſſion was diſputed by Eſkwin, a prince of the royal family; and Kentwin, ſon of Cenwal, who reigned for about three years over different diſtricts.

Eſkwin engaged in a war with Wulphere, King of Mercia; in the courſe of which a deſperate battle was fought at Bedwin, in Wiltſhire, in the year 675, with great ſlaughter on both ſides, though the Mercian monarch remained maſter of the field. Eſkwin died the year after the battle; and Kentwin, his competitor, became the ſole monarch of Weſſex.

Kentwin obtained ſeveral victories over the Britons, whom he repelled even to the weſtern ſhore; having entered the counties of Cornwall and Somerſet, and penetrated as far as the Briſtol Channel.

After reigning nine years, he died; and was ſucceeded by Ceadwalla, a prince of the blood-royal, who was conſidered as a great and virtuous monarch in thoſe times, when courage was virtue, and ſucceſs conſtituted greatneſs; but there is not a ſingle action of his life which can tend to juſtify the character beſtowed on him by ancient hiſtorians.

Having enlarged his dominions by the entire reduction of the kingdom of Suſſex, he marched to attack the Iſle of Wight, which had been annexed to it by Adelwalch, to whom it had been preſented by Wulphere. On his approach, the governor, unable to defend it againſt ſo great a ſuperiority of numbers, was compelled to retire, and leave the inhabitants to the mercy of the conqueror; who, from an apprehenſion that they would be impatient of a yoke which he might probably intend to render burdenſome by oppreſſion, adopted the inhuman reſolution of devoting them all to deſtruction.

Theſe unhappy people being idolaters, the ſpecious fervour of religious zeal afforded a plauſive pretext for the cruelty of Ceadwalla, who cauſed great numbers of them to be barbarouſly maſſacred: ſparing only two hundred families out of the whole iſland; which, with their lands and effects, he reſerved as a preſent to Wilfred, Biſhop of Hexham; and that prelate is ſaid to have accepted the donation with a view of converting them to Chriſtianity.

Two ſons of the governor eſcaped the general maſſacre, and fled into Hampſhire, where they lay for ſome time concealed; till, being diſcovered by Ceadwalla, they were ſeized and put to death.

Though this brutal tyrant had not yet made any formal abjuration of paganiſm, he affected a warmth

of devotion to the church, on which he is even ſaid to have beſtowed a tenth part of all the ſpoils he had acquired by plunder and aſſaſſination; and to have received, in return, abſolution compleat and unconditional.

He next proceeded, without the ſmalleſt provocation, but merely from the inveterate hatred which he bore to the inhabitants, to commit great devaſtations in the kingdom of Kent; where he loſt his brother Mollo, who was burnt to death by the enemy in the year 687.

In the following year, Ceadwalla, ſtruck with remorſe for the acts of cruelty and oppreſſion which he had committed in the courſe of his wars, and being ſeized with a ſudden fit of devotion, determined to make a pilgrimage to Rome, that he might receive baptiſm from the hands of the Pope. As he travelled through France and Lombardy, he was entertained by the monarchs of thoſe countries with peculiar marks of honour and diſtinction: Cunibert, King of the Lombards, in particular, afforded him a reception which, for it's ſplendor and magnificence, has been deemed worthy of being recorded by hiſtorians. On his arrival, he was baptized by Sergius the Second, who gave him the name of Peter.

Ceadwalla is ſaid to have expreſſed a deſire that his death might ſoon follow his baptiſm: if that were really the caſe, his wiſh was complied with; for he died ſoon after his arrival, on the 20th of April 689. He was buried in St. Peter's church, where a ſuperb monument was erected to his memory.

Ina, couſin of Ceadwalla, who next ſucceeded to the throne, was indiſputably one of the beſt princes of the Saxon Heptarchy, as he not only poſſeſſed the military talents of his predeceſſor, but was endued with the more requiſite virtues of juſtice and humanity. He made war upon the Britons of Cornwall; and, having evinced his courage in the progreſs of his conqueſts, diſplayed his humanity in his conduct to the vanquiſhed, whom he allowed to retain poſſeſſion of their property; and encouraged them to form marriages with his ſubjects, for the promotion of an union which would convert his enemies into friends.

He was alſo engaged in a war with Ceolred, King of Mercia; and ſubdued the South Saxons, who had revolted, and choſen a king for themſelves, though they were vaſſals of Weſſex.

Soon after his acceſſion, he compiled a body of laws, which ſerved as a foundation to thoſe which were afterwards publiſhed by Alfred. He alſo convoked a general council of the clergy; in which it was decreed, that all the churches and monaſteries which had fallen to ruin ſhould be rebuilt, and that ſuch as were in a ſtate of decay ſhould be immediately repaired. Indeed, on every occaſion he diſplayed his munificence to the clergy, by whom he is juſtly celebrated for his pious benefactions.

The latter end of his reign was paſſed in perfect tranquillity; and, by the inſtigations of his queen Ethelburga, he made a pilgrimage to Rome in the year 728, where he founded a college for the entertainment of Engliſh pilgrims, and the reception of thoſe who ſhould repair from England to Rome for the purpoſe of ſtudying theology. For the ſupport of the college and an adjoining church, he eſtabliſhed the famous tax of Romeſcot, or Peter-Pence. After this, he returned to England to take leave of his queen, who retired to the monaſtery of Barking; and then going back to Rome, aſſumed the habit of a monk, and died in a cloiſter.

Ina, at his departure from England, left his throne to Ethelhard, brother to Ethelburga; whoſe ſucceſſion was diſputed by Oſwald, a prince of the blood, who was more nearly allied to the royal family: but Ethelhard, having vanquiſhed this competitor in a pitched battle, met with no farther moleſtation, and enjoyed the crown in peace till his death, which happened in 741, when he was ſucceeded by his kinſman Cuthred.

Cuthred, at the commencement of his reign, was engaged in a war with Ethelbald, King of Mercia: but, peace being concluded between them, they united their forces to attack the Britons of Cornwall; who, profiting by their diſputes, had invaded their territories.

In the ninth year of his reign, his ſon Cenric was ſlain in a military tumult; and, about a year after, Ethelhun, a nobleman of great ambition and determined courage, having excited a revolt in the kingdom, placed himſelf at the head of the rebels; and, advancing to give his ſovereign battle, a ſevere conteſt enſued, in which the king was victorious: but Ethelhun, during the battle, had diſplayed ſuch ſignal proofs of undaunted valour and military ſkill, that Cuthred was induced to pardon his defection, and reſtore him to favour. A rare inſtance of generoſity, which met with it's reward in the future conduct of it's object; for Cuthred, being again engaged in a war with his rival Ethelbald, obtained a compleat victory, by the extraordinary exertions of Ethelhun, at the battle of Burford.

Cuthred died ſoon after, in the year 754, and left the crown to his couſin Sigebert, who was a prince of a cruel and vicious diſpoſition; which being exemplified in frequent acts of oppreſſion, converted the eſteem of his ſubjects into hatred and diſguſt.

A nobleman, named Cumbran, being deputed by them to repreſent their grievances to the king, and accompanying his repreſentations with ſalutary counſel, which rather proceeded from the warmth of affection than the inſolence of pride, Sigebert ordered him to be treacherouſly murdered. This provoked a rebellion in 755, when the tyrant was expelled from his throne, and baniſhed the kingdom.

Juſtly forſaken by all the world, he was compelled to take ſhelter in the foreſt of Anderida; where he was met by a ſwineherd, attached to the late Count Cumbran, who, in revenge for the murder of his lord, immediately ſlew him.

Cynewulf, a prince of the royal family, who had greatly contributed to the expulſion of Sigebert, took poſſeſſion of the throne, and became famous for the many victories he obtained over the Britons; though the luſtre of his military fame was ſomewhat tarniſhed by a defeat which he ſuſtained from Offa, King of Mercia.

Cynewulf,

Cynewulf, too, was kept in a ſtate of alarm and apprehenſion by the pretenſions of Cyneheard, brother to his predeceſſor Sigebert, who claimed a right to the throne; and, though expelled from the kingdom, hovered on the frontiers, with many adherents of deſperate fortune, watching a favourable opportunity to enforce his claims

The king had an intrigue with a lady who lived at Merton in Surrey; and having paid her a private viſit ſlightly attended, the houſe in which ſhe reſided was ſurrounded and attacked in the night by Cyneheard and his followers: when Ethelwulf, with his few attendants, after making a vigorous reſiſtance, were overpowered by numbers, and all put to death. But Cyneheard was not ſuffered to enjoy the fruits of his villainy; for the nobility and people being informed of the king's death, took up arms, and put every one to the ſword who had been concerned in that criminal enterprize. Having revenged the murder of their king, and performed his funeral obſequies at Winchester, they raiſed Brithric, a prince of the blood-royal, to the vacant throne.

Brithric, with a mind formed for the enjoyment of tranquil ſcenes, was more anxious to reap diſtinction from his encouragement of the beneficent arts of peace, and conſequent happineſs of his ſubjects, than to acquire glory, more ſpecious than ſolid, from military atchievements: yet his tranquillity was diſturbed by the popularity of Egbert, whoſe winning manners, and amiable diſpoſition, had effectually ſecured the affections of the people. Egbert's birth, too, afforded him juſt grounds for jealouſy; for he was lineally deſcended from Ingeld, brother to King Ina, and had conſequently a title to the crown preferable to that of Brithric.

Egbert, aware of the danger of his ſituation, wiſely concluded that evil conſequences were more eaſily prevented than remedied; and accordingly reſolved to ſecure his ſafety by timely flight. This ſagacious reſolution was no ſooner adopted than executed; and he privately withdrew from his native country, to take ſhelter in the court of Charlemagne, from whom he met with a reception that enſured him effectual protection.

In the moſt poliſhed court of the age, Egbert could not fail to acquire thoſe accompliſhments which are adapted to ſecure eſteem; and, in the armies of a prince ſo highly renowned for military ſkill as the great Charlemagne, his natural talents muſt neceſſarily have been matured by cultivation, and improved by experience. Thus, by the benevolent wiſdom of Providence, is every misfortune productive of utility! Egbert in exile laid the foundation of his future greatneſs, and acquired the means of obtaining it.

Brithric, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of his throne, had married Eadburga, the daughter of Offa, King of Mercia, who at that period was the moſt powerful monarch in Britain: but the permanence of his dignity was more effectually eſtabliſhed by the juſtice and moderation of his government, than by any alliance he could poſſibly contract, however potent or formidable: for, where mildneſs and equity, diſplayed in the adminiſtration of public affairs, evince in the monarch an earneſt deſire to promote the welfare and felicity of his ſubjects, his beſt confidence for ſecurity muſt ariſe from the eſteem of the people; but, where theſe eſſential objects are wholly neglected, or partially adminiſtered, ſubmiſſion can only be obtained by force, and preſerved by oppreſſion. In the firſt caſe, the intereſts of king and people are congenial, and rely on each other for mutual ſupport; but in the laſt, where obedience proceeds from coercion, they are diametrically oppoſite, and the preſervation of the one depends on the deſtruction of the other.

Eadburga was a woman whoſe diſpoſition to cruelty and incontinence rendered her an object of univerſal hatred. Vindictive and perfidious, whenever her reſentment was excited, no means, however deſperate, were neglected for the accompliſhment of revenge.

A young nobleman, by the acquiſition of her huſband's eſteem, had incurred the animoſity of this implacable fury, who inſtantly reſolved on his death; and, having prepared a cup of poiſon for the execution of her projects, placed it on a table at which the king and his favourite were ſeated; but, after the object of her indignation had drank, Brithric unfortunately taſted it, and expired with his friend.

Eadburga fled to France, where ſhe ended her days; and the Weſt Saxons viewed her crime with ſuch indignant horror, that they immediately enacted a law to prohibit the wives of their future monarchs from aſſuming the title of queen, and from ſitting on the throne with their huſbands: and, leſt their kings ſhould be induced to a diſpenſation of the law from affection to their wives, it was farther enacted, that ſuch diſpenſation ſhould be conſidered as an actual abdication of the throne; that the king ſhould conſequently be deprived of his royalty, and the people abſolved from their oaths of allegiance. Their next care was to recall Egbert from exile, and to place him on the throne of his anceſtors, which he aſcended in the firſt year of the ninth century.

We have already ſeen that, in the different kingdoms of the Heptarchy, a deviation from the regular line of hereditary ſucceſſion had been frequently adopted: remote branches of the royal families were ſometimes preferred to the lawful heirs; and pretenders to royalty, whoſe claims were only founded in ambition and ſupported by power, often roſe from a ſtate of ſubjection to the poſſeſſion of ſovereign authority. When the regal dignity was thus found to be attainable by ſubjects, the firſt care of him who aſpired to enjoy it was to remove the moſt effectual bar to his hopes, by deſtroying the princes of the blood. Hence thoſe aſſaſſinations and conſpiracies with which the Saxon annals abound: and from this cauſe, together with the prevailing influence of bigotry which ſuperinduced the adoption of monachiſm, and even led the married monarch to obſerve the chaſtity of a monk, proceeded the extinction of the royal families which had taken place in all the kingdoms but that of Weſſex.

Thus Egbert remained the ſole deſcendant of the firſt Saxon monarchs; a circumſtance which probably

bably facilitated the extenſion of his conqueſts, by ſecretly diſpoſing the minds of the people to ſubmiſſion.

At his acceſſion to the throne of Weſſex, the other kingdoms were in a ſtate of confuſion or dependence. Suſſex had been previouſly annexed to Weſſex, and Eaſt Anglia to Mercia: Kent and Eſſex were alſo tributary to the Mercian monarch, whoſe kingdom, though naturally powerful, was conſiderably weakened by internal commotions and conteſts for the ſucceſſion. Northumberland, too, the next in power and ſtrength, was in a ſtate of anarchy.

England being in this ſituation, a fair proſpect was offered to the ambition of Egbert, whoſe ſuperior talents had full ſcope for exertion. It is probable, that during his reſidence in the court of Charlemagne, he had formed the deſign of uniting the various kingdoms of the Heptarchy; and the whole tenour of his ſubſequent conduct was adapted by ſure though ſlow degrees to enforce the execution of his plan. He fully diſplayed his wiſdom and policy, by devoting the commencement of his reign to the laudable occupation of ſecuring the affections of his ſubjects by attempts to promote their felicity.

Having effected this important object, on which he knew the ſucceſs of his ſchemes muſt eſſentially depend, he led them againſt the Britons of Cornwall and Devon; whom, after ſeveral engagements, he reduced to entire ſubjection.

The Britons of Wales eſpouſing the cauſe of their brethren, afforded Egbert a ſpecious pretext for invading their territories; and, in the courſe of a war that continued for ſeveral years, and during which he defeated them in many pitched battles, laying waſte their country with fire and ſword, his ſubjects became inured to military toil, and conſequently better able to afford him aſſiſtance in the purſuit of his favourite project.

His ſucceſs againſt the Britons having excited the jealouſy of Bernulf, who had lately uſurped the throne of Mercia, and began to entertain apprehenſions for his own ſafety; that prince was induced to an invaſion of Weſſex, which he entered with a formidable army in the year 823.

Egbert immediately marched to oppoſe the invader; and, meeting him at Ellendun, now Wilton, a battle enſued, in which the conduct and courage of Egbert prevailed, after a moſt obſtinate conteſt, and the Mercians were defeated with immenſe ſlaughter.

This deciſive victory gave a fatal ſtab to the power of the Mercians, which no future exertions could enable them to retrieve, and which rendered their ſubſequent efforts to repreſs the conqueſts of Egbert inefficient and futile.

After the battle, Egbert entered the dominions of Bernulf, and detached his ſon Ethelwolf to attack Baldred, King of Kent, who was tributary to the Mercian monarch. Baldred, wholly unprepared to reſiſt an invaſion, preſſed Bernulf to march to his aſſiſtance; but the defeat he had lately ſuſtained effectually diſabled him from bringing an army ſo ſoon to the field: and Egbert had poſted himſelf in ſuch a ſituation, that there was no poſſibility of relieving Baldred without coming to an action with him. Baldred, therefore, was compelled to fly, and leave his kingdom to Ethelwolf, who ſoon acquired the full poſſeſſion of it.

Eſſex was conquered with the ſame facility: and the inhabitants of Eaſt Anglia, diſguſted with the Mercian yoke, which they had long borne with impatience, were eager to ſue for the protection of Egbert, whoſe aſſiſtance they earneſtly craved, to liberate them from the power of their oppreſſors.

Bernulf no ſooner heard of the revolt of the Eaſt Angles, than he marched with his army to reduce them to obedience; but was defeated and ſlain in the attempt.

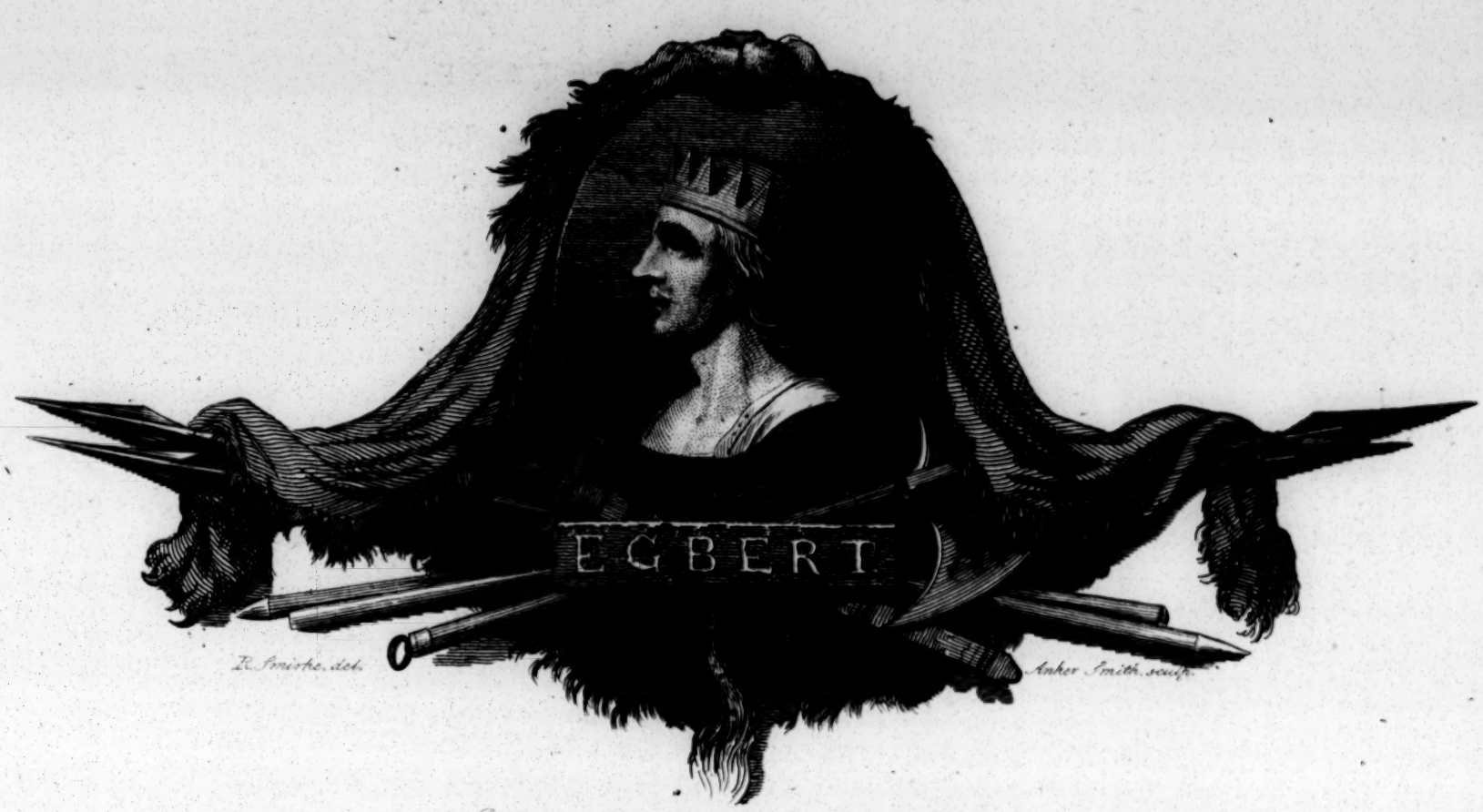
His ſucceſſor, Ludican, experienced the ſame fate: and Wiglaf, whom the Mercians raiſed to the throne at the death of Ludican, was ſoon compelled to abandon his kingdom, and retire for ſafety to the abbey of Croyland; from whence he was afterwards recalled by Egbert, who reſtored him to the throne, and to the title of King; but ſubject to his command, and to a tribute which he annually exacted from him. This was done with a view to engage the Mercians to a more ready ſubmiſſion, and to amuſe them with the ſhadow of independence, as a trifling recompence for the ſubſtance of which he had deſpoiled them.

The kingdom of Northumberland was now the ſole obſtruction to the completion of his conqueſts; and, having ſecured the tranquillity of thoſe ſtates which he had already ſubdued, he marched to reduce it.

This kingdom having been long a prey to internal commotions, had neither ability nor inclination to reſiſt the attacks of ſo powerful an invader. Eager to poſſeſs ſome ſettled form of government, at the firſt news of his approach, the Northumbrians ſent deputies to meet him at Dore, in Yorkſhire, where they ſubmitted to his authority; and, in the name of the whole kingdom, acknowledged him for their ſovereign.

Thus were all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, by the wiſdom and courage of Egbert, united under one monarch, in the year 827, three hundred and ſeventy-eight years after the firſt arrival of the Saxons in Britain.

Egbert, to give his authority the ſanction of form, ſummoned a general aſſembly of the nobility and clergy to meet at Wincheſter; where he underwent the ceremony of coronation, at which he aſſumed the title of King of England; and his dominions, in conſequence of an edict which he iſſued for the abolition of all diſtinctions among the different ſtates, by giving them one common appellation, were from that time always denominated England.



Publiſhed as the Act directs. by Harrison & Co. July 21. 1788.

EGBERT;

THE FIRST KING OF ENGLAND.

BY the diſſolution of the Heptarchy, the inhabitants of England, being reſcued from the capricious and oppreſſive domination of their numerous tyrants, acquired a ſettled form of government under the command of one monarch, whoſe talents and diſpoſition ſeemed to promiſe tranquillity and happineſs.

The people, long haraſſed by internal commotions, enjoyed the pleaſing proſpect of peace which now preſented itſelf to their view; and their own chearful ſubmiſſion, with the acquiſition of ſtrength which reſulted from their union, afforded juſt grounds for belief that their repoſe would not ſuffer interruption either from domeſtic broils or foreign invaſion. But this confidence, though well-founded, proved fallacious: for, in 832, the Danes began again to infeſt the Britiſh coaſts; and, landing on the Iſle of Shepey, plundered the inhabitants, and returned to their ſhips with the ſpoils without experiencing the ſmalleſt oppoſition.

As the Danes are deſtined to make ſo conſpicuous a figure in this period of our Hiſtory, it may be neceſſary to give ſome account of their origin.

Scandinavia, ſituated in the north of Europe, contained a tract of land about twelve hundred miles in length from north to ſouth, and about four hundred in breadth from eaſt to weſt. It was alſo called Baltia; whence the neighbouring ſea received the denomination of the Baltic. If credit is to be given to the Northern hiſtorians reſpecting the antiquity of their early anceſtors, this country was peopled, ſoon after the Deluge, by the Goths and Suevi, two branches of the ſame nation, who laid the foundation of two powerful kingdoms; from which, they pretend, ſprang thoſe numerous ſwarms of barbarians which over-run the reſt of Europe after the decline of the Roman Empire.

In the reign of Eric, the ſixth king of the Goths, the population of Gothland had increaſed to ſuch an exceſſive degree, that the country, which was far from fertile, proved greatly inadequate to the ſupport of it's inhabitants. To remedy this inconvenience, which was daily augmenting, Eric was compelled to ſend numbers of his ſubjects to people the neighbouring iſles. Theſe colonies afterwards took poſſeſſion of that peninſula formerly diſtinguiſhed by the name of Cimbrica Cherſoneſus; bounded by the River Elbe on the ſouth, by the German Ocean on the weſt, and by the Baltic Sea on the north and eaſt: but they acknowledged the ſovereignty of the kings of Gothland for more than ſeven centuries. Their independence was firſt eſtabliſhed by Humel, the ſixteenth king of the Goths, who placed them under the dominion of his ſon Dan, from whom Denmark received it's name.

It is likewiſe ſuppoſed that Norway was firſt peopled by emigrants from Gothland, as it was long tributary to the Gothic monarchs: but in proceſs of time, and after numerous revolutions, it became ſubject to the government of independent magiſtrates, who preſerved their ſupremacy till the latter end of the ninth century, when the monarchical form of government was eſtabliſhed.

The Danes and Norwegians being thus formed into ſeparate nations, became ſufficiently powerful to make war againſt the Swedes and Goths, to whom they owed their proweſs: and, their country abounding in every material for ſhip-building, they were ſoon enabled to equip a formidable fleet, and acquire a decided ſuperiority, in point of naval force, over all the neighbouring powers. When their veſſels were not employed againſt their enemies, the poverty of their ſoil, and increaſe of population, forming ſtrong temptations to piracy, they ſailed in

ſearch of plunder. For a century and a half the ſea was covered with Daniſh pirates; and the aſſiſtance which they afforded the Saxons, in the reign of Charlemagne, repreſſed for a time the conqueſts of that emperor.

Theſe people being afterwards joined by numbers of Saxon emigrants, whom the religious cruelty of Charlemagne had compelled to fly from Germany, experienced the ſame inconvenience which the Goths and Suevi had formerly incurred from an exceſs of population. To remedy this, they had recourſe to piratical expeditions; and, under a pretence of ſearching for new habitations, exerciſed their depredations on all the countries that were expoſed to their attacks.

The riches acquired by the firſt adventurers, induced others to follow their example; and aſſociations were accordingly formed, for the purpoſe of plunder, on a plan ſomewhat ſimilar to that which is now purſued by the Barbary corſairs. Theſe were ſanctioned by the authority of their kings; who, being entitled to a ſhare of the ſpoil, appointed admirals and generals to direct their operations; and, if the object of their purſuit was ſufficiently tempting, did not ſcruple to take the command on themſelves.

Such were the fleets which had long infeſted the different coaſts of Europe. Their depredations had at firſt been confined to the maritime provinces of France and the Low Countries, where theſe pirates were diſtinguiſhed by the general name of *Normans*; that is, *Men of the North*. But, tempted by the fertility of the iſland, they were at length induced to extend their inroads to England; the inhabitants of which, preferring the ſloth of ſuperſtition to the ardour of war, had relaxed in their military purſuits, and totally neglected the preſervation of their naval power.

The firſt viſit of the Danes was in the year 787; when a ſmall body of them landing in Weſſex, then governed by Brithric, with a view to inveſtigate the ſtrength and ſituation of the country, were queſtioned by the magiſtrate of the place where they debarked as to the purport of their viſit; but, inſtead of anſwering his enquiries, they put him to death, and immediately fled to their ſhips. Their next attempt was made in Northumberland, in the year 794, where they pillaged a monaſtery; but, being driven to their ſhips, moſt of them periſhed in a ſtorm.

The year after their ſucceſsful deſcent on the Iſle of Shepey, they returned with a more conſiderable force; and, landing from a fleet of five and thirty ſhips at Charmouth, in Dorſetſhire, began to ravage the adjacent country: but Egbert ſoon arriving with a ſmall army, put a ſtop to their devaſtations, and compelled them to engage him. The Danes fought with intrepid courage; and, being far ſuperior in numbers, would probably have defeated Egbert, but for the intervention of night.

In this battle the Engliſh loſt a great number of men; beſides two earls, Dudda and Oſmond; with Hereferth, Biſhop of Wincheſter; and Wigferth, Biſhop of Sherborne: yet, though the Danes remained maſters of the field, they had ſuffered ſo much in the action, that they thought it prudent to retreat to their ſhips without compleating the object of their deſcent.

About two years after, theſe rapacious plunderers, having determined to renew their viſit in much greater numbers, landed in Cornwall; where they prevailed on the Britiſh inhabitants to revolt and join them. The combined armies, confiding in the ſuperiority of their numbers, advanced to give battle to Egbert; but were greatly ſurprized to find, that inſtead of being diſmayed at ſo formidable a combination, that monarch was marching towards them. They met at a place now called Hengſdown Hill, where the Danes and Britons were totally defeated with prodigious ſlaughter.

The illuſtrious Egbert, who during a reign of thirty-ſix years had diſplayed the moſt conſummate ſkill in political tranſactions, the moſt heroic ſpirit in military operations, and the moſt refined wiſdom in the arts of government, died ſoon after this battle, in the year 836, and left the crown to his ſon Ethelwolf.

ETHELWOLF*.

ETHELWOLF, having received his education in a cloiſter, had contracted an indolence of mind that was much better adapted to the ſlothful habits of a monaſtic life than to the active exertions of regal authority.

In the firſt year of his reign, he gave the government of Kent, Suſſex, and Eſſex, to his eldeſt ſon Athelſtan, with the title of King; and that ſame year a body of Daniſh pirates arrived at Southampton, and were proceeding to commit their uſual devaſtations in the neighbouring country; when they were met and repulſed by Wolfhere, governor of the adjacent provinces.

Almoſt immediately after, another troop made a deſcent on Portland; and Æthelhelm, an Engliſh general, advancing to oppoſe them, was defeated, after a furious conteſt, and compelled to retire with conſiderable loſs.

The ſucceeding year was alſo marked by ſeveral inroads of theſe martial pirates in Lindeſey, Eaſt Anglia, and Kent, where they fought many battles with the inhabitants; but, though often defeated, they in general obtained the plunder they ſought.

As their deſcents were ſudden and unexpected, they had pillaged the country, and ſecured their booty, before any conſiderable force could be collected to oppoſe them; or if by chance they found an army prepared to receive them, they re-embarked with the ſame rapidity, and transferred their operations to ſome diſtant part of the iſland. Thus was

* There is not the ſmalleſt authority for any Portraits of the Kings of England, prior to the Norman Conqueſt; except thoſe of EGBERT, ALFRED, and CANUTE: any pretence, therefore, to furniſh likeneſſes of the other ſovereigns, would be an inſult to the Public, and conſequently a diſgrace to the Author.

the

the whole kingdom expoſed to their attacks, and kept in a ſtate of perpetual alarm.

Hitherto the ſole object of their incurſions had been plunder; but, prompted by the ſucceſs they had experienced, they embarked, in 851, in greater numbers than uſual, and proceeded to invade England with a view of ſecuring an eſtabliſhment on the iſland. They effected a landing on the coaſt of Weſſex; but, being met by Count Ceorle at Wiganburgh, were attacked, and compleatly routed. King Athelſtan alſo attacked their fleet near Sandwich, took nine of their ſhips, and put the reſt to flight.

Theſe checks, however, were inſufficient to deter them from taking up their winter quarters in the Iſle of Thanet; where, being joined in the ſpring by a powerful reinforcement of their countrymen, which arrived in a fleet of three hundred and fifty ſail, they marched through Canterbury and London, which they firſt pillaged and then burnt, and advanced into the heart of Surrey.

Ethelwolf, alarmed at the danger that threatened him, placed himſelf at the head of his army; and, taking with him his ſecond ſon Ethelbald, marched to Okely, where he was met by the Danes, over whom he gained a compleat victory, after a battle which is ſaid to have been more bloody than any that had ever been fought in England. But this advantage did not prevent them from maintaining the ſettlement they had eſtabliſhed in the Iſle of Thanet, whither they retreated after the action; though before winter they removed to the Iſle of Shepey, which they judged a more convenient ſituation for the purpoſe of extending their depredations.

The people of North Wales, obſerving the unſettled ſtate of England, deemed it a proper opportunity for revenging the injuries they had ſuſtained from the Engliſh during the reign of Egbert. For this purpoſe, they invaded Mercia, in the year 853, with a numerous army; and compelled Burthred, on whom Ethelwolf had beſtowed the command of that province, with the title of King, at the ſame time that he had given him one of his daughters in marriage, to apply for aſſiſtance to his father-in-law. Ethelwolf having accordingly marched an army into Mercia, defeated the Welſh, and purſued them to their own territories.

After this expedition, Ethelwolf bade a final adieu to the toils of war, that he might obey the dictates of monkiſh ſuperſtition. In compliance with thoſe bigoted principles which he had imbibed during the time of his reſidence in a convent, he determined to ſend his fourth ſon, Alfred, to Rome, though only five years of age, that he might receive confirmation from the hands of the Pope; and, farther to manifeſt his entire devotion to his Holineſs, he reſolved to viſit Rome in perſon; and was received by Leo IV. with every poſſible mark of diſtinction which religious pride could confer on ſubmiſſive bigotry. He there paſſed ten months in acts of devotion, to the content of his own weak mind, and the perfect ſatisfaction of the ſovereign pontiff. He paid a viſit to every ſhrine; and not a ſingle relic eſcaped his adoration. His donations to the clergy were not liberal, but profuſe. He rebuilt the Engliſh college, which had lately been reduced to aſhes, in a ſtyle of ſuperior magnificence; and, thinking that the revenues beſtowed on it by his predeceſſors were inadequate to the purpoſe, extended the tax for it's ſupport, known by the name of Peter's Pence, over his whole dominions: he alſo impoſed on himſelf a tribute, or rather grant, of three hundred mancuſes, about thirty-ſeven pounds ſterling; two-thirds of which were appropriated to the ſupport of the lamps in the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the remainder to the Pope's private uſe. Indeed, there was ſcarcely a church in Rome that did not bear ſome marks of his munificence; and ſcarcely a prelate or prieſt who was not indebted to his liberality. On his return to England, he ſtopped ſome time in France, at the court of Charles the Bald; of whoſe daughter Judith he became enamoured, and married her, though ſhe was but thirteen.

While Ethelwolf was thus purſuing the dictates of ſuperſtitious folly, and the gratification of amorous paſſion, his kingdom was left expoſed to the inſults of it's rapacious invaders. The inhabitants of Surrey and Kent attempted to expel the Danes, who had eſtabliſhed a ſettlement on the iſland; and, under the command of Ealher and Huda, their reſpective governors, attacked them with great intrepidity: but victory, after a well-diſputed conteſt, declaring for the Danes, the Engliſh were repulſed, with the loſs of both their generals.

This ſucceſs rendered the Danes more daring; and the danger reſulting from thence afforded Ethelbald, the eldeſt ſon of Ethelwolf, his brother Athelſtan being dead, a ſpecious pretext for adopting the project of depoſing his father, and of aſſuming the reins of government himſelf.

Ethelbald was inſtigated to this act of violence by the exhortations of Alſtan, Biſhop of Sherborne, and Enulph, Earl of Somerſet. Alſtan had formerly ſtood high in the king's favour; but, finding his counſel little attended to, his attachment had been gradually converted into a ſpirit of revenge.

The prince, already diſpleaſed with his father for having neglected to inveſt him with the dignity enjoined by his deceaſed brother Athelſtan, to which his vanity told him he had a ſtrong claim, paid the moſt willing attention to the pernicious counſels of Alſtan. That prelate repreſented to him, that the imbecility of Ethelwolf muſt infallibly expoſe the kingdom to ruin; and that, ſince he was ſo highly delighted with the company and converſation of monks, it was his duty to promote the gratification of his favourite paſſion by retiring to a convent, and relinquiſhing the throne to a ſon who had courage and capacity to fill it with honour to himſelf and glory to the nation.

Ethelbald, in whoſe mind an ambition to reign was infinitely ſtronger than paternal affection, burnt with impatience to put his projects in execution; and the news of his father's marriage with Judith arriving very opportunely to furniſh him with an additional excuſe, from the vague ſuppoſition that the fruits of that marriage might in proceſs of time be enabled, by the aſſiſtance of France, to diſpute the ſucceſſion with the legitimate heir, he determined

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to act with ſpeed and deciſion. He formed a cabal with the principal noblemen of the court for the purpoſe of preventing the king's return; and, by the aſſiduous exertions of Alſtan, his party had acquired conſiderable ſtrength and influence. But ſtill many refuſed to violate their fidelity to their ſovereign; and, the people being thus divided in their ſentiments, the kingdom was menaced with all the horrors of a civil war.

Ethelwolf, informed of the revolt, haſtened his departure from France; and arrived in England before Ethelbald had taken the neceſſary precautions to obſtruct his debarkation. But the arrival of his father did not deter this rebellious ſon from purſuing his deſigns; which he now openly avowed, and attempted to juſtify on principles of policy and juſtice.

As Ethelwolf had dignified his conſort with the title of Queen, in conſideration of her illuſtrious birth, Ethelbald, to afford ſome colour of equity to his revolt, alledged that his ſubjects were abſolved from their oaths of allegiance, in conſequence of the law enacted by the Weſt Saxons after the death of Brithric.

A rebellion, with all the miſeries that muſt have accrued from ſo unnatural a conteſt, now appeared inevitable: but the prudent conduct of Ethelwolf averted the impending ſtorm. To avoid the evils which ariſe from inteſtine commotions, he conſented to cede the beſt part of his dominions to his ſon, reſerving for himſelf only the kingdoms of Kent, Eſſex, and Suſſex.

Immediately after this conceſſion, he ſummoned the ſtates of the whole kingdom to meet at Wincheſter; and, with their conſent, conferred on the church a donation of conſiderable magnitude and importance.

The clergy, in thoſe days of weakneſs and ſuperſtition, had made rapid ſtrides to the attainment of dignity and acquiſition of power. Whatever oppoſition they might have experienced from the contrary intereſts of the laity, the cultivation of learning had been ſo little attended to, that their numerous ſermons, which had been compoſed for the expreſs purpoſe of inculcating doctrines favourable to their encroachments, incurred neither confutation nor reply: in ſhort, the mental powers of the people lay dormant, and intereſt alone could impel them to exertion.

Theſe ample donations of land which had been made to the church by many of the princes of the Heptarchy, either as offerings of piety, or atonements for crimes, with the voluntary oblations of the people, were now deemed inadequate to it's ſupport. The clergy had long laid a claim to the tenth part of all the produce of land; and founded their pretenſions on the Jewiſh Law, though they were compelled to allow that the moral only, and not the judicial or political part of that law, was binding on Chriſtians.

Having thus ſought to eſtabliſh their arguments, deſtined to ſupport their claims on principles the moſt fallacious, it is not ſurprizing that their concluſions ſhould be marked by a deviation from juſtice and propriety. They would willingly have ſubjected every ſpecies of merchandize; nay, even the earnings of the labourer, and the pay of the ſoldier; to the ſame exactions as the produce of land. Some zealous canoniſts went ſtill farther, and aſſerted their right to the wages of proſtitution. But every attempt to enforce theſe claims had been ſtrenuouſly reſiſted. Though tythes had been frequently paid from a ſpirit of devotion, in mere compliance with the eccleſiaſtical canons, no law had been exacted for their eſtabliſhment as a civil right till the reign of Offa, King of Mercia, who gave a coercive power for their recovery throughout his dominions.

Ethelwolf, previous to his journey to Rome, had made a ſimilar law, which extended no farther than his hereditary kingdom of Weſſex: it was, therefore, to render it general throughout England, that he had cauſed the ſtates to be aſſembled at Wincheſter; where a law was paſſed, ſanctioned as uſual by the king's charter, to give the clergy a legal right to tythes throughout the kingdom. The charter was ſigned in November 855. The motives for paſſing it, as expreſſed in the preamble or commencement, were the dangers to which the people had been long expoſed by the deſtructive ravages of pagan enemies, which the king could not but regard as the inflictions of Providence for the puniſhment of their ſins. To atone, therefore, for paſt offences, and to avert the danger of impending deſtruction, the king, with the advice of his biſhops, &c. had reſolved on a wholeſome and uniform ſpecific, viz. To grant a tenth part of his kingdom as an offering to God, the Bleſſed Virgin, and all the Saints, to be held by perpetual right, *in perpetuam libertatem*, exempted from all temporal duties, ſecular ſervices, and royal tributes, and even from the *trinoda neceſſitas*, which conſiſted in expeditions for the defence of the kingdom, the repair of bridges, and the fortification of caſtles, to which ſubjects of all denominations had been hitherto liable.

This important charter, which may be juſtly conſidered as the Magna Charta of eccleſiaſtical liberty, was ſigned in the preſence of all the archbiſhops and biſhops of England, two tributary kings of Mercia and Eaſt Anglia, and of an infinite number of abbots and abbeſſes—for, in the Saxon times, the abbeſſes attended the national councils, and preſided over convents of men as well as women, as may be ſeen in Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and in Spelman's Councils—of the dukes, earls, and noblemen, of the whole land: all of whom expreſſed their approbation of it's contents; and the moſt dignified ſubſcribed their names to it.

Had the clergy behaved themſelves with due moderation; had they expreſſed leſs ardour in the purſuit of wealth, and evinced a greater attention to the duties of their ſtation; had they made the neceſſary diſtinction between Divine Original and Divine Right; and, giving up the latter, with many of their exorbitant claims, been content to found their pretenſions on reaſon and equity; the advantages they obtained from the inſtitution of tythes could neither have excited envy, nor incurred cenſure: for, as the labourer is indiſputably worthy of his hire, it was not

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juſt that the clergy ſhould be ſubjected to a dependance for ſupport on the mere will of the people; which, though at that period it might prove adequate to maintain them in a ſtate of becoming dignity, would in ſubſequent times, when the ardour of devotion was conſiderably cooled, have left them deſtitute even of the common neceſſaries of life.

This law, therefore, abſtracted from it's motives, and ſubjected to the neceſſary reſtrictions and limitations impoſed by the wiſdom of after ages, muſt be conſidered as ſtrictly wiſe and equitable. To it the clergy of England are indebted for that legal, hereditary, and perpetual property in their tythes, which they ſtill continue to enjoy, and which is veſted in them by a right the moſt juſt and indiſputable.

Ethelwolf ſurvived this important donation only two years, which were paſſed in the more eſſential exerciſe of practical piety: and, dying in 857, bequeathed that part of his dominions which he had reſerved for himſelf to his ſecond ſon Ethelbert; and, in default of iſſue male, to deſcend to his third ſon Ethelred, and ſo on to his youngeſt ſon Alfred. To Ethelbald he confirmed the poſſeſſion of what he already enjoyed. He likewiſe ordained, by his laſt will, that all ſucceſſors ſhould maintain one poor perſon for every ten families within the royal domains.

It was towards the commencement of this reign that the animoſity which had ſubſiſted for many years between the Scots and Picts raged with peculiar violence; and gave many of the Scotch hiſtorians an opportunity for aſſerting that the latter were totally exterminated.

The fact is, that the Picts had, about this period, routed the Scots, in a battle fought near Dundee; and, having taken Alpine their king priſoner, inhumanly murdered him, and treated his body with indignity: a circumſtance which exaſperated his ſon and ſucceſſor Kenneth to ſuch a degree, that he determined to inflict the ſevereſt vengeance on the Picts. As ſoon, therefore, as his kingdom had ſufficiently recovered the loſs it had ſuſtained in the laſt battle to enable him to collect a formidable army, he marched againſt the enemy, and encamped at the village of Scoon, on the northern bank of the River Tay; where a deſperate action enſued, in which the Picts were entirely defeated, their king and principal nobility ſlain, and almoſt the whole of their army cut in pieces, or drowned in the Tay in attempting to eſcape.

After this ſignal victory, Kenneth, meeting with no farther oppoſition, took poſſeſſion of their whole kingdom, which he annexed to his dominions; and thereby became the firſt monarch of all Scotland, about the year 842.

But the tragical accounts of thoſe hiſtorians, who inſiſt on the total exirpation of the Picts at this period, are wholly deſtitute of truth: for there exiſts ſatisfactory evidence to prove that the great bulk of the Pictiſh nation ſurvived the overthrow of their ſtate; and, afterwards mingling with their conquerors, gradually loſt their own name.

ETHELBALD AND ETHELBERT.

ENGLAND was now fairly divided into two kingdoms, under the domination of Ethelbald and Ethelbert; but this diviſion was of very ſhort duration.

The reign of Ethelbald was marked by no public event of importance. He was a prince of a weak mind, and profligate diſpoſition; and, by contracting an inceſtuous marriage with Judith, his father's widow, excited the general indignation of his ſubjects. Being reclaimed, however, by the admonitions of Swithun, Biſhop of Wincheſter, he conſented to repudiate his wife; and, having made ample atonement for his vices by extenſive benefactions to the church, died a penitent, about two years and a half after the deceaſe of his father.

At his death, Ethelbert ſucceeding to the dominions of his brother, became ſole monarch of England.

ETHELBERT.

DURING the reign of Ethelbert, the Danes renewed their piratical incurſions. Their firſt deſcent was made, immediately after the death of Ethelbald, at Southampton; and the Engliſh, not having received a viſit from theſe unwelcome intruders for ſome years, were taken by ſurprize, and ſuffered them to advance as far as Wincheſter, which they pillaged and burnt, before Oſric and Ethelwulf, the Engliſh generals, could aſſemble their troops to impede the progreſs of theſe invaders. Then, however, they were ſoon defeated, and compelled to retire to their ſhips.

Another body of them afterwards landed, in autumn, on the Iſle of Thanet; where they paſſed the winter, that they might be ready to commence their depredations in the ſpring: but Ethelbert, alarmed

at the vicinity of ſuch formidable adverſaries, was induced to make overtures of peace, and at length conſented to purchaſe their abſence with a conſiderable ſum of money; which was no ſooner paid, than they made an irruption into Kent, and plundered all the country around.

Ethelbert, convinced by experience that thieves could only be reſtrained by force, and not bound by treaties, had recourſe to the ſole remedy which could prove effective. He accordingly raiſed a powerful army; but, before he could inflict the chaſtiſement they merited, the Danes, aware of his preparations, embarked with their booty, and that with ſuch celerity as precluded the poſſibility of interception.

Ethelbert reigned ſix years, with an equity and moderation which commanded the eſteem of his ſubjects; and, dying in the year 866, was ſucceeded by his brother Ethelred.

ETHELRED.

ETHELRED, during the reign of his predeceſſor, had entered into a contract with his brother Alfred, by which that prince was to enjoy a certain portion of his father's dominions; but, when Ethelred acceded to the throne, he refuſed to comply with the ſtipulated conditions. An accommodation, however, was ſoon effected by the interpoſition of friends; and Alfred, ſacrificing his reſentment to his concern for the public weal, cordially ſeconded all the efforts of his brother to repreſs the irruptions of the Danes, which were now become more frequent and formidable. They no longer confined themſelves to irregular deſcents, but laid a ſettled plan of invaſion, which evinced a diſpoſition to change their object from plunder to conqueſt.

The authority which Egbert had reſerved over the kingdoms of Mercia, Eaſt Anglia, and Northumberland, had lately experienced a conſiderable diminution from the continual incurſions of thoſe piratical depredators; which compelled the monarchs to confine their principal means of defence to thoſe parts of the iſland which were leſs remote from the ſeat of government. This had induced the inhabitants of theſe three kingdoms to entertain hopes of gradually withdrawing themſelves from the ſupremacy of Egbert's ſucceſſors. The Northumbrians, whoſe diſtant ſituation was the moſt favourable to the execution of their project, ſucceeded in ſhaking off their dependence entirely; and the ardour of faction, which had long glowed with unremitting rage, having at length ſubſided, all private animoſities were conſigned to oblivion, and Oſbricht was raiſed to the throne of Northumberland by the unanimous conſent and general approbation of the people. This cordial union might have been productive of the greateſt advantages, and would probably have reſtored the kingdom to it's former flouriſhing ſtate, had not an unforeſeen accident promoted the revival of inteſtine commotions, and involved the country in a ſtate of calamity from which the exertions of it's inhabitants were inſufficient to relieve it.

Oſbricht, who kept his court at York, returning one day from hunting, ſtopped for refreſhment at the houſe of a nobleman, named Bruern-Bocard, who had been appointed guardian of the coaſts, againſt the irruptions of the Danes. The earl being abſent, Oſbricht was received by his lady, a woman of exquiſite beauty and the moſt winning deportment, who entertained him with that degree of reſpectful attention which was due to her ſovereign. The king, ſtruck with the brilliancy of her charms, was unable to reſiſt the ſudden impreſſion, and immediately reſolved to procure the gratification of his paſſion, either by force or perſuaſion. With this view, he led her to a private apartment, under a pretence of having ſomething of the higheſt importance to communicate, which he wiſhed her to impart to her huſband; and then exerted all the arts of inſinuation to urge her to compliance: but finding her virtue immoveable, neither to be dazzled by the ſplendour of his rank, nor ſeduced by the promiſe of magnificent preſents, he had recourſe to violence; and, equally inattentive to her threats and entreaties, compleated his infamous purpoſe.

When her huſband was informed of this flagrant violation of hoſpitality and honour, he reſolved, if poſſible, to obtain the moſt effectual revenge. As he was highly eſteemed in the country, his influence was powerful; and he ſpared no pains, by aſſiduouſly propagating the account of Oſbricht's flagitious conduct, to alienate the minds of the people from a monarch who was unworthy of their eſteem. Nor was his aſſiduity unavailing: for that part of the Northumbrians which inhabited the ancient kingdom of Bernicia lent an attentive ear to his remonſtrances; and, reſolving to reſent the injury he had ſuſtained, openly abſolved themſelves from their allegiance to Oſbricht. Then, electing another king, named Œlla, they placed him on the throne, with an avowed determination of ſupport againſt every attempt to depoſe him. By this means the flames of diſſenſion, which had been extinguiſhed for a time, were now kindled afreſh; and the kingdom once more became a prey to thoſe convulſions which had ſo frequently reduced it to the verge of deſtruction.

The two contending parties, actuated by the ſtrongeſt reſentment and hatred, were mutually bent on the ruin of each other: and the diſcord that prevailed was naturally productive of a civil war; which, though maintained with obſtinacy, was unattended with advantage to either, as their forces were ſo nearly equal, that neither could remove his competitor from the throne he enjoyed.

Bruern-Bocard, not thinking the puniſhment which

which Oſbricht had already experienced, in the loſs of one half of his dominions, a ſufficient atonement for the outrage he had committed, reſolved to compleat the gratification of his reſentment, by purſuing him to utter deſtruction. But, convinced by experience that the forces of Œlla were wholly inadequate to effect his purpoſe, he adopted the fatal reſolution of invoking the aſſiſtance of the Danes; and accordingly undertook a voyage to Denmark, where he made immediate application to the monarch of that country, who was named Hinguar. To him he gave a particular deſcription of the diſtracted ſtate of Northumberland, and repreſented it's conqueſt as a matter of certainty; particularly, as the ſucceſs would be materially facilitated by his own intereſt and power.

Hinguar was eaſily induced to accept a propoſal, which not only preſented the faireſt proſpect to his ambition, but promiſed him the ampleſt gratification of his private revenge on the Engliſh, for the death of his father, which had been thus accompliſhed.

Edmund, the tributary monarch of Eaſt Anglia, was the ſon of Alcmund, a prince of the royal blood, who had retired into Germany when Offa took poſſeſſion of that kingdom. Edmund having returned to England at the death of Ethelwolf, had been raiſed to the throne by the conſent of Ethelbald.

Lothbrock, King of Denmark, is ſaid to have paid him a viſit ſoon after his acceſſion; and to have been murdered by his huntſman, without the knowledge of his maſter: to whom, however, the ſons of Lothbrock attributed the crime.

The ſuſpicion was, in all probability, devoid of foundation, as no provocation appears to have been offered, and Edmund is repreſented by hiſtorians as a prince of a mild and religious diſpoſition. Be that as it may, this circumſtance, by it's powerful operation on the mind of Hinguar, had inſpired him with an inveterate hatred againſt the Engliſh, and now urged him to embrace a favourable opportunity for revenge.

Having previouſly concerted with Bruern-Bocard the neceſſary meaſures to be purſued for the ſucceſs of their ſchemes, he embarked a formidable army on board a numerous fleet; and ſailing for England, accompanied by his brother Hubba, the moſt courageous chief of his time, they landed in Eaſt Anglia ſoon after the acceſſion of Ethelred to the throne of England.

The Eaſt Angles, more anxious for the preſervation of their private property than for the promotion of the national intereſt, furniſhed the Danes with quarters for the winter, and in the ſpring ſupplied them with horſes, to enable them to purſue their depredations.

They next proceeded to the north, and marched directly to York, where Oſbricht was occupied in making preparations for their reception.

When that prince firſt received the intelligence of their arrival on the iſland, he had propoſed to his competitor Œlla a mutual ſuſpenſion of their hoſtilities, and a junction of their forces againſt the common enemy: and Œlla, actuated by motives of perſonal ſafety, had wiſely acceded to his propoſal, and was at this time marching to his aſſiſtance.

If Oſbricht had remained within the walls of York till the arrival of Œlla, the Danes muſt have experienced a vigorous, and perhaps a ſucceſsful reſiſtance; but, yielding to the native impetuoſity of his temper, he made a deſperate ſally on the enemy, and charged them with ſuch fury, that they could ſcarcely withſtand the ſhock. The Danes, however, recovering from the firſt effects of ſurprize, diſplayed an intrepidity of courage that ſoon abated the ardour of the aſſailants, who were now preſſed in their turn; and, having loſt Oſbricht, they were compelled to retire for protection into the town, which being afterwards ſet on fire by the Danes, moſt of them periſhed in the flames.

Œlla now advanced to revenge the death of Oſbricht: but Hinguar, apprized of his motions, and encouraged by his recent ſucceſs, marched to meet him; and a ſecond engagement enſued, not leſs bloody than the firſt, nor leſs fatal to the Northumbrians, who were again defeated; and Œlla being ſlain in the action, gave the name of *Elleſcroft*, that is, *Œlla's Overthrow*, to the field of battle.

The Danes, emboldened by theſe victories, advanced into the interior parts of the iſland; and, entering the province of Mercia, took poſſeſſion of Nottingham, where they remained for the winter.

Burthred, the tributary monarch of the province, unable to withſtand their attacks, implored the aſſiſtance of Ethelred, who marched, with his brother Alfred, at the head of a great army, to his relief; and, inveſting Nottingham, compelled the Danes to retire to the north: but, in their retreat, theſe ferocious invaders plundered all the monaſteries, to which the people had conveyed their moſt valuable effects. Nor were they contented with the mere gratification of their rapacity; they laid waſte the whole country before them: all the towns and villages through which they paſſed were reduced to aſhes; and the miſerable inhabitants became the victims of their cruelty and luſt.

The abbeſs of the monaſtery of Coldingham is ſaid to have prevailed on her nuns to cut off their noſes and lips, that their beauty might not afford a temptation to the Daniſh barbarians to violate their chaſtity: but this deſperate expedient, though it preſerved their honour, proved fatal to their lives; for the Danes, enraged at their diſappointment, put them all to the ſword.

After remaining ſome months at York, they quitted that city in 870: and Hinguar, having left his brother Hubba in Northumberland, returned through part of the Mercian territories, and entered Eaſt Anglia; where the people, being convinced that no ſafety could be procured from ſubmiſſion, had recourſe to arms. They were commanded by Edmund, their monarch, who led them to the attack: but the Danes proving victorious, Edmund was compelled to fly; and, having concealed himſelf in a church, was diſcovered, and conducted before the Daniſh chief at Hegilſdon, now Hoxon, in Suffolk. This inſolent conqueror is ſaid to have offered to reſtore

reſtore him to the throne, on condition that he would do him homage for his kingdom, and conſent to pay him an annual tribute: but Edmund refuſing to comply with theſe ignominious terms, the inhuman Dane gave orders that he ſhould be tied to a tree, and transfixed with arrows. His head, which had been ſevered from his body, was afterwards interred at St. Edmund's Bury, which derived it's name from this unfortunate prince; who, being conſidered as a martyr, and in conſequence canonized, a great number of miracles were reported to have been performed at his tomb.

Hinguar, having thus ſubdued Eaſt Anglia, beſtowed the crown of that kingdom on a Saxon named Ecbert, who was entirely devoted to his intereſt. Then recalling Hubba from Northumberland, he advanced to Reading; where they raiſed ſome fortifications, with the view of making it their head-quarters, that they might commit their devaſtations on the ſurrounding country with greater facility.

Ethelred, alarmed at the rapidity of their progreſs, and the continuation of their ſucceſs, cited the Mercians to join him with their forces, that he might be enabled to make ſome powerful effort to drive them from the iſland: but, anxious to recover their ancient independence, that infatuated people determined to withold the required aſſiſtance; ſo that Ethelred, attended by his brother Alfred, was compelled to march againſt the enemy with an army ſolely compoſed of his hereditary ſubjects, the Weſt Saxons.

According to the Saxon annals, five pitched battles were fought in the year 871. In the firſt, the Danes were defeated by the Engliſh, at Inglefield, in Berkſhire. The ſecond was fought at Reading, where the Danes proved victorious. But very ſoon after, the two armies meeting at Aſton, near Wallingford, the Engliſh, though in imminent danger of ſuſtaining a defeat at the commencement of the day, by the ſole courage and conduct of Alfred, obtained a compleat victory, having ſlain three Daniſh generals, and ſeveral thouſands of their troops.

Ethelred being at maſs when the action began, refuſed to join the army till prayers ſhould be finiſhed: and to this act of piety, not to the valour of Alfred, did the monks aſcribe the whole merit of the victory; which did not, however, prove ſufficiently deciſive to terminate the war. Another battle was fought, about a fortnight after, at Baſing, in Hampſhire, when the Danes conquered in their turn; and, being reinforced by a freſh army from their own country, threatened the whole iſland with ſubjection.

About two months after this acceſſion of ſtrength, they again engaged the Engliſh at Murden, in Wiltſhire; where Ethelred received a wound of which he died.

He was ſucceeded by his brother Alfred, who was immediately crowned at Wincheſter.

ALFRED.



ALFRED.

WHEN Alfred aſcended the throne of his anceſtors, in the year 871, the kingdom was reduced to ſuch a deplorable ſituation, that the exertion of extraordinary talents could alone reſcue it from deſtruction. Not only cities and villages were deſerted by their inhabitants, but entire provinces were in a ſtate of depopulation: all the churches and monaſteries were reduced to aſhes; and the country preſented to the view one dreary ſcene of continued deſolation.

Eaſt Anglia and Northumberland had already ſubmitted to the Danes; and thoſe inſulting conquerors had advanced into the very heart of Weſſex. Alfred's firſt attempt was to diſlodge them from Wilton, which they had recently ſeized. For this purpoſe, he marched againſt them with a ſmall army, which he had aſſembled in haſte; and, forcing them to an engagement, obtained a conſiderable advantage at the firſt onſet: but, purſuing it with too great avidity, he was at length defeated, and compelled to retreat.

The Danes, however, being very much weakened by the loſſes they had ſuſtained in different engagements, in which one of their monarchs, and nine of their chiefs, beſides many thouſands of their braveſt troops, had periſhed; and awed by the courage and abilities of Alfred, the effects of which they had frequently experienced; liſtened to an accommodation, and conſented to retire from the Weſt Saxon territories. In conſequence of this agreement, they were permitted to march to London, where they paſſed the winter.

Burthred, brother-in-law to Alfred, who then governed Mercia, being unable to cope with ſuch powerful adverſaries, made a new ſtipulation with them; by which they agreed, in conſideration of a ſum of money, to retire from London. They accordingly removed to Eaſt Anglia, and eſtabliſhed their head quarters at Torkſey, where they remained ſome time. But, the ſurrounding country being totally exhauſted by their continual depredations, they returned to Mercia, in the year 874, and ſoon reduced that province to ſubjection, in direct violation of the contract they had entered into with Burthred; who, incapable of repreſſing their encroachments, was under the neceſſity of abandoning his dominions, and retiring to the Engliſh college at Rome, where he ſoon after died.

When the Danes had compleated the conqueſt of Mercia, they entruſted the command of it to Ceolwulf, an Engliſh nobleman, who had quitted the ſervice of his king, and enliſted under the banners of the enemy.

The Daniſh army being conſtantly ſupplied with recruits from the continent, had by this time become ſo numerous, that it was found expedient to divide it into two bodies. This diviſion took place at Repton, in Derbyſhire; when one body, commanded by a chief named Haldane, proceeding to the north, took poſſeſſion of Northumberland, and by a ſtrict application to agriculture evinced a deſire to ſecure a peaceable eſtabliſhment. The other, marching to the ſouth, under the command of Guthrum, Oſcitil, and Amund, three chieftains, who had lately arrived with a conſiderable reinforcement, fixed their head quarters at Cambridge: from whence, after having wintered there, they ſecretly decamped in the night; and, penetrating into the very centre of Alfred's dominions, ſurprized and took poſſeſſion of Wareham, in Dorſetſhire.

Alfred, ill prepared to repel their incurſions by force, had recourſe to negotiation; and concluded a ſolemn treaty, to the obſervance of which he compelled them to ſwear by the holy reliques of the church, in preference to their uſual mode of ſwearing, *by their bracelets:* not that he imagined they would pay greater reſpect to one object than the other; but his piety led him to hope that the violation of ſo ſacred an oath would be infallibly productive of the Divine vengeance. A people, however, whoſe ſole deity was plunder, were not likely to be deterred from purſuing the dictates of rapa-

ciouſneſs, either from the moral obligation of human ties, or the dread of heavenly reſentment. The treaty was no ſooner made than broken; for the Danes marched immediately to Exeter, which they took by ſurprize in the year 877.

Alfred, being now convinced by experience that no treaties were adequate to reſtrain the incurſions of ſuch licentious barbarians, and that the preſervation of his kingdom could only be effected by force and reſolution, exhorted his ſubjects to a vigorous defence; and, having collected a powerful army, marched to Exeter, which he inveſted by land, while a fleet which he had prepared, and chiefly manned with hardy Friſians whom he had engaged in his ſervice, was diſpatched to block up the harbour, and co-operate with the troops.

This fleet, on it's paſſage, meeting with a Daniſh ſquadron bound to Exeter with a reinforcement of troops, engaged and defeated it; which ſo much diſcouraged the Danes, who were defending the city, that they begged to capitulate: and Alfred once more agreed to a peace, on condition that they ſhould quit the territories of Weſſex. This they complied with, and retired into Mercia, where they paſſed the winter; but, being joined by a great body of their countrymen, they returned to Weſſex in the ſpring; and ſeizing Chippenham, then a town of conſiderable importance, began to exerciſe their accuſtomed depredations on the adjacent country.

The ſubjects of Alfred were now totally diſpirited. Alarmed at finding all their efforts fruitleſs, and fatigued with engaging an enemy whom neither treaties could bind, nor defeats ſubdue, they yielded to the dictates of deſpair: many of them fled into Wales; others ſought refuge on the continent; and not a few ſwore allegiance to the Danes.

Alfred, perceiving his example and exhortations alike inefficacious to impel them to future exertions in defence of their country and liberties, was reluctantly compelled to relinquiſh the enſigns of royalty; and, having lodged his family in a place of ſecurity, and diſmiſſed his houſhold, he aſſumed the humble garb of a peaſant, and repaired for concealment to the cottage of a cowherd.

During the time he reſided in this obſcure dwelling, an incident occurred which hiſtorians, both ancient and modern, have deemed worthy to be recorded: and, indeed, any circumſtance which can tend to demonſtrate the reſignation of virtue in the hour of diſtreſs, however trivial and inſignificant it may appear to the common herd of mankind, cannot fail to inculcate a leſſon of utility in the mind of philoſophy. It is particularly related by Aſſer, who probably heard it from the king himſelf.

The wife of the cowherd, who was ignorant of the quality of her gueſt, being one day buſied in baking cakes on the fire, deſired Alfred, who was ſitting in the chimney-corner trimming his bow and arrows, to watch them, while ſhe was engaged in ſome other domeſtic occupation. But the king, whoſe thoughts were otherwiſe employed, neglected her injunction; and his landlady, on her return, finding the cakes burnt, began to reprove him with great fluency; and concluded her reproof by obſerving, that though he diſplayed his lazineſs in ſuffering her cakes to burn, he could evince his activity in eating them. The patient prince took her reproof in good part; and, begging her pardon, promiſed to be more attentive in future.

When Alfred perceived that his enemies began to relax in their ſearch after him, he reſolved to quit his retreat; and, having collected a few of his ſteadieſt adherents, retired with them to the centre of a bog, formed by the ſtagnating waters of the Thone and Parett, in Somerſetſhire; where, finding two acres of firm ground, he built a fort for their reſidence and protection. This place, which was only acceſſible by one narrow path, being nearly ſurrounded by thick woods and impaſſable moraſſes, he named Æthelingey, or the Iſle of Nobles; an appellation that has ſince been corrupted into Athelney, which name it now bears. From hence they frequently ſallied out on detached parties of the Danes; who, ſurprized by their unexpected appearance, were deprived of the power of reſiſtance.

In this ſituation they paſſed four months, procuring ſubſiſtence by theſe ſudden excurſions; which being always attended with ſucceſs, by degrees inſpired their minds with the pleaſing hope that their courage might ſoon be ſupplied with ſome more glorious opportunity of exertion.

At length, Alfred received intelligence that ſoothed him with the agreeable proſpect of ſpeedily realizing his hopes. Hubba, the chief leader of the Danes, having committed every ſpecies of devaſtation in Wales, which he had over-run without oppoſition, had landed in Devonſhire, and inveſted the caſtle of Kinwith, ſituated on the banks of the River Tau, below Ralegh, whither Oddune, Earl of Devonſhire, had retired at his approach with a ſmall body of troops. This gallant nobleman, knowing his inability to reſiſt any regular attack, reſolved by ſome deſperate effort to prevent the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the enemy; he therefore repreſented to his followers, that their lives could only be preſerved by valour, and propoſed to cut their way through the Daniſh army. This propoſal being unanimouſly adopted, the next morning at ſun-riſe they made a ſudden ſally on the Danes; who, placing an implicit confidence in the ſuperiority of their numbers, were wholly unprepared to receive them. The attack being conducted with ſkill and reſolution, the Danes were routed with conſiderable ſlaughter. Hubba himſelf was ſlain; and the magic ſtandard, called *Reafan*, or the Raven, which was wrought by the ſiſters of Hubba, and by the ſoldiers regarded as a certain emblem of victory, was taken by Oddune.

Alfred, pleaſed to obſerve this ſymptom of returning ſpirit in his ſubjects, reſolved to profit by their preſent diſpoſition, ere a reverſe of fortune could damp their ardour, and make them relapſe into their former ſtate of deſpondency. He therefore left his retreat; but, being aware of the neceſſity of caution and circumſpection, determined not to diſcover himſelf till he had taken every poſſible information on the ſtrength and ſituation of the enemy. For this purpoſe he aſſumed the diſguiſe of a harper;

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and, entering the Daniſh camp, ſtrolled unſuſpected through every quarter. The Danes, delighted with his muſic and his wit, detained him for ſeveral days, and even introduced him to Guthrum, their general; ſo that he had ample opportunity of making all the obſervations he could deſire. He did not fail to remark their ſovereign contempt of the Engliſh, which induced them to repoſe in blind ſecurity, and to neglect every means of proviſion againſt ſurprize: even the neceſſary precaution of ſupplying their outpoſts with guards was neglected; and not an avenue to the camp was ſo defended as to indicate the ſmalleſt fear of an enemy, or apprehenſion of a ſudden attack. Inſtead of vigilance and diſcipline, riots and feaſts were to be ſeen; and what was gained by rapine, was loſt in diſſipation.

Alfred, rejoiced at the reſult of his obſervations, ſecretly diſpatched emiſſaries to his principal ſubjects, whom he ſummoned to meet him, with their followers, at Brixton, near the Foreſt of Selwood: and his commands were ſo chearfully and punctually obeyed, that at the appointed day he found himſelf at the head of a powerful army, wholly devoted to the will of their ſovereign, and reſolutely bent on conqueſt or death. He immediately led them to Eddington, where the Danes were encamped; and, as he was acquainted with every avenue, he commenced his attack on that quarter which was leaſt prepared for reſiſtance. The ſurprize of the enemy at the ſight of an Engliſh army commanded by Alfred was ſo great, that they were defeated before they could thoroughly recover their powers of exertion. The ſlaughter was conſiderable; and the remains of the vanquiſhed army, with their commander, having retired to a neighbouring fort, were immediately inveſted, and compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion.

Alfred, with that clemency which ever accompanies true courage, inſtead of inflicting on the Danes the puniſhment which their paſt cruelty deſerved, made them a propoſal to incorporate with the Engliſh, and join him in attempts to reſtrain any future incurſions of their countrymen. The only pledge he required of their ſincerity, was their previous converſion to Chriſtianity. Theſe conditions were joyfully accepted by great numbers, who accordingly received baptiſm; and Alfred himſelf anſwered for Guthrum at the font. To theſe the kingdoms of Eaſt Anglia and Northumberland were aſſigned for their reſidence; and they ſettled in them in the year 880: but ſuch as refuſed to forſake the religion of their anceſtors, were permitted to depart the iſland; and, embarking under the command of one of their chiefs, named Haſtings, retired to the coaſt of Flanders, where they continued to purſue their piratical depredations.

This wiſe regulation produced that tranquillity which Alfred had hoped to derive from it. The Danes ſettled peaceably in their new eſtabliſhment, under the government of Guthrum, whom Alfred had appointed to rule over them, with the title of King; while ſome ſmaller bodies of the ſame nation, diſperſed in Mercia, were diſtributed into the five cities of Derby, Leiceſter, Nottingham, Stamford, and Lincoln; and from thence received the appellation of Fif, or Five-Burgers.

This interval of repoſe was employed by the king in reſtoring the ſtate to regularity and order; in repairing thoſe cities which the deſtructive ravages of the Danes had reduced to ruins; in erecting forts to protect his coaſts from inſult; and in forming inſtitutions for the promotion of knowledge, both civil and military. In order to enforce concord and unanimity, thoſe great bulwarks of national ſafety, he made the Engliſh and Danes ſubject to the ſame laws; and, placing an equal value on the lives of each, rendered it as expenſive to the aſſaſſin to murder the one as the other: for in thoſe days pecuniary fines, proportioned to the rank of the victim, were the ſole puniſhment for aſſaſſination.

Alfred, having rebuilt many towns which had been totally demoliſhed, and London in particular, which the Danes had deſtroyed in the reign of Ethelwolf, thought it requiſite to eſtabliſh regulations for their future ſecurity. He framed a law, by which it was enacted, that all his ſubjects, who were capable, ſhould bear arms, and have their names inſerted in a regiſter. Each had his particular duty aſſigned him. The forts and caſtles which he had cauſed to be built at proper diſtances on the ſea-coaſts, were compleatly manned; and an army was ready to take the field on the leaſt alarm. While a part was employed in military ſervices, a ſufficient number was left at home for the purpoſes of agriculture; and, at ſtated periods, the labourers became ſoldiers, and the ſoldiers labourers. Thus regulated, his whole kingdom formed one large camp, properly guarded, and ready at all times to repel the attacks of an enemy.

When he had compleated the regulation of his military forces, he next directed his attention to the navy; which, though beſt calculated for the defence of an iſland, had hitherto been neglected by the Engliſh. He invented a veſſel of a peculiar conſtruction, which was occaſionally worked by oars; and, in point of ſtrength, was ſuperior to any ſhip of war then known. Of theſe he had great numbers built, and manned them partly with his Daniſh ſubjects, who were excellent ſailors, and partly with Friſians and Engliſh. One hundred and twenty of them were conſtantly ſtationed round the iſland, to ſecure it from invaſion, as well as to protect the commerce of his ſubjects; which, through his endeavours to augment it by every ſpecies of encouragement, ſoon became flouriſhing and extenſive, and fully anſwered one grand object of his care, by ſupplying his navy with ſeamen.

Nothing that could in the leaſt contribute to the happineſs of his ſubjects, or the ſecurity of his kingdom, did the illuſtrious Alfred neglect: and in theſe occupations, truly worthy a monarch, he paſſed ſeveral years, undiſturbed by domeſtic broils or foreign invaſions, till, at length, his tranquillity was interrupted by the appearance of a formidable fleet off the coaſt of Kent.

The Danes who left England with Haſtings, their celebrated chief, had retired to the continent; where, being joined by numbers of their countrymen, they made

made incurſions into France; and, in the courſe of a few years, committed ſuch dreadful ravages, that the moſt fertile provinces, reduced almoſt to a ſtate of ſterility, were no longer adequate to ſupply the barbarous invaders with the means of ſubſiſtence. This circumſtance induced them to fix their views on England; and they accordingly arrived on the coaſt, in the year 893, with a fleet of three hundred and thirty ſhips. The far greateſt part of this formidable armament made a deſcent on the ſouth-eaſt corner of Kent, where they took the fort of Apuldore by ſurprize; while eighty ſail, under the command of Haſtings, entered the Thames; and the troops being landed at Milton, in Kent, erected a ſtrong fortification, of which ſome veſtiges are ſtill to be ſeen.

Alfred was in Eaſt Anglia when he received the firſt news of their deſcent; and, having demanded hoſtages from the Daniſh inhabitants of that kingdom for the preſervation of their allegiance, he directed his march to the ſouth; and, collecting his forces as he advanced, proceeded to the very centre of Kent, where he encamped between the two Daniſh armies, with the view of preventing a junction of their forces.

In this ſituation Alfred and the enemy remained during the beſt part of the year 894, in which innumerable ſkirmiſhes happened; for all detached parties of the Danes ſent from the main army to forage or plunder were intercepted by the Engliſh, whoſe attentive exertions effectually preſerved the ſurrounding country from devaſtation.

At length, that part of the Daniſh army which had taken poſſeſſion of Apuldore, impatient of confinement, abandoned their poſt, with a deſign to proceed to the Thames, and paſs over into Eſſex: but their intention was defeated by the vigilance of Alfred; who, apprized of their motions, immediately marched to Farnham, where he encountered and put them to flight. At the ſame time, Haſtings quitted his encampment at Milton, and retired to Beamflete; where he raiſed fortifications, and was afterwards joined by that part of the other army which had eſcaped from the battle of Farnham.

As Alfred was proceeding to Beamflete to attack the Danes in their fortifications, he received the unpleaſant intelligence that the Daniſh inhabitants of Eaſt Anglia and Northumberland, in violation of thoſe oaths which they took at their firſt ſettlement, and lately renewed, had revolted; and, having embarked on board two hundred and forty veſſels, had arrived in the Weſt of England, and were then laying ſiege to Exeter.

This news induced Alfred to leave ſome forces in London to protect that city from any attempts of the Danes, and to march the reſt of his army with the utmoſt expedition to Exeter; where his ſudden appearance ſo ſurprized the enemy, that they immediately raiſed the ſiege, and fled to their ſhips. Theſe rebels next ſailed to Chicheſter, with the view of ravaging the country; but the wiſe precautions which Alfred had taken for the defence of the coaſts compelling them to deſiſt from their enterprize, they proceeded to Beamflete, and joined the army under Haſtings.

In the mean time, the Danes who were in Eſſex, no longer reſtrained by the preſence of Alfred, advanced to the borders of Mercia for the purpoſe of committing depredations and accumulating plunder: but the forces left in London being informed of their operations, marched ſecretly to Beamflete, attacked the enemy's entrenchments; and, having defeated the guard which was left to defend them, took a conſiderable number of priſoners, among whom were the wife and two ſons of Haſtings. Theſe, Alfred, with his accuſtomed moderation, reſtored to the Daniſh chief, on condition that he and his followers ſhould depart the kingdom.

The power of the Danes being materially weakened by the departure of Haſtings, they were no longer able to make any reſolute ſtand againſt the arms of Alfred, who drove them from fort to fort, and from province to province, during the ſpace of two years; when, having experienced the extremes of miſery and diſappointment, haraſſed by continual ſkirmiſhes, and their numbers daily decreaſing by peſtilence, famine, and the ſword, they embarked at different ports of Northumberland in the year 897, and returned to the continent.

Having freed his kingdom from the depredations of theſe formidable adverſaries, he had no difficulty in ſubduing the inſurgents of Eaſt Anglia and Northumberland; for, diſpirited by the departure of their countrymen, they threw down their arms at his firſt approach, with earneſt ſupplications for mercy, and ſolemn promiſes of future obedience. He accepted their ſubmiſſions; but thought it prudent to take them under his immediate adminiſtration, inſtead of governing them by a viceroy of their own nation, as he had formerly done.

When he had thus eſtabliſhed his authority throughout the kingdom by wiſdom and courage, he paſſed the remainder of his reign in peace and tranquillity; having quitted the martial atchievements of the hero for the calmer, though more uſeful, labours of the legiſlator. By a life ſolely devoted to the public good, this excellent monarch had juſtly acquired the appellation of Alfred the Great; an epithet more frequently beſtowed by the proſtituted tongue of Adulation on the mere ſlave of Ambition, than conferred by a grateful people on a ſovereign whoſe actions evince true greatneſs of ſoul.

Alfred did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his virtues, as he died October 28, 901, in the thirtieth year of his reign and fifty-third of his age.

To enumerate all the actions of this illuſtrious prince which are worthy to be recorded in the annals of hiſtory, it would be neceſſary to give a ſuccinct detail of his private as well as of his public life: for no man, either as ſovereign or ſubject, ever anſwered the ends of his creation more fully than Alfred; never was mortal poſſeſſed of greater virtues, nor of fewer faults. Nature ſeems to have taken peculiar pleaſure in forming him, as if anxious to exhibit to the world a *chef-d'œuvre* of her ſkill, a pattern of human perfection: ſhe had implanted in his mind an artful combination of thoſe excellencies, an union of which appears incompatible with the frailty of man's beſt diſpoſition. The cooleſt moderation, with

with the moſt determined courage; the moſt exalted dignity, with the moſt winning affability; the firmeſt perſeverance, with the readieſt pliancy; the moſt rigid juſtice, with the mildeſt clemency; and the moſt extenſive abilities for ſcience, with the moſt ſplendid talents for war. Such were the virtues which ſhone with unexampled luſtre in the capacious mind of Alfred; a mind that was enſhrined within as bright a form as ever reflected the pure image of it's Creator!

We ſhould do but little juſtice to the character of this great prince, and convey but a very inadequate idea of the obligations for which this kingdom was indebted to his exertions, were we to confine ourſelves to general obſervations, or to a ſimple narration of his military exploits. Were we to paſs over in ſilence his ardent zeal for the promotion of literary knowledge; his earneſt anxiety for the encouragement of arts and ſciences; and his unwearied aſſiduity in the eſtabliſhment of wiſe and ſalutary laws; we might juſtly be deemed obnoxious to cenſure for neglect of duty.

The birth of Alfred happened at a time the moſt unfavourable that can be conceived for the acquiſition of knowledge: the kingdom was involved in confuſion, and univerſal darkneſs prevailed over the world of Science, who had hidden her diminiſhed head in the ſequeſtered abodes of Superſtition. Martial endowments being conſidered as the ſole accompliſhments which were worthy the attention of a prince, and the cultivation of literary talents conſequently neglected, the natural abilities of Alfred received no aid from education during his early infancy: he had even attained his thirteenth year before he was taught his letters; and then the inſtruction he received was the mere effect of chance. As the queen his mother was one day reading a book of Saxon poems, embelliſhed with beautiful ornaments, in the preſence of her children, they were all ſtricken with it's beauty, and expreſſed an ardent deſire to poſſeſs it; which induced the queen to declare, that it ſhould belong to him who ſhould be firſt able to read it. The young mind of Alfred was inſpired with emulative hope; and, by inſtant and earneſt application, he ſoon learned to read, and obtained the promiſed reward. From that moment his thirſt for knowledge became inſatiate, and reading and ſtudy formed his chief recreation; though his progreſs muſt have been conſiderably checked by the want of proper guides to lead him through the mazy paths of Science.

Such, according to his own account, was the groſs ignorance of the age—in a great meaſure owing to the continual ravages of the Danes, which afforded little leiſure for ſtudy—that, on his acceſſion to the throne, he knew but very few in the northern parts of his kingdom who were able to tranſlate the moſt ſimple paſſages of the Latin authors into their native language; and not a ſingle perſon, to the ſouth of the Thames, who had even advanced ſo far in the purſuit of literary knowledge. But Alfred, reſolved to humanize the ferocious diſpoſition of his ſubjects, which he knew could beſt be effected by the cultivation of letters, held out the greateſt temptation to foreigners, celebrated for their learning, to repair to his court, and ſettle in his kingdom. The invitation was accepted by ſeveral, who met with a gracious reception, and liberal rewards. Some of theſe he kept about his perſon as the companions of his ſtudies; and others he ſent to preſide over the ſchools which he had eſtabliſhed for public inſtruction.

We are told by Spelman, that the chief men of ſcience who adorned his court, were Aſſer, a monk of St. David's, in Wales, to whom we are indebted for the principal events of his life; Grimbald, a monk of Rheims, in France; Johannes Scotus, from Old Saxony—not Johannes Scotus Erigena, with whom he has been confounded by many authors; Plegmund, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; Werefred, Biſhop of Worceſter; Dunwulph, Biſhop of Wincheſter; Wulfſig and Ethelſtan, Biſhops of London; and Werebert, Biſhop of Cheſter. With their aſſiſtance, he not only promoted the extenſion of learning throughout his dominions, but acquired, himſelf, by the aid of intenſe application, an extraordinary degree of knowledge and erudition. Though a very conſiderable portion of his life was devoted to the more active occupations of government; to attempts to reſcue his kingdom from the deſtructive depredations of the Danes, in which he was preſent at fifty-ſix engagements by land and ſea: yet, by a ſtrict œconomy of his time, he found leiſure to compoſe many works of importance, the moſt perfect catalogue of which is preſerved in the Biographia Britannica. Among theſe were Saxon Tranſlations of the Paſtoral of Gregory the Firſt; Boethius de Conſolatione; and Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. In ſhort, ſuch was his proficiency in the ſciences, that he is ſaid to have joined to the energetic eloquence of an orator, the acute reaſoning of a philoſopher, and the excellence of an able hiſtorian. He was deeply verſed in mathematics, muſic, geometry, and architecture; and was deemed the beſt Saxon poet of the age.

When Alfred adopted the ſage reſolution of extending the benefits of learning, he found it neceſſary to eſtabliſh public ſchools on a more liberal plan than had hitherto prevailed; and for that purpoſe founded the noble univerſity of Oxford, which, according to Camden, originally conſiſted but of three halls or ſchools. The firſt, ſituated at the end of High Street, for grammarians, was called Little Univerſity Hall; the ſecond, in School Street, for philoſophy, was ſtiled Leſs Univerſity Hall; and the third, in High Street, to the weſt of the firſt, was termed Great Univerſity Hall, and is now Univerſity College. Under the auſpices of ſuch a founder, Oxford could not fail to thrive; and ſhe has accordingly preſerved her ſupremacy in the realms of liberal Science, where her ſway will be maintained till Genius ſhall become the offſpring of Envy. For the ſupport of this celebrated ſeat of learning, and of other ſchools which he had eſtabliſhed in different parts of the kingdom, Alfred allotted one-eighth part of his revenue; and, beſides this liberal endowment, the univerſity was honoured with ſeveral privileges and immunities.

To render his plan for the promotion of learning more effectual, all freeholders, poſſeſſed of two

hydes of land, which are ſaid to have been equivalent to two hundred acres, were enjoined by law to ſend their children to ſchool; and the only chance to obtain preferment, either in church or ſtate, was to acquire by ſtudy ſuch a degree of knowledge as, in the opinion of the king, formed an adequate qualification. Theſe various expedients were crowned with the ſucceſs they merited; and Alfred, before he died, had the ſatisfaction to behold the native ferocity of his ſubjects conſiderably abated, by the rapid ſtrides which, under his paternal care, they were daily making in their progreſs to uſeful refinement.

The ſtrict attention of Alfred to the purſuits of literature did not prevent him from affording every poſſible encouragement to thoſe arts which tend to promote the convenience or comfort of mankind. As the confuſion in which his dominions were involved at his acceſſion had been the means of driving all the artiſts from the kingdom, he was compelled to have recourſe to foreigners, whom he collected from all parts of Europe. By their aſſiſtance manufactures of all kinds were eſtabliſhed; and the certainty of reward proved an effectual incitement to induſtry. Any invention of utility, or improvement of art, was ſure of a liberal recompence; and the mercantile part of his ſubjects were prompted by their monarch to an augmentation of wealth by the extenſion of commerce. Voyages of diſcovery were highly encouraged; new ſources of trade were opened to the North and to the South; and the moſt precious productions of the Eaſt were to be ſeen at the court of Alfred, whoſe active ſpirit had led him to eſtabliſh a communication with the torrid climes of Aſia. By this increaſe of navigation, he was enabled to man a formidable fleet, and to wreſt from the piratical Danes the command of the ocean, which they had long exerciſed unrivalled and uncontrouled.

But the promotion of knowledge and encouragement of arts, though they tend to ſoften the manners, and humanize the mind, muſt ever be inadequate to the effectual repreſſion of vice, without the aſſiſtance of laws to reſtrain by the fear of puniſhment. Alfred, therefore, enacted many new laws, and compelled a rigid obſervance of ſuch as had been already eſtabliſhed, but from the anarchy which followed the irruption of the Danes had fallen into diſuſe; and, in ſhort, adopted every meaſure which human ſagacity could ſuggeſt for the ſtrict and regular diſtribution of juſtice throughout his dominions. To render this grand object a matter of greater facility, he is ſaid to have divided the kingdom into counties, or ſhires—ſo called from the Saxon word *ſcyre*, to divide—the counties into hundreds, and hundreds into tythings. But this aſſertion is certainly not correct; for ſimilar diviſions were in uſe among the Anglo-Saxons in their German territories; and ſuch ſubdiviſions are frequently mentioned by Bede, William of Malmeſbury, and other hiſtorians, long before the diſſolution of the Heptarchy: it is therefore probable that Alfred only made a new and more regular diviſion than had before ſubſiſted.

Every houſholder, or father of a family, was reſponſible for the conduct of all the individuals of which his family was compoſed; and even of his gueſts, if they remained in his houſe more than three days and nights. Ten neighbouring families formed a freeburgh, tything, or decennary, who were mutually reſponſible for the conduct of each other, and were placed under the immediate juriſdiction of one of their own members, choſen by themſelves, who was ſometimes called an Alderman, ſometimes a Tythingman, but moſt commonly a *Borſholder*, from the Saxon words *Borh*, a Surety; and *Alder*, a Head or Chief. Every man, who wiſhed to enjoy the protection of the laws, and exempt himſelf from the puniſhment of a vagrant, was under the neceſſity of entering his name on the regiſter of ſome tything; and no one could change his abode without a certificate of his good conduct from the borſholder of the tything which he had quitted.

The members of each tything, headed by their borſholder, conſtituted a court of juſtice, in which all diſputes that aroſe within the tything were decided; unleſs in caſes of peculiar importance or difficulty, which were referred to the deciſion of the next ſuperior court, that of the hundred; to which, indeed, an appeal lay from every ſentence of the tything-court.

When any member of a tything committed a crime, the borſholder was cited to anſwer for his appearance; or, in the modern phraſe, to bail him; and, if he refuſed, the culprit was committed to take his trial: but if he eſcaped, the tything was allowed thirty-one days to apprehend him; and, if he was not produced before the expiration of that period, the borſholder, and two other members of his tything, together with the borſholders of the three next tythings, and two other members from each of them, in all twelve, were compelled to make oath, "That none of the members of the tything to which the criminal belonged had been accomplices in his crime; that they had not favoured his eſcape; and that they had made every exertion to apprehend him." If they were unable to adduce this ample teſtimony of their innocence, the tything was obliged to pay the mulct preſcribed by law for the offence committed: but a mitigation of this laſt regulation afterwards took place, the oaths of the whole tything being received as a ſufficient exculpation, provided they alſo ſwore that they would exert their utmoſt endeavours to apprehend the criminal, and bring him to juſtice.

Thus every man being anſwerable for the conduct of his neighbour, was induced, by the moſt powerful of all human motives, Intereſt, to be careful and vigilant. The members of tythings being conſidered as mutual ſureties, gave riſe to the appellation of Frank-pledges, by which the tythings were occaſionally diſtinguiſhed.

It will be eaſily conceived, that the ſtricteſt bond of union ſubſiſted between the members of a ſociety thus conſtituted: accordingly, they were to be ſeen together in the day of battle; and, in time of peace, one table frequently ſufficed for a whole tything. If, during the common repaſt, any diſpute aroſe, a ſevere fine was immediately inflicted on the aggreſſor. If one of the members had ſuſtained an injury, they all united

united to procure redreſs. Was any one reduced to poverty, he was ſure of ſupport from the reſt. Any loſs incurred by an individual from fire, the death of cattle, or any accident whatever, was repaired by a general contribution. Of joy and grief they were equal partakers: a funeral or a feſtival was always attended by every member of the tything. And, laſtly, if any member was convicted of diſhoneſty or bad conduct, he ſuffered the puniſhment of expulſion, which was equivalent to the penalty now incurred by a ſentence of outlawry.

Never was any human inſtitution better adapted for the preſervation of peace and good order! The ſalutary effects it produced will not, therefore, excite ſurprize. It is obſerved by Ingulphus, that, by theſe means, ſuch profound tranquillity and perfect ſecurity were eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom, that if a traveller by accident left a ſum of money, however conſiderable, in the highways or open fields, he was ſure to find it the next morning, or even a month after, entire and untouched.

The hundred-court was the next in ſuperiority to the tything-court, and conſiſted of ten tythings, or a hundred families, preſided by a hundredary, who was generally a thane, but was elected in the ſame manner as a borſholder. This court aſſembled every month for the deciſion of appeals from the tything-court, and of controverſies between the members of different tythings. The members always came armed, in imitation of their German anceſtors; and, on their entrance into court at the commencement of the ſeſſion, touched the ſpear of the hundredary with their own, as an acknowledgment of his authority, and of their promptitude to attend him to the field. Hence it derived the appellation of *Wapentac*. In order to avoid the inconveniences which would naturally ariſe from a difference of opinion in ſo large a body of judges, twelve were choſen from the whole number; who, with the preſident or hundredary, being ſworn to an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, proceeded to try ſuch cauſes as came within their juriſdiction.

From this mode of deciſion which prevailed in the reign of Alfred, an important inference has been drawn by ſome writers of learning and eminence, viz. That Alfred was the inventor of that mode of trial, which was the ſame as our preſent mode of trial by jury; and that conſequently we are indebted to him for that ſacred palladium of Britiſh liberty. Were we to admit the validity of ſuch an inference, we might act in a manner conſiſtent with the character of an enthuſiaſtic panegyriſt, but certainly not with that of an impartial hiſtorian: for it evidently contains two aſſertions equally unſupported by fact. In the firſt place, the preſident and twelve aſſeſſors of the hundred-court differed eſſentially from our modern jurymen: as they formed a permanent body; were choſen without any liberty of exception to the priſoner; and, from the circumſtance of the preſident being ſworn with them, which increaſed the number to thirteen, it is manifeſt that unanimity of opinion was not requiſite, but that their deciſions were ruled by a majority. Hence the grand characteriſtics of an Engliſh jury are not to be traced in the proceedings of a Saxon Wapentac, which bore a much ſtronger reſemblance to the preſent courts of juſtice in France, known by the name of Parliaments. Indeed, the introduction of trial by a jury of twelve men appears not to have taken place in England till the reign of William the Firſt, who probably imported it from his native country: for it had prevailed in Scandinavia in very remote ages, and was brought from thence into that part of France which was poſſeſſed by Rollo and his followers, and from them called Normandy; though the ſpirit of chivalry which prevailed in thoſe times, prevented it from becoming general in this kingdom till a much later period than the reign of William.

In the next place, it is certain that Alfred was not the firſt who introduced the mode of trial obſerved in the hundred-courts; for there is ſufficient evidence to prove that it's origin is of a much more ancient date, and that it had been long in uſe, not only in England, but in many other nations.

Beſides the monthly ſeſſions of the hundred, there was a yearly meeting for the inveſtigation of crimes, for correction of abuſes in the exerciſe of magiſterial authority, and compelling every perſon to ſhew to what tything he belonged.

The next ſuperior court to that of the hundred was called the Shiregemote; in which the alderman or earl of the ſhire preſided in conjunction with the biſhop. This was a court of great importance and authority: it not only received appeals from the inferior courts, but decided all cauſes of conſequence, whether civil, criminal, military, or eccleſiaſtical. It was held only twice a year, in ſpring and autumn; ſo that, though it ſat for ſeveral days, it could not poſſibly diſpatch all the cauſes which were preſented for it's deciſion. To remedy this inconvenience, county-courts were held monthly by the ſhiregerieve or ſheriff, which are ſometimes diſtinguiſhed by the denomination of *Folckmotes*.

An appeal from all theſe courts lay to the king in council, who was bound by his coronation oath to adminiſter juſtice in perſon whenever it ſhould be requiſite. Aſſer ſays, that Alfred ſometimes paſſed the whole night in hearing appeals from the ſentences of inferior judges, which he was frequently obliged to reverſe. When he found that thoſe deciſions which required correction proceeded from ignorance, the magiſtrate was ſeverely reprimanded, and compelled either to reſign his office, or to qualify himſelf to hold it by ſtudy and attention to the laws: but, when corruption was found to be the ſource of injuſtice, no penalty was deemed too ſevere; and, if the author of The Mirror of Juſtice may be credited, Alfred cauſed capital puniſhments to be inflicted, for malverſation in office, on no leſs than two and forty judges in one year.

Beſides the courts we have mentioned, there was a ſuperior court, at which the king himſelf preſided; and which, being ſuppoſed to contain the collective talents and wiſdom of the whole kingdom, was honoured with the appellation of *Wittena-Gemote*, or *Aſſembly of wiſe Men*. It was the peculiar province of this ſupreme court to enact laws; eſtabliſh impoſts;

poſts; decide all queſtions relative to peace and war; to determine cauſes of the higheſt moment; and, finally, to regulate the moſt important acts of public adminiſtration: ſo that it's oſtenſible authority was equivalent to the power of our preſent parliaments, and the prerogative of our kings. But as the monarch always propoſed the ſubject of debate which had been previouſly diſcuſſed in the privy council, his influence was conſiderable; and, indeed, where any queſtion is agitated in the preſence of a monarch, whoſe ſentiments are firſt known, it requires a much greater firmneſs of mind than is poſſeſſed by the largeſt portion of mankind, to aſſert that independence of thought and freedom of ſpeech which conſtitutes the ſoul of debate.

All archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, preſbyters, aldermen, heretoges, ſhiregerieves, and judges, were, in virtue of their reſpective offices, entitled to a ſeat in the Wittena-gemote; all proprietors of land to a certain amount were likewiſe members of it: but whether the ceorls, or huſbandmen, and farmers of inferior property, were allowed this privilege, is not yet aſcertained; though much time and learned labour have been ſpent in the inveſtigation. Attempts have, indeed, been made to prove that they were repreſented by their tythingmen or borſholders, and the traders and mechanics by their portreeves: but no evidence has been adduced that could poſſibly operate conviction.

When the ceorls had, by ſucceſſion or induſtry, increaſed their property to the amount of the ſtipulated qualification, they were declared by an expreſs law to be thanes and members of the Wittena-gemote. The qualification was five hydes of land; and all freemen poſſeſſed of ſuch an eſtate, with a church, a bell-houſe, and manor-place, upon it, were conſidered as nobles, and entitled to be members. This qualification was probably found too ſmall, as it was afterwards gradually augmented; till, in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, it was fixed at forty hydes, or about four thouſand acres. The members of the Wittena-gemote enjoyed many privileges; and their perſonal ſecurity was ſpecially provided for, both in going to and returning from the aſſembly, except they were *notorious thieves and robbers*.

The time of meeting in this national council was entirely arbitrary, depending ſolely on the king's pleaſure: it was therefore extremely irregular, and ſometimes ſeveral years elapſed without a ſingle meeting taking place; till Alfred eſtabliſhed, as a perpetual uſage, that the Wittena-gemote ſhould meet regularly twice every year, and oftener, if occaſion ſhould require, "to treat of the government of God's people, how they ſhould keep themſelves from ſin, live in peace, and receive juſtice." Theſe meetings were held in London; which by this means became the capital of England.

In order to render the adminiſtration of juſtice uniform and certain, Alfred compiled a body of laws, which was called his *Dome Book*, or *Liber Judicialis*, for the general uſe of the whole kingdom. Theſe were ſelected partly from the judicial laws of the Old Teſtament, and partly from the inſtitutions of Ethelbert, King of Kent; Ina, King of Weſſex; and Offa, King of Mercia; to which he made conſiderable additions, adapted to the times and to the circumſtances of his ſubjects. Hence he is entitled, by our ancient hiſtorians, *Legum Anglicanarum Conditor*.

Though many of theſe various arrangements were derived from the cuſtoms of the ancient Germans, and the practice of the early Saxons, they were indebted to the capacious mind of Alfred for that reformation, improvement, and extenſion, which formed their peculiar excellence. So juſt was the adaptation of each to the purpoſe it was deſtined to anſwer, that not one failed to operate the effect it was expected to produce. In ſhort, the wiſdom of his plans acquired the moſt perfect demonſtration from the univerſality of their ſucceſs. The ſpirit of rapine and plunder which prevailed throughout the kingdom at the acceſſion of Alfred, was during his reign converted into a love of integrity, and an eſteem for virtue. Vice, awed by example, or repreſſed by fear, was compelled to lurk in ſecret; and Alfred, to prove honeſty by the teſt of temptation, is ſaid to have ſuſpended golden bracelets near the public road, which no man dared to touch.

If any thing could tend more ſtrongly to manifeſt the inviolable regard of Alfred for the rights and liberties of his ſubjects than the wiſe regulations which he adopted for the ſtrict enforcement of juſtice, it would be that glorious ſentiment preſerved in his will—"That it was juſt the Engliſh ſhould ever remain as free as their own thoughts!" A ſentiment that reflects equal honour on the head and heart of that illuſtrious monarch.

Alfred left two ſons, Ethelward and Edward. The former, inheriting his father's paſſion for ſtudy, devoted his life to retirement, and yielded his title to the crown to his brother Edward; who, being the firſt Engliſh monarch of that name, is diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Edward the Elder.

EDWARD THE ELDER.

EDWARD aſcended the throne in the year 901; but found his title diſputed by Ethelwald, his couſin-german, ſon of Ethelbert, the elder brother of Alfred; who inſiſted, that though by the will of his grandfather his uncles had enjoyed the throne, it could never be the intention of Ethelwolf that the ſon of his youngeſt child ſhould inherit in preference to that of the eldeſt. His arguments were certainly plauſive, and he only wanted power to make them efficient. Reſolved, however, to ſecond his pretenſions by force, he armed his partizans, and ſeized Winburn, in Dorſetſhire, a place of conſiderable ſtrength,

ſtrength, where he expreſſed a determination to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity: but Edward approaching with a powerful army, Ethelwald liſtened to the dictates of prudence, and betook himſelf to flight. He firſt fled to Normandy: but, recollecting that the projects of ambition could only be accompliſhed by a total diſregard of perſonal ſafety, he ſoon returned to England, and landed in Northumberland; in hopes to excite the Danes, who were ſettled in that country, and no longer awed by the ſuperior talents of Alfred, to eſpouſe his cauſe. The event fully anſwered his expectations: the Northumbrians acknowledged him as ſovereign of England, and engaged their countrymen in Eaſt Anglia to follow their example. Encouraged by this acquiſition of ſtrength, he made another voyage to the continent; and having, by the lure of plunder, enticed numbers to his ſtandard, came back to Northumberland to commence his operations. In his abſence, the Five-Burgers had declared for him, and had taken poſſeſſion of ſeveral ſtrong places in the centre of Mercia, but were ſoon diſlodged by the activity of Edward.

Ethelwald, finding himſelf at the head of a powerful army, made incurſions into the counties of Oxford, Glouceſter, and Wilts; in which he exerciſed his depredations without interruption, and retired with his plunder before the king was able to approach him. But Edward followed him into Eaſt Anglia; and, being prevented by the ſpeed of the rebels from coming to an engagement, reſolved to retaliate the injuries they had committed, by ſubjecting the Daniſh inhabitants of that province to ſimilar inconveniences. When he had ravaged the ſurrounding country, he gave orders to his army to retreat; but the Kentiſhmen, prompted to diſobedience by an avidity of ſpoil, refuſed to follow him, and eſtabliſhed their quarters at Bury, where they were attacked by the Danes, who after an obſtinate conflict remained maſters of the field. The rebels, however, paid dear for this trifling advantage, as many of their beſt officers, together with Eonric, a Daniſh prince, and Ethelwald their leader, periſhed in the action.

Edward, though freed from the fear of ſo formidable a competitor, had ſtill an arduous taſk to perform for the reſtoration of his kingdom to a ſtate of tranquillity. It was ſome years before he could reduce the Danes of Mercia and Eaſt Anglia to thorough obedience, and build the towns and caſtles which he found it neceſſary to erect in convenient places, in order to enſure their ſubjection to his authority. The Northumbrian Danes were ſtill more refractory; and their numbers and ſituation rendered it more difficult to enforce their ſubmiſſion. To inſpire them with awe, Edward prepared a fleet of one hundred ſhips in the different ports of Kent, and ſailed to the coaſt of Northumberland in the year 911.

The Northumbrians imagining that the greateſt part of his forces were embarked, and being more anxious to invade the property of others than to preſerve their own, embraced the opportunity to renew their depredations; and, advancing into the heart of the kingdom, collected a conſiderable booty. But, as they were returning with the ſpoil, they were overtaken, by an army aſſembled for the purpoſe, at Tetenhall, in Staffordſhire, where they ſuſtained ſuch a ſignal defeat, having loſt ſeveral thouſands of their men, with two of their chieftains, and a great number of their officers, that they were compelled to retire to their habitations, and remain quiet, however reluctantly, for ſeveral years.

About this time, Edward loſt an adherent of approved fidelity, by the death of his brother-in-law Ethered, governor of Mercia; but Ethelfleda, his widow, aſſumed the reins of government, and ruled the province with equal ability and ſucceſs.

This extraordinary princeſs, having narrowly eſcaped with her life in a dangerous labour, refuſed afterwards to admit her huſband to her bed; and, foregoing the effeminate occupations of her ſex, devoted the remainder of her life to the exerciſe of arms. She had frequently given ſignal proofs of her courage and conduct at the head of her huſband's troops; and, after his death, proved herſelf a worthy companion of her brother in the purſuit of military fame.

This Saxon heroine fortified all the places in her government which were tenable againſt a foe; and then marched againſt the Welſh, whom ſhe totally ſubdued.

At the ſame time, Edward rebuilt the town of Hertford, which the Danes had reduced to ruin; and alſo raiſed fortifications at Witham, in Eſſex, to defend the neighbouring inhabitants from their deſtructive ravages.

During the ſhort pauſe of tranquillity that followed the accompliſhment of theſe precautions, which he had taken for the ſecurity of his kingdom, he beſtowed his attention on the propagation of arts and the extenſion of ſcience; and is ſaid to have founded the Univerſity of Cambridge, whither he invited teachers of the liberal arts, and doctors in theology, to repair from Oxford.

When the Danes, however, had ſufficiently recovered themſelves from their laſt defeat, they interrupted his repoſe, by making freſh incurſions into Oxfordſhire and Bedfordſhire; though they were conſtantly defeated, and compelled to retire: but a ſwarm of Daniſh pirates arrived ſoon after from Normandy and Britanny, under the command of Otar and Rohault; and, entering the River Severn, ravaged both the Welſh and Engliſh territories with indiſcriminate devaſtation. They next advanced towards Herefordſhire and Glouceſterſhire; but, being met by the militia of thoſe counties, were defeated in a pitched battle, in which Rohault was ſlain. Still they attempted to continue their depredations; but the vigilance and activity of Edward effectually repreſſed them: he overcame them in ſeveral ſucceſſive engagements; and, finally, compelled them to abandon the iſland.

Having freed himſelf from theſe foreign invaders, his next care was to prevent the Danes who were ſettled in England from imitating the conduct of their countrymen. With this view, he marched into Buckinghamſhire, where many of them were

eſtabliſhed; and having vanquiſhed Thurketill, a Daniſh chieftain of great power and property, whom he afterwards obliged to retire to the continent, erected forts on each ſide the Ouze, to keep thoſe in the vicinity in awe.

In the year 920, Edward loſt his ſiſter Ethelfleda, and took the government of Mercia into his own hands. That ſame year he fortified Wigmore, in Herefordſhire; and Towceſter, in Northamptonſhire, on which the Danes had made an attempt; but, being repulſed with conſiderable loſs, they ravaged the country, and excited their countrymen in Eaſt Anglia to revolt. They then erected a fort at Thamesford, in Bedfordſhire; from whence they made incurſions into the neighbourhood, and committed their uſual depredations; till Edward attacked them, levelled their fortifications with the ground, and put the whole garriſon to the ſword. At Colcheſter, alſo, where they had raiſed a fortreſs for the ſame purpoſe, they experienced a ſimilar fate: but, exaſperated at the juſt ſeverity of Edward, all the Danes in the iſland revolted; and, aſſembling a numerous army, laid ſiege to Maldon; whence, after having ſuſtained repeated loſſes from the vigorous ſallies of the garriſon, they were obliged to decamp. At length, diſpirited by ſuch a conſtant ſucceſſion of defeats, they changed the proud tone of defiance for the humiliating language of ſupplication; and, in conſequence of unconditional ſubmiſſion, theſe rebellious ſubjects received the pardon of Edward, who contented himſelf with exacting a freſh oath of allegiance, and a ſolemn promiſe to ſtand forth in his defence on any future emergency.

While the Engliſh monarch was thus occupied in ſubduing the Danes of the South, his ſon Athelſtan had marched againſt thoſe of Northumberland, who lived in a ſtate of independence, and were the inſtigators and fomenters of the various rebellions which diſturbed the tranquillity of the kingdom. Their two rival chieftains, Sidroc and Reginald, who had long been at variance, ſuppreſſed their private animoſity at the approach of Athelſtan; and, having entered into a league with Conſtantine, King of Scotland, who ſent an army to their aſſiſtance under the command of his ſon Malcolm, advanced to give him battle: but, being routed with great ſlaughter, they ſued for peace, and ſubmitted to ſuch terms as the conqueror was pleaſed to impoſe.

Two years after, in 922, Edward made a ſucceſsful expedition into Wales, and reduced all the Britiſh princes in that country to a ſtate of ſubjection; and, in the enſuing year, the Britons of Cumbria and Strath-Cluyd alſo ſubmitted to his empire. The Scots, too, who during the reign of Egbert had, under the command of Kenneth, their king, acquired a conſiderable augmentation of power by the final reduction of the Picts, are ſaid by ſome hiſtorians to have been obliged to do homage to Edward for their kingdom.

After an active and ſplendid reign, during which he had rendered himſelf an object of terror to his enemies, by his courage and military talents; and of eſteem to his ſubjects, by his mild and equitable adminiſtration; Edward reſigned his breath at Farington, in Berkſhire, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in the year 925.

Edward had three natural children by Egwina, a young maiden of remarkable beauty and accompliſhments, though of humble birth: Athelſtan, the eldeſt, who ſucceeded him in the throne; Alfred, who died before his father; and a daughter, by ſome named Editha, and by others Beatrix.

He had likewiſe two wives; by the firſt of which, Elflida, daughter of Elfhelm, a Saxon earl, he had two ſons: Ethelwald, who died juſt before his father; and Edwin. She alſo bore him ſix daughters, two of whom were nuns; two were married to Charles the Simple, and Hugh Capet, kings of France; a fifth to Otho, Emperor of Germany; and the youngeſt to Lewis the Blind, King of Provence.

By his ſecond wife he had two ſons, Edmund and Edred, who ſucceſſively reigned in England; and two daughters, one a nun, and the other married to a foreign prince.

ATHELSTAN.

ILLEGITIMACY of birth was not in thoſe times ſuffered to operate as a diſqualification to reign: Athelſtan, therefore, aſſerted the right of primogeniture, and aſcended the throne of his father, after being ſolemnly crowned at Kingſton upon Thames, by Athelm, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

To a diſpoſition naturally good, this monarch united the advantages of a refined education, which he had received under the immediate inſpection of his illuſtrious aunt, Ethelfleda, to whoſe care he had been entruſted by his father. He had had frequent opportunities to ſignalize his courage during the life of Edward, whom he accompanied in all his expeditions; and, as he was always admitted to his councils, his political knowledge received equal improvement with his military ſkill.

Yet, notwithſtanding theſe qualifications, the murmur of diſcontent was heard on his acceſſion; and a conſpiracy is ſaid to have been formed by ſome noblemen of high rank to depoſe Athelſtan, and place his brother Edwin on the throne. Their deſign, however, being diſcovered, Alfred, the chief conſpirator, was ſeized and brought to trial; but the evidence adduced to prove his guilt being inſufficient to convict him, his offer to aſſert his innocence by oath in the preſence of the Pope was accepted, and he was accordingly ſent to Rome. The oath was adminiſtered by John, who was then veſted with the papal dignity; and Alfred had no ſooner taken it than he fell into convulſions, of which he expired in three days. A ſtronger indication of his guilt could not have been offered to the ſovereign pontiff, who ordered the body to be placed in the Engliſh college till he knew whether Athelſtan would allow

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it Chriſtian burial. The king, well pleaſed at the news of his death, immediately confiſcated his eſtate, as if he had been really convicted of treaſon, and beſtowed it on the monaſtery of Malmſbury; taking ſpecial care that all the particulars of this ſuperſtitious tranſaction ſhould be inſerted in the grant.

This revolt of the nobles inſpired the Daniſh inhabitants of the iſland with an idea of emancipating themſelves from an authority which had been impoſed by force, and borne with impatience. Athelſtan perceiving every ſymptom of a general inſurrection, and dreading to be expoſed to thoſe continual commotions which had diſturbed the repoſe of his predeceſſors, reſolved if poſſible to adopt ſome mode of attaching them firmly to his intereſts. With this view, he conferred on Sithric, prince of the Northumbrian Danes, the title of King, and beſtowed on him his ſiſter Editha in marriage; at the ſame time yielding to him the ſovereignty of the whole country from the River Tees to Edinburgh, which ſeems to have been at that time the northern extremity of the Engliſh territories.

The ſucceſs naturally to be expected from ſo wiſe a compliance with the dictates of ſound policy was, however, defeated by the death of Sithric, which happened in a few months after his marriage; when Anlaff and Guthfert, his ſons by a former wife, ſeized the reins of government, and made an open declaration of their independence on Athelſtan: but, on the approach of an Engliſh army, they thought it prudent to abandon their country; and Anlaff fled for refuge to Ireland, while his brother retired to the court of Conſtantine, King of Scotland, to whom meſſengers were immediately diſpatched by the Engliſh monarch, requeſting that Guthfert might be delivered into his hands. Conſtantine, unwilling to violate the rights of hoſpitality, for ſome time reſiſted the ſolicitations of Athelſtan; but, when thoſe ſolicitations were converted into menaces, prudence dictated an apparent compliance; and a promiſe was accordingly made to yield up his gueſt, though without the leaſt intent of performance: for Guthfert, apprized by the Scottiſh king of the danger that threatened him, made his eſcape. Conſtantine, to appeaſe the rage of a monarch whoſe power he dreaded, propoſed an interview with Athelſtan, which took place at Dackers, in Cumberland; where a compromiſe was effected, apparently to their mutual ſatisfaction.

This reconciliation, however, was not productive of friendſhip; for Conſtantine ſoon after formed a confederacy againſt Athelſtan, in which he engaged Anlaff, the Northumbrian pretender; and Ewen, Prince of Cumberland: but Athelſtan receiving intelligence of their deſigns before they were ripe for execution, advanced with his army into Scotland, in the year 934, ravaged the whole country with impunity, and reduced Conſtantine to ſue for peace; which was granted him, on condition that he ſhould do homage for his kingdom.

This laſt circumſtance is ſtrenuouſly denied by the Scotch, and as firmly ſupported by the Engliſh hiſtorians. The conteſt is of little importance; for, whether the fact be aſcertained or confuted, neither honour nor diſgrace can poſſibly accrue to the inhabitants of either nation. But if we conſider the reſpective ſtrength of the two monarchs, we muſt certainly conclude that an exaction of homage was likely to be made by the one, and ſubmitted to by the other. Indeed, both parties agree that Conſtantine was indebted for the preſervation of his crown to the ſubmiſſions he made: and, as it is ſcarcely probable that a victorious monarch, who conceived himſelf injured, ſhould be contented with a ſimple apology from the aggreſſor, a ceſſion of territory, or acknowledgement of ſuperiority, were the only marks of ſubmiſſion that could be required or accepted; and, as the former was not made, it is fair to preſume that the latter was impoſed.

While Athelſtan was acquiring an increaſe of glory by the humiliation of his enemies, his domeſtic repoſe was diſturbed by the intervention of an unfortunate circumſtance, which is thus related by Brompton. A nobleman, who entertained a profeſſed enmity to Edwin, the king's brother, accuſed that prince of being concerned in the conſpiracy of Alfred; and Athelſtan, affording too ready an attention to this ill-grounded accuſation, reſolved to operate his deſtruction. Fearing, however, to expoſe himſelf to popular indignation by a public execution, he ordered his unfortunate brother to be placed in a boat without rudder or ſails, and committed to the fury of the waves. Edwin, who ſtrenuouſly aſſerted his innocence, finding his ſupplications for mercy were fruitleſs, patiently reſigned himſelf to his fate; and, ſeeing his deſtruction was inevitable, haſtened it's period by caſting himſelf headlong into the ſea. The authenticity of this account, however, is queſtioned by Malmſbury; and, by ſome authors, the whole of the event is treated as a fiction. Huntingdon, indeed, remarks, that Edwin periſhed at ſea; but mentions his death as an accident that was much lamented by Athelſtan.

During theſe tranſactions, a freſh ſtorm was gathering in the north; for, as ſoon as Athelſtan returned to England, Anlaff and Conſtantine had formed a project to renew their confederacy: and, as they exerted the utmoſt caution, and obſerved the moſt profound ſecrecy, their preparations did not ſuffer interruption from premature diſcovery. At the expiration of four years, they were amply prepared for a formidable invaſion; and Anlaff, with a conſiderable body of Daniſh pirates whom he had found hovering on the Iriſh coaſt, having joined Conſtantine, whoſe troops were already united to thoſe of the Welſh and Britons under Ewen, the confederate army marched into England in 938.

They had advanced pretty far into Northumberland before Athelſtan was apprized of their intentions; but, their progreſs being impeded by ſome ſtrong towns which they found it neceſſary to gain poſſeſſion of, he had ſufficient time to collect his army, and march to oppoſe them, before they had quitted that county. The Engliſh monarch came in ſight of the invaders at a place by our ancient hiſtorians called *Brunanburgh*; by ſome ſuppoſed to be Bromford, near Bromridge; by others, Brunſbury,

bury, in Northumberland: but the exact ſituation of the town is by no means aſcertained.

It appears that the two armies lay near to each other for ſome days before an action took place; during which time, Anlaff is ſaid to have employed the ſame ſtratagem which had been formerly practiſed by Alfred to gain admiſſion into the Daniſh camp, though it was not productive of the ſame conſequences.

Having aſſumed the diſguiſe of a minſtrel, he entered the camp of the Engliſh, who flocked about him; and, being highly delighted with his ſkill in minſtrelſy, introduced him to the tent of Athelſtan, who was at dinner with his principal officers. Anlaff played to them during their repaſt; and was afterwards diſmiſſed with a reward, which prudence forbade him to refuſe: but when he had quitted the king's tent, and thought himſelf free from obſervation, an impulſe of pride, the moſt abſurd and miſplaced, induced him to bury the money which had been given him. This action being noticed by a ſoldier, excited ſuſpicion; and, advancing towards the minſtrel, he diſcovered him to be Anlaff. He ſuffered him, however, to retire in ſafety from the camp; and then went to the king, to whom he made known his diſcovery. Athelſtan cenſured the ſoldier for not ſeizing Anlaff, or at leaſt giving ſuch timely information that his eſcape might have been prevented: but the man offered an ample juſtification of his conduct, by obſerving, that he had formerly ſerved under Anlaff, and conſequently ſworn fealty to him; that, therefore, if he had betrayed him to inevitable deſtruction, he ſhould have deemed himſelf a traitor, and ſhould have expected diſmiſſion from the ſervice of his ſovereign as one incapable of preſerving his allegiance. The king, having beſtowed due praiſe on ſuch liberal ſentiments of honour and generoſity, revolved the tranſaction in his mind; and, foreſeeing that ſome important ſtep would be taken in conſequence of the obſervations made by Anlaff, determined immediately to remove his tent to a diſtant quarter of the camp. The event ſoon evinced the wiſdom of this precaution; for a biſhop with his retinue arriving ſoon after, and pitching his tent on the ſpot where the royal pavilion had ſtood, was attacked in the night, and himſelf and his followers were cut in pieces.

The alarm produced by this attack was the means of bringing on a general engagement, which commenced with the firſt dawn of day, and raged with incredible fury till the approach of evening; when Turketul, the Engliſh chancellor, at the head of a choſen band of Londoners, exerting the moſt deſperate efforts of valour, bore down all before him, and decided the conteſt in favour of Athelſtan. This important action afforded a fertile field for the diſplay of their talents, to the poets, hiſtorians, and chroniclers of the age, who diſtinguiſhed it by the name of *The Great Battle*. Five of the confederate princes, twelve chieftains, with the greater part of their army, were left dead on the field; and Conſtantine and Anlaff eſcaped with difficulty.

By this victory, not leſs ſplendid in it's attainment than uſeful in it's effects, all England was reduced to acknowledge the ſupremacy of Athelſtan; and the Welſh, who had ſupplied the confederates with auxiliary troops, were compelled to ſubmit to a conſiderable augmentation of tribute.

Athelſtan was now, by the enjoyment of tranquillity, afforded an opportunity to convince his ſubjects that his wiſdom in peace was equal to his activity in war. He made ſome additions to the laws which had been promulgated by his grandfather Alfred; and witheld no exertions which could any way contribute to the ſecurity of his people. He attempted to defend his kingdom from foreign invaſion, by an extenſive increaſe of the fortifications raiſed by his predeceſſors; and to prevent the danger of domeſtic commotions, by a ſteady adherence to the impartial decrees of juſtice. He framed a remarkable law for the encouragement of commerce; which, when the effects of military prejudice in that warlike age are duly conſidered, muſt be eſteemed as no inconſiderable effort of liberality. It enacted, that a merchant, who had made three long voyages on his own account, ſhould be admitted to the rank of a Thane. By another of his laws a ſimilar indulgence was allowed to proficients in learning. It decreed, that "If any man make ſuch proficiency in learning as to obtain prieſt's orders, he ſhall enjoy all the honours and privileges of a Thane."

Athelſtan himſelf is repreſented by ancient writers as a man of extraordinary erudition, and as not leſs active to promote the intereſts of literature than his illuſtrious grandfather; though the times were peculiarly unfavourable to his attempts, as they did not give birth to a ſingle man of literary genius. He is alſo ſaid to have engaged certain learned Jews, who then reſided in his dominions, to compleat a Saxon tranſlation of the Old Teſtament. In ſhort, ſuch was the reputation he acquired by his military and political talents, that his alliance was courted by the greateſt princes of Europe, four of whom were married to his ſiſters.

This prince died at Glouceſter, an object of univerſal reſpect and eſteem, in the year 941, after a reign of ſixteen years; and, leaving no iſſue, was ſucceeded by Edmund, his legitimate brother.

EDMUND.

THIS prince was only eighteen when he acceded to the throne; and his youth afforded encouragement to the Danes—who, though ſubjected, ſtill cheriſhed a ſpirit of rebellion—to free themſelves from the Engliſh yoke.

Anlaff, the Northumbrian pretender, who had fled to Ireland after the battle of Brunanburgh, now returned to England, accompanied by his couſin Reginald; and, being aware of this diſpoſition of the Danes, made every poſſible attempt to raiſe the embers

embers of revolt into a flame. Finding every thing ripe for a general inſurrection, he ſuppreſſed their ardour till he had received ſome ſuccours which he expected from Olaus, King of Norway. As ſoon as they arrived, he commenced his operations; and, advancing at the head of a formidable army, took poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns in Northumberland, and put the troops who defended them to the ſword. He then penetrated into Mercia; took Northampton; and, proceeding from thence to Tamworth, laid waſte the whole country in his march. He obtained poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns which had been taken from his countrymen the Five-Burghers by Edward the Elder, and reſtored them to thoſe dangerous ſubjects.

Edmund aſſembled his troops in haſte, and marched to oppoſe the progreſs of Anlaff; who, confiding in the ſuperiority of his numbers, advanced to meet him. The two armies met at Cheſter, where a deſperate action was fought with equal fury and advantage, till night put an end to the conteſt; when the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, who it ſeems were with the army, anxious to put a ſtop to the effuſion of blood, propoſed terms of accommodation; which were accepted, though with great reluctance on the part of Edmund. By this treaty, Edmund ceded to Anlaff all the country lying to the north of Watling Street, a Roman cauſeway which, extending from North Wales through the moſt ſouthern parts of Kent quite to the ſea, divided England into two parts nearly equal. Edmund muſt certainly have been very ill prepared for the reception of an enemy, and conſequently very anxious to defer a trial of ſtrength till better able to ſupport it, or he would never have made ſo conſiderable a ceſſion of territory to a rebel.

Anlaff, however, was no ſooner put in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown of Northumberland, than he incurred the indignation of his ſubjects by a ſevere exaction of onerous impoſts, to enable him to diſcharge the obligations he had contracted with the Norwegian monarch, to whoſe aſſiſtance he was in a great meaſure indebted for his preſent elevation. A revolt was the immediate conſequence; and he had the mortification to ſee his couſin Reginald ſet up by the people as a competitor for the crown.

Edmund, juſtly deeming the conjuncture favourable to the recovery of the dominions he had lately ceded, marched an army to the north; and arrived on the borders of Northumberland before either of the contending monarchs had received the ſmalleſt intimation of his approach. Unprepared for reſiſtance, they had recourſe to ſubmiſſion; and, foregoing their pretenſions to royalty, reſigned their pride with their claims, and ſought to avert his indignation by the moſt abject and humiliating ſupplications. As a more certain pledge of their future obedience than could be derived from promiſes or oaths, they expreſſed their willingneſs to embrace Chriſtianity; and the king, accepting their ſubmiſſions, anſwered for them both at the baptiſmal font. He thought it prudent, however, to expel the Five-Burghers from thoſe towns of Mercia which had been reſtored to them by Anlaff, as they had always evinced a readineſs to promote rebellion whenever an opportunity offered.

But the king's mildneſs to the Northumbrians was inadequate to inſpire them with gratitude: for, notwithſtanding their profeſſions of obedience, they ſoon engaged in a revolt, which compelled Edmund again to march his army into Northumberland; from whence he expelled the two rebellious chieftains, and once more reduced that country to a ſtate of perfect ſubjection, in the year 944. And as the Cumbrian and Strath-Cluyd Britons had conſtantly aſſiſted the Danes, he marched into their territories the following year; and, having conquered them, beſtowed their dominions on Malcolm, King of Scotland, on condition that he ſhould hold them as a fief of the crown of England, and protect the north from all future incurſions of the Danes.

Though much of Edmund's time was neceſſarily devoted to military purſuits, yet was it not ſo wholly engroſſed by them as to prevent him from paying due attention to the civil government of his kingdom. He made many laws, the excellence of which forms a ſubſtantial proof of his wiſdom. He endeavoured to obviate the fatal conſequences ariſing from the frequency of private combats for the precarious infliction of puniſhment on the guilty, and to repreſs the animoſity of domeſtic feuds. Obſerving the incompetency of pecuniary mulcts to reſtrain thefts, the ſole puniſhment hitherto employed, he decreed, that the eldeſt of the gang ſhould ſuffer death, on conviction.

Edmund had diſplayed ſo much ſpirit and equity in the exerciſe of regal authority, that his ſubjects were juſtified in their expectation of a ſplendid and happy reign: but an extraordinary accident deprived them of a monarch who ſeemed formed to conſtitute their pride and felicity. As he was ſolemnizing the feaſt of St. Auſtin, at Pucklechurch, in Glouceſterſhire, a notorious robber, named Leolf, whom he had condemned to baniſhment, had the inſolence to enter the hall where he was at dinner with his nobles. The king obſerving him, ordered him inſtantly to leave the room; but Leolf, perſiſting in his inſolence, refuſed to obey. Inflamed with paſſion, and probably heated with wine, Edmund ſprang from his ſeat; and, ſeizing the culprit by the hair, brought him to the ground. Leolf, knowing that an ignominious death muſt be the conſequence of his temerity, reſolved not to periſh alone; and, drawing his dagger, plunged it in the boſom of his ſovereign, who inſtantly expired.

Thus periſhed Edmund, in the year 948, the ſeventh of his reign, and twenty-fourth of his age.

EDRED.

THOUGH Edmund left two ſons, Edwy and Edgar, as they were both in their infancy, his brother Edred was raiſed to the throne by the unanimous conſent of the nobility and clergy.

At the acceſſion of a new king, the Danes, ever reſtleſs and turbulent, ſeem regularly to have made an attempt to eſtabliſh their independence; and Edred, like his predeceſſors, was compelled to march into Northumberland, to quell the commotions which the Daniſh inhabitants of that province had excited. As the king made his approach before they had taken any effectual means to promote the ſucceſs of their deſigns, they were obliged to have recourſe to their wonted ſubmiſſions, in order to avert the vengeance that threatened them. Whatever terms the conqueror choſe to preſcribe, met with a ready compliance from the rebels; and Malcolm, King of Scotland, who had formed an alliance with them, was under the neceſſity of following their example. But the Danes were no ſooner freed from the terrors with which the preſence of Edred had inſpired them, than they began to form new plans for the accompliſhment of their ſchemes. Aware, however, that diſcovery would render them abortive, they determined to exert more caution than they had hitherto employed. Anlaff was ſecretly recalled from Ireland; and ſuch was the expedition he made, that he was in actual poſſeſſion of the moſt conſiderable places in Northumberland, before Edred could poſſibly aſſemble his troops to obſtruct the rapidity of his progreſs. When the Engliſh army was prepared to march, Anlaff had exerted ſuch diligence, that the Danes had declared him king; and he was ſo firmly ſeated on the throne, that Edred judged it prudent to leave him in poſſeſſion of it till a more favourable opportunity ſhould occur for reducing him to ſubjection. But the diſcontents produced by the ſeverity of his government, impelled the Northumbrians to dethrone him, and give the crown to a nobleman named Eric. Still, however, Anlaff retained a conſiderable number of partizans, who openly eſpouſing his cauſe, ſpread anarchy and confuſion throughout the kingdom.

This afforded a favourable opportunity to Edred; who, eager to embrace it, immediately marched an army into Northumberland: when the Danes, dreading the juſt effects of his indignation, had again recourſe to his clemency, which operated ſo powerfully in their favour, that he conſented to accept a renewal of their oaths of allegiance, and the moſt ſolemn promiſes of future fidelity.

Having reſtored apparent tranquillity to this factious province, Edred ſet out on his return to Weſſex: but the treacherous Danes, obſerving that the Engliſh, unſuſpicious of danger, preſerved no order in their march, privately armed, and formed an ambuſcade on the road they were purſuing. The Engliſh army being taken by ſurprize, muſt have been inevitably cut in pieces but for the perſonal valour and conduct of their ſovereign, whoſe exertions compelled the enemy to retire. Incenſed at the perfidy and ingratitude of the Danes, Edred inſtantly returned to Northumberland, with a full determination to deſtroy the whole country by fire and ſword; and their deſtruction would have been certain, had they relied on their ability to oppoſe him: but they had too often experienced the ſucceſs of ſupplication, not once more to try it's effects. Edred, whoſe generous mind, though eaſily inflamed by oppoſition, was ſoon ſoothed by humility, ſuffered his reſentment to ſubſide, and again liſtened to their ſubmiſſions, which they endeavoured to impreſs by throwing the whole blame of their laſt revolt on Eric; whom, to prove the ſincerity of their aſſertions, they immediately put to death. But however the king might be inclined to obey the dictates of mercy, he was not ſo devoid of wiſdom as to neglect the moſt effectual precautions for the prevention of any future revolt. He reduced their kingdom to a province; and, having placed Engliſh garriſons in the moſt conſiderable towns, gave the command of it to Oſulf, an Engliſh earl, whom he enjoined to watch their motions, and quell any inſurrection that might happen, on it's firſt appearance.

From this time the repoſe of Edred ſuffered no interruption from the tumults of war: but, falling into an infirm ſtate of health, his mind, ſympathizing with his body, was deprived of it's native vigour; and, it's nobler paſſions retiring, yielded their place to ſuperſtition. By the influence of that gloomy gueſt, his conſcience was reſigned to the guidance of Dunſtan, Abbot of Glaſtonbury, better known by the title of St. Dunſtan, to whoſe advice and directions he paid the moſt implicit obedience. So blind was the confidence he repoſed in this ambitious prelate, that he not only ſubmitted to his will in all ſpiritual concerns, but allowed him to aſſume the command of his temporal affairs. His patience under the infliction of corporeal diſcipline from the hand of Dunſtan, however it might have rendered him an object of contempt, would not have been productive of evil conſequences to his kingdom: but when Dunſtan was entruſted with the care of his treaſures; when he became the ſource of promotion, and the fountain of honour when the king reſigned to him the ſubſtance of royalty, reſerving but the ſhadow for himſelf; all hopes of a wiſe and equitable adminiſtration muſt have been at an end. For if we caſt an eye over the hiſtoric annals of all Chriſtian nations, from the firſt eſtabliſhment of papal authority to the preſent day, we ſhall find, with very few exceptions indeed, that where a Romiſh prelate has been ſuffered to preſide at the helm of government, the public adminiſtration has been marked with a continual ſuſcitation of diſcord, a flagrant infringement

ment of the rights of the ſubject, an intolerant ſpirit of perſecution, or a wanton effuſion of human blood.

Dunſtan was deſcended from a noble family in Weſſex, and received his education in the abbey of Glaſtonbury; where, as it is recorded in that ſtrange medley of inconſiſtencies, the Lives of the Saints, he paid ſuch cloſe application to his ſtudies, that a fever enſued, which reduced him to the laſt extremity: but, by the fortunate interpoſition of an angel, he was reſcued from danger, and reſtored to health. However, as he was repairing to the church in great haſte, to return thanks for his wonderful recovery, he is very gravely ſaid to have been met by the devil; who, ſurrounded by a number of black maſtiffs, attempted to obſtruct his paſſage: but Dunſtan, who was a ſtranger to fear, boldly puſhed forward; and, by the aid of a magic wand, and certain cabaliſtic expreſſions, put the devil and his dogs to flight. When he came to the church, the door was ſhut; but his friend the angel opportunely appearing, very kindly conveyed him through the roof; and, placing him gently on the floor, left him to perform his devotions! This ſpecimen of monkiſh biography will doubtleſs be deemed ſufficient; we ſhall therefore reſume the more rational ſtrain of an hiſtorian.

At a very early period of life Dunſtan entered into holy orders; and was introduced by his uncle Athelm, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to King Athelſtan, who retained him in his court: but, being afterwards repreſented to that monarch as a man who beneath the maſk of ſanctity concealed the moſt groſs depravity of morals and licentiouſneſs of manners, he deemed him an object unworthy of protection, and obliged him to retire from court. He then had recourſe to another uncle, who was Biſhop of Wincheſter, by whoſe advice he forſook the pomp of the world, and became a monk; after which he retired to a cell, that he had built, near the church of Glaſtonbury, of ſuch a ſtructure that he could neither ſtand erect in it, nor extend his limbs to their full length during his repoſe. Here, it ſeems, he was conſtantly employed, either in acts of devotion, or manual labour; and, according to the holy legend which we have before quoted, received frequent viſits from his old enemy the devil. His biographer roundly aſſerts that, one day in particular, as he was working at a forge which he had erected in his cell, the infernal ſpirit, having aſſumed the appearance of a man, approached him, and begged to ſee ſome ſpecimen of his ſkill: when Dunſtan, enraged at his conſtant temptations, drew his tongs red-hot from the fire; and, ſeizing the devil by the noſe, held him faſt, which made him bellow ſo loud, that the whole country for many miles round was inſpired with terror at the noiſe!

Some writers are of opinion that the faculties of Dunſtan being greatly impaired by ſolitude and inceſſant ſtudy, his brain became replete with chimeras, which he firmly believed himſelf, and therefore eaſily inculcated an opinion of their reality in the minds of his ignorant and bigoted votaries. But when we conſider the general tenour of his conduct, we cannot but conceive that he was more under the influence of vice than inſanity; that all theſe plauſive mortifications and idle tales were the offſprings of impoſture; the artful machinations of deep deſign, propagated for the important purpoſe of acquiring that reputation for ſanctity which was afterwards rendered ſubſervient to his projects of ambition.

This laſt exploit amply fulfilled the intent of it's promulgation: as it not only induced general belief, and incurred univerſal praiſe, but eſtabliſhed his fame on the moſt ſolid baſis, and ſecured from the people a greater portion of reſpect and eſteem than the trueſt fervour of real devotion, or the nobleſt exertion of public virtue, could poſſibly have commanded. But empty fame was not the object of Dunſtan's ambition; he only cheriſhed it as it led to profit, which in the end it did not fail to produce: for, in the year 941, he was recalled to court by Edmund, who beſtowed on him the rich abbey of Glaſtonbury, after endowing it with many lucrative privileges. This wily prieſt, having gained a perfect aſcendancy over the mind of Edred, interfered in the moſt important affairs of government. He laviſhed the royal treaſures in the erection and endowment of monaſteries; and beſtowed all the benefices of the kingdom on monks, to the excluſion of the ſecular clergy, againſt whom he frequently inveighed with the utmoſt rancour of aſperſion. Conſcious that he was originally indebted for his preſent elevation to the high character he had obtained for auſterity of manners, he ſought to preſerve it by profeſſing himſelf a determined partizan of the rigid ſtrictneſs of monaſtic obſervances. With this view, he promoted diſſenſions between the monks and ſecular clergy, in the hope of rendering the latter odious in the eyes of the people, that he might the more eaſily ſucceed to expel them from the convents which they had hitherto inhabited, and which he was anxious to people with his brethren the Benedictine monks, whoſe cauſe he had eſpouſed with the utmoſt warmth of ſuperſtition. If in their conduct he could find no ground for cenſure, he had recourſe to calumny; and his invention was ſufficiently prolific to ſupply him with continual topics of defamation.

Their marriage afforded an ample field for invective; for the inſidious policy of Rome had not yet prevailed ſo far as to induce the miniſters of religion to fly in the face of their Creator, by daring to eſteem an honourable compliance with the firſt dictates of nature, not merely as a ſubject of reproach, but as a juſt ground for criminal cenſure. This haughty abbot, whoſe inſolence increaſed with his power, beſtowed on the legal partners of their beds the moſt opprobious epithets that malevolent reſentment could ſuggeſt. But the ſecular clergy formed, from their riches and number, a body too powerful to be repreſſed, or intimidated by the clamours of an individual, however great the advantages he might derive from his elevated ſtation. They were not content with a ſimple defence of their own conduct from the aſperſions of their adverſary, but retorted the accuſations of Dunſtan on the whole fraternity of monks: and Edred, either wanting inclination or vigour to interpoſe his authority, their diſputes

putes were maintained with ſuch violence, and their diſſenſions aroſe to ſuch a height, that the moſt ſacred precepts of religion were forgotten; and they, whoſe peculiar duty it was to preſerve peace, and to promote harmony, were only ſtudious to excite anarchy, and diſſeminate diſcord.

The monkiſh party had gained a conſiderable aſcendant, when the rapidity of their progreſs received a temporary check by the death of Edred, which happened in the year 955, after a ſhort reign of nine years.

From a charter, noticed by Dugdale, it appears that Edred was the firſt monarch who aſſumed the title of King of Great Britain; a title which evidently implies a ſuperiority, however limited, over all the country which is now comprehended in that appellation, notwithſtanding Buchanan's ingenious endeavour to exempt the greateſt part of Scotland from a mark of ſubjection, which he deemed derogatory to the honour of his country.

Edred left two ſons; but, as they were both infants, Edwy, the ſon of Edmund, ſucceeded to the throne.

E D W Y.

EDWY was but in his ſixteenth year when he aſcended the throne. His figure was remarkable for it's elegance and comelineſs; and accounts of undoubted authenticity repreſent him as poſſeſſed of virtues which promiſed to place him as high on the liſt of fame as the moſt illuſtrious of his predeceſſors. With ſuch pretenſions to popularity, he could not have failed of acquiring it, but for the intervention of an unfortunate circumſtance which engaged him in a conteſt with the monks, thoſe peſts of ſociety, engendered by Superſtition, and ſupported by her parent Imbecility.

Edwy, at an age when the ductile heart is ſuſceptible of every impreſſion, had conceived a violent paſſion for the beauteous Elgiva, a princeſs of the royal blood; and, liſtening to the flattering dictates of love, in contradiction to the advice of his council, and the leſs temperate remonſtrances of the clergy, ventured to marry her, though ſhe came within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon law.

By this ſtep, which Bigotry would call mad; Judgment, imprudent; Senſibility, natural; and Enthuſiaſm, glorious; he incurred the dangerous indignation of Dunſtan and his rebellious herd of monkiſh followers: the inveteracy of whoſe hatred neither perſonal beauty, nor mental accompliſhments, were capable of diminiſhing. Their reſentment was diſplayed in continual acts of oppoſition to his will, and inſults to his perſon and dignity. In the true fervour of monkiſh animoſity, no circumſtance was neglected which could tend to alienate the affection of his ſubjects, or diſturb his domeſtic repoſe: nor did the vengeance of theſe inſatiate perſecutors ceaſe even with his life; for they have dared to blacken his memory with the fouleſt aſperſions, and tranſmit him to poſterity as a monſter of iniquity.

On the day of his coronation, his nobility being aſſembled in a large hall to celebrate the joyful event, were indulging themſelves in thoſe pleaſures of the table which are generally more diſtinguiſhed by noiſe and intemperance than ſocial harmony and convivial recreation; when Edwy, whoſe thoughts were employed on an object more worthy to engroſs them, retired to the apartment of his wife, that he might realize the joys of imagination, and give a looſe to that unlimited fondneſs which lightens the burden of life, and ennobles the ſoul it inſpires. Dunſtan, whoſe malignant ſpirit was ever on the watch, obſerved the king's departure; and, forming a juſt conjecture of it's motives, prevailed on Odo, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, one of his chief tools, to accompany him to the queen's apartment. When theſe imperious prieſts approached that ſacred retreat of connubial love, they burſt open the door; and, entering the room with matchleſs inſolence, ſternly reproved the king for what they termed his laſcivious diſpoſition; and, having beſtowed on his fair conſort the moſt opprobrious epithet that brutal rancour can apply to female frailty, forced him from her arms, and puſhed him back with violence into the hall where the nobles were ſitting.

Edwy is repreſented by the monkiſh writers as a man betrayed by every guſt of caprice to exceſs of imprudence; and as one who paid a blind obedience to his paſſions, which he wanted reſolution to reſtrain within the limits of reaſon or decency. But a man of this deſcription muſt certainly be impatient of controul, and unable to repreſs the impulſe of the moment: yet we ſee this youthful monarch, in compliance with the dictates of prudence, reſiſt the ſuggeſtions of reſentment, though impelled to immediate vengeance by injuries the moſt groſs and unprovoked; his moſt ſacred privacy invaded by rebellious ſubjects, the object of his affection reviled in his preſence, and himſelf torn from her arms and expoſed to public deriſion. Under this accumulation of inſults, which few could ſupport with the ſmalleſt degree of forbearance, Edwy was calm and ſubmiſſive; deferring the taſk of vengeance till the time when it's performance would be attended with leſs danger and greater certainty of effect.

Many of the nobles being juſtly incenſed at the pride and preſumption of Dunſtan, which were now become intolerable, adviſed the king to inveſtigate the expenditure of certain large ſums of money which had been entruſted to the abbot by his predeceſſor Edred. Edwy, rejoiced at the opportunity, ordered him to produce his accounts: but he refuſed to deliver them, though he acknowledged that he had received many conſiderable ſums, which he had applied, by the orders of Edred, to *pious uſes*; that

that is, to the purchaſe of a dangerous popularity, by corrupting the minds of the people. But this laconic account not contenting the king, he baniſhed him the kingdom for malverſation in office: and, as an additional mortification, expelled the Benedictine monks from ſeveral convents, of which they had been put in poſſeſſion by the influence of Dunſtan; and reſtored them to the ſecular canons, by whom they were originally inhabited.

This ſtep, though indiſputably founded in reaſon, and guided by the ſtricteſt principles of juſtice, excited as great a clamour among the monks as could have been produced by the moſt ſacrilegious attempt to ſubvert the fundamental principles of religion. The partizans of the exiled abbot, too, were buſily employed in pronouncing public panegyrics on his ſanctity, and in execrating the impious conduct of the king and queen. When theſe worthy eccleſiaſtics had ſufficiently poiſoned the minds of the public, by their inflammatory declamations, to be certain of ſupport, they proceeded to the execution of their infamous projects. Archbiſhop Odo, who in the abſence of Dunſtan was the grand patron of rebellion, ſent a party of ſoldiers into the royal palace, who ſeized the queen, and conducted her to him; when that abandoned prelate, having previouſly burned her face with an iron which he had heated for the purpoſe, that he might deſtroy that fatal beauty to which he attributed the ſeduction of Edwy, conveyed her by force into Ireland, where he left her with peremptory orders never to return. His vengeance not being ſatiated by this act of ſavage barbarity, he pronounced a formal divorce between Edwy and his unfortunate conſort, who was not yet exempted from the fatal effects of eccleſiaſtical rancour, being doomed to experience a cataſtrophe which, ſo long as the page of hiſtory ſhall be read, will not only excite the moſt indignant horror againſt it's immediate perpetrator, but reflect eternal infamy on the age in which it could be ſuffered to paſs with impunity.

The wounds inflicted on that amiable princeſs, with the malicious intent of defacing her beauty, being perfectly cured, and their expected effect defeated by a total obliteration of the ſcars, ſhe reſolved to return to England; and was flying on the wings of affection to the embraces of Edwy, whom ſhe ſtill regarded as her lawful huſband, when a band of ruffians, employed by Odo to obſerve her motions, intercepted her flight, and ſeized her at Glouceſter. The imperious primate determined to puniſh this inſtance of diſobedience to his will with a ſeverity adapted to his mind: and, though Death in his common garb would have appeared ſufficiently terrible to ſatiate the vengeance of a leſs dignified perſecutor, the rancour of Odo, the mighty patron of monaſtic bigotry, the boſom-friend of Dunſtan, required him to be clothed in additional horrors. In compliance with his commands, the villains proceeded, with relentleſs inhumanity, to cut the ſinews of her legs; and her lovely body, whoſe charms would have rouzed the embers of pity in the moſt frigid breaſt, and enforced compaſſion from the moſt obdurate, was barbarouſly mangled, and left to writhe in excruciating torments for the ſpace of three days before the unhappy victim expired!

Thus miſerably periſhed the wretched Elgiva, over whoſe fate the moſt rigid virtue may ſhed the tear of regret without fear of degradation, as her errors, if ſuch they can be called, ſprang from the moſt natural, if not the moſt noble, of all human paſſions; while her virtues were of ample magnitude to claim reſpect and command eſteem. The deteſted aſſaſſin calls for an equal tribute of juſtice with the unhappy victim of his ſuperſtitious cruelty; but our language cannot afford an epithet ſufficiently expreſſive of abhorrence to convey thoſe ſentiments which the conduct of Odo muſt naturally inſpire.

The monks had ſo effectually worked on the paſſions of the people by their artful inſinuations, that, inſtead of reſenting the death of Elgiva and the injuries of Edwy, they publicly expreſſed their ſatisfaction at the misfortunes they had experienced, which they denominated a juſt puniſhment for their impious contempt of eccleſiaſtical cenſures. But mere expreſſions of diſcontent and treaſonable murmurs were inadequate to fulfil the views of Odo and his partizans: nothing ſhort of actual rebellion could content thoſe turbulent prieſts; who, having ſucceeded in their attempts to eſtrange from Edwy the eſteem of his ſubjects, inſtigated the inhabitants of Mercia, Eaſt Anglia, and Northumberland, to revolt; and, placing his younger brother Edgar, then a boy of thirteen, at the head of the inſurgents, gave him immediate poſſeſſion of the whole country north of the Thames, of which they declared him ſovereign, and beſtowed on him the title of King of Mercia. Edwy, abandoned by thoſe on whom he had the beſt claim for ſupport, retired into Weſſex, where the inhabitants ſtill preſerved their fidelity.

Dunſtan, who had been the ſecret inſtigator of this unnatural revolution, now returned in triumph to England; and, taking Odo for his coadjutor—*par nobile fratrum!*—aſſumed the command of Edgar and his rebellious party. Odo died ſoon after; and is highly extolled by the monks for his piety and devotion. A ſingular piety, which could lead him to ſpurn the moſt ſacred commandments of his Creator! and a curious kind of devotion, that could urge him to the daily commiſſion of crimes which deſerved the moſt ignominious puniſhment!

About the ſame time, Dunſtan, as a trifling reward for his eminent ſervices, was honoured with the biſhopric of Worceſter: but his ambition was not to be gratified by the poſſeſſion of ſubordinate honours; it ſoared to the ſummit of preferment, which in the reign of Edgar it failed not to attain.

Under ſuch a leader, the ſpirit of rebellion could not but augment: accordingly, the wretched Edwy was ſubjected to freſh inſults and additional perſecutions: a ſentence of excommunication was awarded againſt him; and he probably would have experienced the fate of his unfortunate queen, had not death timely interfered to free his enemies from their inquietudes, and relieve him from miſery.

This unhappy monarch, whom virtue could not ſhelter from calumny, nor juſtice ſecure from oppreſſion, died of a broken heart, in the year 959; and, leaving no iſſue, was ſucceeded in the throne by his brother Edgar.

EDGAR.

THOUGH Edgar had evinced a criminal impatience to aſcend the throne, by his unnatural conduct towards his brother, the ſpirit and ſagacity which he frequently exerted, rendered his reign in many reſpects one of the moſt proſperous that occurs in the hiſtory of thoſe times. He certainly afforded a very ſtrong proof of political wiſdom in promoting an effectual preſervation of peace, by being conſtantly prepared for war. Hence he received the denomination of Edgar the Peaceable. For the immediate repreſſion of any inſurrection which might ariſe in the mutinous province of Northumberland, he divided it into two parts, and placed it under the command of governors of approved courage, who were ſupplied with a ſtrong body of diſciplined troops, which not only ſerved to keep his northern ſubjects in awe, but were ready to repel the occaſional incurſions of the neighbouring Scots. To ſecure his dominions from the danger of foreign invaſion, he equipped a formidable fleet, which was divided into different ſquadrons, and ſtationed in ſuch a manner that nothing could eſcape their obſervation. By this ſage policy, his coaſts being protected from inſults, and his kingdom preſerved from internal commotions, he had leiſure to indulge his inclination for peace, and apply himſelf to the improvement of the laws, and the enforcement of due regulations for the better adminiſtration of juſtice.

The corruption and ignorance of the magiſtrates having ariſen to an alarming height, he found it neceſſary to enact a law, by which every magiſtrate, who ſhould be convicted of pronouncing an unjuſt deciſion, was ſentenced to a pecuniary fine, if the injuſtice proceeded from ignorance; but, if it was the conſequence of wilful abuſe, he was rendered incapable of retaining the office he enjoyed, or of holding any other. Edgar is likewiſe ſaid to have made the regular circuit of his dominions every year, for the more ſpeedy redreſs of injuries, and the more effectual puniſhment of guilt.

By theſe ſpirited and ſalutary meaſures he preſerved his ſubjects in a ſtate of implicit obedience, without any undue exertion of the regal authority; and kept his enemies in awe, without engaging in any martial enterprize. The neighbouring princes, in order to avert his reſentment, were content to pay him marks of ſubmiſſion. The King of Scotland, with the Princes of Wales, the Iſle of Man, and the Orkneys, acknowledged his ſuperiority; and, had not his power been firmly eſtabliſhed, it's extenſion might have occaſioned the formation of a confederacy that would have ſhaken it to it's baſis. During his reſidence at Cheſter, where he kept his court, it is ſaid that, going to pay a viſit to the monks of the abbey of St. John the Baptiſt, his barge was rowed down the River Dee by eight tributary princes.

Though the ſteps purſued by Edgar for the preſervation of public tranquillity were certainly fully adequate to anſwer that important purpoſe, yet they never could have produced the deſired effect, had he not been ſtudious to ſecure the countenance and favour of the monks, to whom he had been originally indebted for his preſent elevation, and whoſe influence over the minds of the people was unfortunately ſo powerful, that a word from them would have been ſufficient to excite a revolt.

Dunſtan enjoyed almoſt as great a portion of the royal confidence as he had poſſeſſed during the reign of Edred. Brithelm, Biſhop of Wells, had, previous to the death of Edwy, been preferred to the ſee of Canterbury; but Edgar was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he compelled him to relinquiſh his ſtation, and beſtowed it on Dunſtan, in the year 960. That reſtleſs prelate, being now poſſeſſed of the primacy, determined to haſten the accompliſhment of his favourite project, which tended to compel the ſecular clergy to repudiate their wives, take the oaths of celibacy, and become monks; or elſe to effect their expulſion from the monaſteries which they ſtill continued to inhabit, and to ſupply their places with a lazy crew of Benedictine monks. To forward the ſucceſs of his ſchemes, he procured the promotion of Oſwald to the ſee of Worceſter, and of Ethelwald to that of Wincheſter; two prelates who, being monks themſelves, were animated with the moſt ardent zeal for the advancement of their order.

Theſe formidable champions of monachiſm commenced their attack by an hypocritical affectation of lenity; modeſtly urging their adverſaries to a compliance with their requeſts, which they maintained were juſt and reaſonable: but, finding their perſuaſions of little effect, they had recourſe to the moſt flagitious acts of violence and fraud. We are told by William of Malmſbury, who was a monk himſelf, that Oſwald expelled all the married canons from his cathedral of Worceſter, not by direct force, but by "a moſt holy and pious ſtratagem," which he has forborne to particularize. He likewiſe expelled the ſecular clergy from ſeven monaſteries within his dioceſe; and, depriving them of their benefices, allowed them but a ſcanty pittance, barely ſufficient to purchaſe the abſolute neceſſaries of life.

The proceedings of Ethelwald were ſtill more tyrannical. Having provided an adequate number of monkiſh habits, he one day repaired to his cathedral, followed by his ſervants, who were loaded with theſe veſtments of ſuperſtition; and interrupting the ſecular canons, who were then performing divine ſervice, told them, in an authoritative tone, that they muſt either change their garments, or loſe their places. The canons requeſted time for conſideration; but the prelate was obſtinate, and inſiſted on immediate deciſion. A few complied; but far the greateſt part refuſing to forſake their wives and families, ſuffered inſtant expulſion; and are accordingly reviled by our monkiſh hiſtorians for their

their obſtinacy and impiety. To countenance theſe flagitious proceedings, emiſſaries were employed to propagate reports prejudicial to the ſecular clergy, who were accordingly accuſed of every ſpecies of debauchery; each trivial error was magnified into the moſt atrocious wickedneſs, and every venial offence was repreſented as a mortal ſin: in ſhort, ſo univerſal was the clamour againſt them, that hiſtorians appear to be infected with the general prejudice, and repreſent them as men of licentious and diſſolute manners, whoſe conduct afforded ſome palliation to the perſecutions of their inveterate adverſaries. But we have witneſſed ſuch repeated inſtances of the *veracity* of monkiſh writers, as enable us to form a juſt eſtimation of their credibility in the recital of tranſactions wherein the credit and intereſts of their order were ſo eſſentially concerned!

The king, however, favoured all the efforts of Dunſtan and his worthy coadjutors; and, in order to render them effectual, condeſcended to become the inſtrument of their rapacious ambition. He aſſembled a general council of the prelates and heads of religious houſes, which he opened with a long ſpeech, preſerved by Rievallenſis, an ancient hiſtorian, more remarkable for it's virulence than eloquence, and more replete with invective than argument. He inveighed bitterly againſt the diſſolute lives of the ſecular prieſts, whom he accuſed of being addicted to gaming, gluttony, drunkenneſs, and debauchery: he reflected on the ſmallneſs of their tonſure, which probably no longer retained it's original ſimilarity to the crown of thorns; on the effeminacy of their dreſs, the pride of their demeanour, and the obſcenity of their diſcourſe. He reproached them for preſerving a public connection with concubines, a title which he charitably beſtowed on their wives; and, in ſhort, after ſwelling the long catalogue of their crimes with every enormity which the malice of the monks had ſupplied him with, he turned to Dunſtan, the primate, and concluded his eloquent harangue by this *pious* and *pathetic* addreſs—"O "holy Father Dunſtan! I know that you have not "encouraged theſe criminal proceedings of the "clergy: you have reaſoned, entreated, and threa- "tened; but, as words have proved ineffectual, it "is now time to come to blows. All the power "of the crown is at your command. Your worthy "brethren, the venerable Ethelwald, and the moſt "reverend Oſwald, will aſſiſt you in your pious "endeavours. To you three I commit the exe- "cution of this important work. Strike boldly: "and, by an effectual exertion of your ſpiritual "power, in conjunction with the regal authority, "expel thieves and intruders from the temple of "Chriſt, and introduce in their places ſuch as will "live according to rule!"

When the ſovereign thus deigned to ſtand forth the oſtenſible advocate of perſecution, and to ſanction it by his royal mandate, it will eaſily be ſuppoſed that all reſiſtance would have been vain. The ſecular prieſts, aware of the diſadvantages under which they laboured, made a virtue of neceſſity, wiſely yielding to the rapidity of a torrent they were unable to ſtem, and reſerving their oppoſition till a more favourable opportunity ſhould occur for exerting it with effect.

Farther to ſecure the favour of the monks, Edgar is ſaid to have founded forty monaſteries, and to have repaired and embelliſhed a much more conſiderable number; in the endowment of which he diſplayed the utmoſt profuſion, by a wanton alienation of the domains appertaining to the crown; perverting their appropriation from the neceſſary ſupport of regal dignity to the imprudent encouragement of monaſtic ſloth. He likewiſe adopted the papiſtical policy of granting to certain monaſteries an exemption from epiſcopal juriſdiction: he permitted all convents to uſurp the election of their own abbots; and ſanctioned the forgery of ancient charters, by favouring the conſequent aſſumption of numerous privileges and immunities, conducive to an extenſion of their power, though evidently tending to eſtabliſh an independence highly prejudicial to the intereſts of ſociety.

The monks, it muſt be confeſſed, were not ungrateful for the important ſervices rendered them by Edgar. In return for his liberality, they were profuſe of adulation; and have tranſmitted him to poſterity, not only as a politician of conſummate wiſdom, and a prince of the moſt laudable activity, but as a man of diſtinguiſhed piety and unblemiſhed virtue. The eulogies beſtowed on the monarch, though ſuſceptible of diminution, might be admitted without danger, as the effects of Edgar's policy were fortunate in commanding the reſpect of his enemies, and ſecuring his dominions from foreign attacks. For the preſervation of internal tranquillity, he was content, indeed, to favour the encroachments of a dangerous body of fanatics, which a mind the leaſt tenacious of glory would have been anxious to repreſs: but in politics, when the effect produced is pregnant with happineſs and utility, it is not uſual, and perhaps not wiſe, to admit a too ſcrupulous inveſtigation of the means of attainment.

But the circumſtances of his life, as related by the monks themſelves, enable us to aſſert, that the praiſes conferred on the man are falſe, hypocritical, and wicked. Edgar was groſsly addicted to that licentiouſneſs of manners which formed the principal ſubject of his bitter invectives againſt the ſecular clergy. His paſſions were wholly unreſtrained by reaſon; and his ſenſuality knew no bounds. The daughters of his ſubjects were frequently the victims of his brutality; and, when they were deaf to perſuaſions, he did not ſcruple to have recourſe to violence. In ſhort, the whole tenour of his private conduct was ſo diametrically oppoſite to thoſe tenets which the monks were moſt anxious to enforce, that it requires no depth of penetration to perceive on what motives their praiſes were founded. He once broke into a convent; and, having carried off a nun named Editha, a young lady of noble birth and exquiſite beauty, whom no entreaties could urge to conſent to the gratification of his inordinate deſires, committed a rape on her perſon. For this ſacrilegious act, the only penance inflicted by his holy confeſſor, Dunſtan, was the mortification of abſtaining

ing from wearing his crown for ſeven years; to which was added, a ſtrenuous injunction to build a monaſtery, and to perſecute the married clergy with all poſſible virulence. On a compliance with theſe conditions, he not only received abſolution for the crime, but was allowed to retain poſſeſſion of his miſtreſs. The lenity of the monks in this inſtance, afforded a curious contraſt with their rigour to the unfortunate Edwy; who, for a marriage which at worſt could only be deemed irregular, ſuffered expulſion from his kingdom, witneſſed an infliction of the moſt horrid barbarity on the object of his affections, incurred the moſt odious aſperſions during his life, and has been tranſmitted to poſterity as a monſter of iniquity.

Beſides Editha, Edgar had another miſtreſs, to whoſe acquaintance he was introduced in an extraordinary manner.

Having occaſion to paſs through Andover, he ſtopped for refreſhment at the houſe of a nobleman, who had a daughter endowed with thoſe peculiar graces of perſon, and harmony of geſture, which are formed to captivate at firſt ſight. The deſires of Edgar were ſpeedily inflamed to a pitch too high for a monarch of his libidinous diſpoſition to reſtrain; and, as he was little accuſtomed to ſuffer any conſiderations of decency or checks of conſcience to operate as impediments to the gratification of his paſſions, having neither time to employ the arts of inſinuation, nor inclination to exert them, he inſtantly repaired to the mother, and abruptly informed her of the inclination he had conceived for her daughter, who he requeſted might be permitted to paſs that very night with him. The old lady, whoſe virtue was able to reſiſt temptation, ſecretly determined not to diſhonour her daughter and herſelf by compliance: but ſhe was too well acquainted with Edgar's impetuoſity and impatience of controul in the purſuit of his illicit amours, to provoke his reſentment by a peremptory refuſal. Being bleſſed with that happy preſence of mind, with which the ſex in general is agreed to be ſo eminently favoured, a deception immediately occurred, that induced her to feign a willing ſubmiſſion to the pleaſure of her ſovereign. When ſhe left the king, ſhe went to one of her waiting-maids, named Elfleda, a girl of agreeable figure, and prevailed on her to ſteal privately into the king's bed, when all the family ſhould be retired to reſt, and occupy the place deſtined for her daughter. Elfleda having performed her taſk, attempted, in obedience to the injunction of her miſtreſs, to retire before the day began to dawn; but Edgar, who was a ſtranger to moderation, and whoſe deſires were not yet ſatisfied by enjoyment, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed her departure; and the damſel, being probably poſſeſſed of her native portion of female vanity, made a reſiſtance too faint to be ſucceſsful. The deception was conſequently diſcovered at the return of day; and, though Edgar was at firſt incenſed at the fraud that had been practiſed on him, he was too well ſatisfied with the pleaſures of the night to evince any tokens of diſguſt in the morning: but, transferring his favour to Elfleda, ſhe from that time became his favourite miſtreſs, and preſerved the power ſhe had gained over his affections till his marriage with Elfrida.

Elfrida was the ſole child and heireſs of Olgar, Earl of Devonſhire; and had received her education at home, under the immediate inſpection of her father: but, though ſhe was a ſtranger at court, the fame of her beauty and accompliſhments had extended over the whole kingdom; and Edgar, whoſe diſpoſition was of the moſt irritable nature, finding his curioſity excited by the continual panegyrics which his courtiers beſtowed on this extraordinary damſel, adopted a mode for it's immediate gratification. He ordered his favourite, Earl Athelwold, to frame ſome pretext for a viſit to Olgar, that he might be enabled, from ocular demonſtration, to inform him whether the praiſes conferred on the beauty of his daughter were juſt or exaggerated: reſolved, if her accompliſhments were anſwerable to the accounts he had received of them, to make honourable propoſals to her parents; the luſtre of her rank deterring him from an attempt to obtain poſſeſſion of her by the means which he generally adopted on ſimilar occaſions. When Athelwold was introduced to Elfrida, he found that Fame, deviating from her uſual courſe, inſtead of amplifying, had detracted from her merit; and ſo irreſiſtible was the influence of her charms, that, impelled by the moſt ardent love, he reſolved to depart from the duty he owed to his maſter, and ſacrifice the confidence repoſed in him to a paſſion as violent as it was ſudden. Returning to Edgar, he told him that Elfrida was wholly indebted to the ſplendour of her birth, and the magnitude of her fortune, for the univerſal admiration ſhe experienced; that her beauty was far inferior to that of many women who frequented his court; and that neither her mental nor perſonal accompliſhments were in themſelves ſufficiently powerful to attract attention. Having, by this plauſive deception, effectually diverted the king from his intended purpoſe, he took an opportunity, at a ſubſequent period, to repreſent that the riches of Elfrida, though no temptation to a monarch, were an object well worthy the notice of a ſubject, to whom they would form an adequate compenſation for the homelineſs of her perſon; that if his majeſty, therefore, would be pleaſed to ſanction his addreſſes by his gracious permiſſion, he would himſelf make propoſals to Olgar, who, he did not doubt, would be happy to accept his alliance. Edgar, pleaſed with ſo eaſy an expedient to promote the fortune of his favourite, willingly acceded to his requeſt; and not only expreſſed his approbation of the match, but contributed to forward it's accompliſhment, by ſtrong recommendations of Athelwold to the parents of Elfrida. Thus ſeconded, Athelwold could not fail of ſucceſs; and his happineſs was accordingly eſtabliſhed, in a ſhort time, by the poſſeſſion of this paragon of perfection. Fearful, however, leſt the artifice he had employed ſhould be detected by Edgar, he was ſtudious to keep her from his ſight; and therefore framed continual excuſes to defer her introduction at court.

The mind of Athelwold being wholly engroſſed by

by the object of his paſſion, he had no time to reflect on the conſequences that muſt neceſſarily reſult from his conduct. Indeed, a compliance with the gratification of paſſion, and an attention to the dictates of prudence, are objects ſo eſſentially different in their nature, and productive of ſuch oppoſite ſenſations, that, far from attempting to promote a reconciliation between enemies ſo inveterate, it is very ſeldom, indeed, that the human mind can, at the ſame time, afford even a momentary reſidence to ſuch heterogeneous gueſts. One of thoſe numerous enemies that always purſue the favourite of a monarch with malevolence proportioned to his merit, informed Edgar of the deception to which he had been a dupe. Though greatly incenſed at the perfidy of Athelwold, he artfully diſſembled his reſentment, and reſolved to defer the infliction of vengeance till he ſhould have obtained the moſt perfect conviction of his crime from the infallible evidence of his own ſenſes: he therefore told him that he intended to pay him a viſit, that he might be introduced to his new-married wife; and Athelwold, who did not dare attempt to diſſuade him from his purpoſe, could only obtain permiſſion to repair to his caſtle ſome hours before the king, under pretence of making the neceſſary preparations for his reception.

Then, relying on the fidelity of his wife, he made a full diſcovery of the artifice, which the violence of his love had impelled him to adopt; and, expatiating on the wonderful effect of her charms, conjured her, by the reſpect which ſhe owed to her own honour, to conceal them from the king by every poſſible adjuſtment of dreſs, and accommodation of conduct, which her ſituation would admit of. He attempted to enforce theſe entreaties by obſerving, that ſo groſs a deviation from reſpect and duty as that he had been tempted to commit, would, if diſcovered, be probably puniſhed with death.

The two moſt predominant paſſions of the female mind now operating on that of Elfrida, inſpired her with the ſecret reſolution to act in direct oppoſition to the requeſts of her huſband; to whom, however, ſhe promiſed the moſt implicit obedience. Enraged at being deprived of a crown, which ſtill ſhe was not willing to regard as irrecoverably loſt, ſhe retired to her apartment, and decorated the native graces of her perſon with every embelliſhment of dreſs which taſte could confer, or vanity ſuggeſt. Thus attired, ſhe appeared before the king; and, by the moſt inſinuating airs, compleated that conqueſt which her exquiſite beauty could not fail to acquire over the heart of a monarch ſo ſuſceptible of love as was Edgar, who immediately reſolved to gain poſſeſſion of her, and at the ſame time to gratify his revenge by the deſtruction of Athelwold. But, the better to effectuate his purpoſe, he artfully concealed the true ſtate of his mind; and, by his expreſſions to Athelwold, ſeemed perfectly indifferent to the charms of Elfrida: but ſoon after leading that nobleman into a wood, under pretence of hunting, he ſtabbed him with his own hand, and in a ſhort time publicly eſpouſed his widow.

The magnificence of Edgar's court attracted a great number of foreigners from different parts of Europe; who are ſaid, by ancient hiſtorians, to have imported the vices of their reſpective countries, which tended to corrupt the ſimple manners of the natives. But in what that ſimplicity of manners could conſiſt, it is difficult to divine, as the times were more remarkable for vice than purity; and cruelty and perfidy, ſo truly incompatible with artleſſneſs and innocence, the general characteriſtics of ſimplicity, were almoſt univerſally prevalent. A ſocial intercourſe with the inhabitants of the continent, who had all ſurpaſſed the Engliſh in their progreſs to refinement, could ſcarcely, therefore, be deemed a diſadvantage: it might poliſh, but could not corrupt them; and the worſt conſequence that could poſſibly have enſued was an interchangement of vices.

At the commencement of this reign, the kingdom was infeſted with an infinite number of wolves, that, iſſuing from the mountains and foreſts of Wales, made ſuch havock among the flocks and herds as cauſed an univerſal alarm. Edgar, having tried all the uſual expedients for their extirpation without ſucceſs, publiſhed a general pardon for all paſt crimes, on condition that the criminals would produce a ſpecified number of wolves tongues, proportioned to the nature of their reſpective offences. He alſo exacted an annual tribute from the Welſh of three hundred wolves heads, in lieu of that which had hitherto been paid in money and cattle. Theſe extraordinary expedients proved ſo effectual, that in three years not a wolf was to be ſeen in the iſland.

During the reign of Edgar, the vice of drunkenneſs had ariſen to ſuch an alarming height as to demand the interference of the king, who endeavoured to reſtrain it by a curious regulation. It was cuſtomary in thoſe times for the whole company, however numerous, to drink out of one large veſſel; which being handed from one to the other, each perſon had an opportunity of drinking as much as he choſe. This cuſtom was productive of many diſputes: as, where liquor was ſcarce, ſome by taking too large a draught were apt to deprive their companions of their portion; while, on the other hand, where there was plenty of liquor, and the gueſt proved to be leſs inclined to ebriety than his landlord, a troubleſome ſpirit, miſnamed hoſpitality, which is ſtill to be found in many parts of this and a neighbouring iſland, compelled him to imbibe more than was conducive to pleaſure, or conſiſtent with health. To remedy theſe inconveniences, Edgar commanded that knobs or pins, of braſs or any other metal, ſhould be fixed in the drinking-veſſels at certain diſtances; and decreed, that no perſon, under a ſtated penalty, ſhould either drink himſelf, or compel another to drink, at one draught, more liquor than was contained between two of thoſe knobs.

Edgar died in the year 975, the thirty-third of his age, and ſeventeenth of his reign; leaving two ſons, Edward and Ethelred. He was ſucceeded in the throne by Edward, whom he had by his firſt wife, the daughter of Earl Ordmer.

The monks, to evince their gratitude for the eſſential benefits conferred on them by this monarch, declared him a ſaint; but, as his life could afford few inſtances of ſanctity, the neceſſary number of miracles attributed to his body, which was interred near the altar of Glaſtonbury church, were produced to ſanction his canonization.

EDWARD THE MARTYR.

THE acceſſion of this prince met with conſiderable oppoſition from the intrigues of his ſtep-mother Elfrida, who wiſhed to raiſe her own ſon Ethelred to the throne, though he was then only ſeven years of age. The pretenſions of this ambitious woman were founded on the ſuppoſed illegitimacy of Edward's birth, ariſing from ſome circumſtances which ſhe inſiſted were ſufficient to invalidate the marriage of Edgar with his mother. Notwithſtanding the fallacy of her claims, that influence which ſhe had poſſeſſed at court, during the life of her huſband, had gained her many friends, who were now ready to ſtand forth in their ſupport. But this faction, though powerful, was unable to prevail againſt the ſuperior advantages of Edward. Independent of the right of primogeniture, which muſt in itſelf have proved ſufficient, had juſtice alone been conſulted in the ſucceſſion, he was expreſsly appointed to ſucceed to the throne by the will of his father: he was moreover of an age that would ſoon enable him to aſſume the reins of government himſelf, and by that means prevent the kingdom from being ſubjected to thoſe inconveniences which are generally attendant on a minority. To theſe favourable circumſtances was added the averſion of the principal nobility to the government of Ethelred, which muſt neceſſarily have tended to increaſe the authority of Elfrida, whoſe imperious diſpoſition afforded them juſt grounds for apprehenſion. But the circumſtance which at this period operated the moſt powerfully in favour of Edward, was the protection of Dunſtan, who had already acquired a powerful aſcendant over his youthful mind; and had therefore determined to eſpouſe his cauſe, which the great popularity he had obtained, by an affectation of ſuperior ſanctity, enabled him to do with effect.

The aſſembly of the ſtates having met, to deliberate on the choice of a ſucceſſor, the pretenſions of either competitor were diſcuſſed with conſiderable warmth; and Dunſtan, finding the adherents of Ethelred more numerous than he could wiſh, put an abrupt termination to the debates, by reſolutely taking the young prince by the hand, and leading him out of the hall: he then conducted him to the church without delay, and performed the ceremony of anointing and crowning him amidſt the acclamations of a vaſt concourſe of people. This bold ſtep decided the conteſt; for the party who oppoſed the acceſſion of Edward, finding the people againſt them, wiſely gave up their oppoſition, and ſubmitted to his ſway.

Edward was a prince whoſe diſpoſition to mildneſs and lenity was ill calculated to enſure obedience to his will in thoſe times of violence and barbarity, or even to protect the regal authority from dangerous encroachments. The conduct of Dunſtan in promoting his elevation to the throne was ſagacious and politic, as it ſecured to the monks an efficacious protector, who would not fail to confirm thoſe important advantages which they had obtained during the reign of his predeceſſor. Such a patron, too, was more eſſentially requiſite, as the ſecular clergy had ſtill many powerful partizans in England; who, releaſed from their fears by the death of Edgar, now openly eſpouſed their cauſe. Elferc, Duke of Mercia, expelled the monks from all the monaſteries in that extenſive province; and recalled the ſecular canons, with their wives and families, to take poſſeſſion of their ancient habitations. This ſpirited example was followed by many other noblemen in different parts of the kingdom: but Elfwin, Duke of Eaſt-Anglia, and Brithnot, Duke of Eſſex, purſued a different conduct; they afforded protection to the monks within their reſpective territories, inſiſted on the execution of the laws enacted in their favour by Edgar, and even raiſed troops for their defence.

To allay theſe commotions, many ſynods and councils were held, which conſiſted of all the clergy and nobility of the kingdom. In theſe Dunſtan and his party prevailed; for when they were unable to reply to the arguments of their adverſaries, which, though they were eminently ſkilled in all the ſophiſtical arts of monaſtic diſputation, very frequently occurred, they had recourſe to the more irreſiſtible power of miracles, which operating on the credulity of the populace, never failed to effectuate their purpoſe.

In a ſynod held in the old monaſtery at Wincheſter, in the year 977, when the voice of reaſon was prevalent, and the monks were in imminent danger of ſuſtaining a diſgraceful defeat by a repeal of all the canons lately made in their favour, the aſſembly was ſuddenly alarmed by a voice that ſeemed to iſſue from a crucifix fixed in the partition-wall, which informed the members that the laws enacted in favour of the monks were reaſonable and juſt, and that any attempt to repeal them would infallibly incur the vengeance of Heaven. This miraculous interpoſition put an end to the debates, and the aſſembly immediately diſſolved.

In another ſynod, where the majority was unfavourable to Dunſtan, he roſe up, and informed

the audience that he had that inſtant received an immediate revelation in behalf of the monks. But though theſe pretended prodigies might ſomewhat intimidate the patrons of the ſecular clergy, they were not able to produce conviction; which occaſioned the meeting of a third ſynod at Calne, in Wiltſhire, in the year 978, that gave riſe to a miracle of a more alarming nature. The floor of the room in which the aſſembly were met gave way on a ſudden, and moſt of the members were either bruiſed or killed by the fall, except Dunſtan, whoſe ſanctity doubtleſs perſerved him from danger, as the beam on which his chair was very fortunately placed happened to be the only one that remained firm and immoveable. It was alſo remarked, that Dunſtan had that day prevented the king from attending the ſynod, as was his conſtant cuſtom. But theſe circumſtances, inſtead of inſpiring the minds of the people with any ſuſpicion of artifice, only tended to confirm them in the opinion of his ſanctity; and they were induced to regard the monks, who could thus command on any ſudden emergency the miraculous interpoſition of Providence, as the peculiar favourites of Heaven.

Theſe eccleſiaſtical controverſies were the only memorable tranſactions of the reign of Edward, which laſted but four years, and then experienced a moſt tragical termination.

We have already obſerved, that this youthful prince poſſeſſed a diſpoſition of peculiar mildneſs. Such was the amiable innocence of his own heart, he never could harbour a ſuſpicion that the heart of another could be the reſidence of guilt. To this boundleſs confidence, the reſult of virtue untainted by the ſagacity of age, unſhaken by the conviction of experience, he owed his premature diſſolution. He ſhewed no ſigns of reſentment againſt thoſe who had been moſt ſtrenuous to deprive him of his hereditary rights; he was always profuſe in expreſſions of fraternal affection to his rival brother, and even treated his ambitious ſtep-mother with ſignal marks of unfeigned regard. But Elfrida was not to be moved by a diſplay of virtues that were foreign to her ſoul: beneath the faireſt form ſhe concealed a mind the moſt depraved, from which all thoſe finer feelings, which ſo nobly characterize the female ſex, were unhappily baniſhed by an inordinate love of ſway, that roſe ſuperior to the ſtrong ſuggeſtions of morality, or the more forcible dictates of religion. After the diſappointment of her ſchemes by the acceſſion of Edward, ſhe retired to Corſe Caſtle, in Dorſetſhire, and employed the hours of ſolitude in meditating plans for his deſtruction. An opportunity ſoon offered for the accompliſhment of her infamous deſign.

The king, who was hunting in the vicinity of her reſidence, quitted his attendants, and went wholly unaccompanied to pay her a paſſing viſit. The perfidious Elfrida received him with apparent cordiality and kindneſs; and, on his refuſal to alight, preſented him with a cup of wine: but as he was drinking, either Elfrida herſelf, or a ſervant tutored by her for the purpoſe, ſtabbed him in the back. Edward, finding himſelf wounded, put ſpurs to his horſe; but ſoon fainting from loſs of blood, he fell from the ſaddle; and, his foot being entangled in the ſtirrup, was dragged along till he expired. Being traced by the blood, the body was found by the ſervants of Elfrida, who threw it into a neighbouring well; but being ſoon after diſcovered by the king's domeſtics, it was privately interred at Wareham; from whence it was removed to the monaſtery of Shaftſbury, where it is ſaid to have wrought numberleſs miracles.

Though the death of Edward could have no poſſible connexion with any religious controverſy, he received the appellation of Martyr, and was afterwards canonized. But this honorary epithet, and this holy preferment, were probably owing to the vanity and influence of the monks, who were anxious to inculcate a belief that the death of their diſtinguiſhed adherents, from whatever cauſe it proceeded, was occaſioned by a ſpirit of revenge for their patronage of monachiſm.

Elfrida, to expiate he rguilt, had recourſe to the uſual mode of erecting monaſteries. She built one at Ambreſbury, in Wiltſhire; and another at Worwell, in Northamptonſhire: but, finding the good opinion of the public, who were in general too eaſily duped by the deluſion of hypocriſy, irretrievably loſt, ſhe ſubmitted to a penance of greater ſeverity, by retiring to the laſt of theſe convents, where ſhe paſſed the remainder of her life in ſolitary confinement.

ETHELRED THE SECOND.

EDWARD was ſucceeded by his brother Ethelred, who was crowned at Kingſton, in April 978. Dunſtan performed the ceremony of his coronation with infinite reluctance, as, from his elevation to the throne, he plainly foreſaw the deſtruction of his own influence, and the conſequent downfal of his party. He had likewiſe another motive for grief; for we are poſitively aſſured, by many of the monkiſh hiſtorians, that, at the baptiſm of Ethelred, he had foretold the calamities that would befal his country under the reign of that prince. The reaſon on which he founded his prediction is too curious to be omitted. "*Minxit* "*namque cum baptizaretur in ſacro fonte. Unde vir* "*Domini exterminium Anglorum in tempore ejus fu-*"*turum prædixit.*"—A ſimilar circumſtance had procured for the Emperor Conſtantine the appellation of Copronymus.

The mind of Ethelred was well adapted to fulfil the pretended prophecy of Dunſtan, as he poſſeſſed

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an imbecility of ſpirit that rendered him wholly unfit for the weighty taſk of empire. To his native diffidence and timidity was likewiſe added an extreme indolence, which induced the people to beſtow on him the title of *Ethelred the Unready*. Theſe circumſtances, together with the conſideration of his youth, for he had not yet attained his thirteenth year, were equally favourable to the rebellious encroachments of the nobles, and the more deſtructive attacks of a foreign invader.

The principal nobility, to whom the government of different provinces had been entruſted, now reſolved to perpetuate the adminiſtration in their families; and, aſſuming the title of Dukes, exerciſed an independent authority in their reſpective diſtricts. By this means, that bond of unanimity, on which the ſtrength and preſervation of a kingdom ſo eſſentially depend, was looſened, if not wholly diſſolved, and all patriotic concern for the public welfare was loſt in an intereſted ſolicitude for private aggrandizement. The wiſe regulations of Alfred for the internal defence of the country were no longer obſerved; and the noble profeſſion of arms being deemed too laborious by the degenerate natives, the ſafety of the nation was confided to mercenary troops, chiefly compoſed of Danes, whoſe native diſpoſition to plunder led them to oppreſs the people they were paid to protect. The navy, too, on which an inſular government ſhould ever found it's chief reliance for ſecurity, was ſuffered to lay inactive in the harbours, and ſink to decay for want of repair.

The iſland had now been unmoleſted by the attacks of the piratical Danes for more than half a century: a long interval of repoſe, for which it was partly indebted to the wiſdom and vigour of it's monarchs, who had preſerved it in a conſtant poſture of defence; and partly to the employment which thoſe active depredators had found on different parts of the continent, and particularly in France, from whoſe monarchy they had diſmembered the fertile and extenſive province of Neuſtria. But being, probably, informed of the defenceleſs ſtate of the kingdom by their countrymen who reſided in England, and who ſtill retained that averſion to the Engliſh yoke which they had invariably evinced from their firſt eſtabliſhment, they reſolved to invade it. Their firſt attempt, however, appears to have been made merely with the view of aſcertaining the veracity of their intelligence. An inconſiderable body of them landed in the neighbourhood of Southampton, from ſeven veſſels, in the year 981; and, having pillaged that town and the adjacent country, returned to their ſhips laden with the ſpoil, and were ſuffered to depart with impunity. From thence they ſailed to the coaſt of Cornwall, where they landed, and committed the ſame depredations.

In the enſuing year another body of them made a ſimilar attempt on Portland, which was attended with ſimilar ſucceſs. In ſhort, for a ſeries of years the kingdom was continually expoſed to thoſe ſudden incurſions, which by degrees became more formidable and deſtructive.

During this unhappy period, the influence of the monks ſuffered a gradual declenſion; and the contempt which Ethelred was ſtudious to diſplay for their great patron Dunſtan, tended conſiderably to diminiſh the popularity of that turbulent prelate. The people even began to entertain doubts of his ſanctity, and ſeriouſly to queſtion his pretended power of effecting miracles, ſince he did not chuſe to exert it for the preſervation of his country from thoſe miſeries to which it was inceſſantly expoſed; though it was never allowed to lay dormant when his own intereſt was at ſtake. Dunſtan was ſenſibly affected by this decreaſe of his authority; and his chagrin was greatly augmented on the death of his friend and coadjutor Ethelwald, Biſhop of Wincheſter, who died in the year 984, to the inexpreſſible joy of the ſecular clergy, whom he had perſecuted with unrelenting ſeverity. The hopes of theſe latter now beginning to revive, they exerted themſelves to procure the election of one of their own body to ſucceed Ethelwald; but Dunſtan, as primate of England, was ſtill poſſeſſed of ſufficient influence to fruſtrate their ſchemes, though he was obliged to have recourſe to preternatural aſſiſtance to obtain the advancement of Elphigus, Abbot of Bath, to the vacant ſee of Wincheſter. For this purpoſe, he pretended to have received a viſit from the Apoſtle St. Andrew, who aſſured him that Elphigus was the moſt proper perſon to be promoted to that exalted ſtation.

Dunſtan did not long ſurvive his friend; but died, in 988, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, having held the biſhopric of London, together with the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, about twenty-ſeven years.

As the monks were indebted to this prelate for the reſtoration and ſupport of monaſtic inſtitutions, they did not fail to beſtow on his memory thoſe marks of adulation which they had formerly laviſhed on his perſon. He is accordingly repreſented by thoſe cloiſtered annaliſts, who were almoſt the only hiſtorians of that dark age, as the greateſt performer of miracles, and the higheſt favourite of Heaven, that had ever exiſted. Excluſive of his numerous conflicts with his infernal adverſary, ſome of which we have noticed in a former reign, there is a ſtory told with infinite exultation, by his biographer Oſbern, that will afford the moſt convincive proof of the preſumption and blaſphemy of the monks, and ſet the infatuation and credulity of thoſe unhappy times in the moſt luminous point of view.

" The moſt admirable, the moſt ineſtimable " Father Dunſtan," ſays that author, " whoſe per- " fections the utmoſt power of human imagination " is inadequate to conceive, was admitted to behold " the Mother of God and his own mother in eter- " nal glory: for, previous to his death, he was " carried up to heaven, to be preſent at the nuptials " of his mother with the Eternal King, which were " celebrated by the angels with ſongs of harmony " and joy. When the angels reproved him for his " ſilence on this ſolemn occaſion, ſo honourable to " his mother, he excuſed himſelf by obſerving, that " he was wholly unacquainted with thoſe ſweet and

" heavenly

" heavenly ſtrains: but, having received ſome in-
" ſtructions from them, he commenced the fol-
" lowing melodious ſong—" O King and Ruler
" of nations, &c."

It will ſcarcely be credited, in the preſent æra, that there ever exiſted an author capable of tranſmitting to poſterity ſo impious a rhapſody, or that a nation could be found ſufficiently weak to afford it implicit belief: yet ſuch is the effect of ſuperſtition, that the mind it inhabits, diveſted of it's rational powers, places no bounds to it's extravagant flights, but tranſcending the limits of human comprehenſion, makes every thing ſubſervient to it's own caprice.

The character of Dunſtan, ſtripped of the ſuperfluous encumbrances of fanaticiſm, appears to be that of a man in whoſe mind ſagacity and ambition formed the grand characteriſtics. The firſt enabled him to perceive the prevailing folly of the times, and the latter impelled him to profit by it. Though naturally proud and imperious, he could occaſionally deſcend to artifice and hypocriſy for the more effectual promotion of a favourite object; and did not ſcruple to proſtitute even the ſolemn precepts of religion to purpoſes of malignant oppreſſion and intereſted pride. Yet theſe vices, though unaccompanied by a ſingle good quality, were deemed inadequate to impede his canonization; and he is accordingly ranked with thoſe numerous ſaints of a ſimilar ſtamp who are ſtill ſuffered to diſgrace the calendar of Rome.

Oſwald, the laſt of the holy triumvirate, died in the year 993; having enjoyed the archbiſhopric of York, together with the biſhopric of Worceſter, about twenty-two years. He alſo was canonized. Theſe two celebrated ſaints were, it ſeems, ſtaunch friends to pluralities; doubtleſs, with the pious view of extending the good effects of their zeal, without the ſmalleſt regard to perſonal intereſt or private gratification!

For ſeveral years after the death of theſe prelates, the attention of the people was too much engroſſed by the calamities of the kingdom to be employed in religious controverſy; ſo that the diſputes between the monks and ſecular clergy were for a time extinguiſhed.

After the Danes had committed ravages on the coaſts of England for ten years ſucceſſively, they ſuffered the inhabitants to enjoy a ſhort interval of repoſe. But they made another deſcent in Eſſex in the year 991; and, having defeated an Engliſh army that had marched to oppoſe them, near Maldon, and ſlain Brithnot, governor of the county, who commanded it, they ſpread their devaſtations over all the neighbouring provinces. In this extremity, Ethelred, inſtead of ſhewing to his people an example of courage and vigour in his own conduct, and thereby impelling them to ſtand forth in defence of their honour and property, liſtened to the cowardly and impolitic advice of Siricius, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſeconded by many of the degenerate nobility, who perſuaded him to purchaſe an ignominious peace with the ſum of ten thouſand pounds, on the payment of which the Danes conſented to depart the kingdom.

This meaſure was productive of conſequences which might naturally have been expected from it. Another fleet of Danes appeared on the coaſts of Eaſt-Anglia the enſuing year, and put into different ports, in hopes of being tempted to depart by a ſimilar bribe: but Ethelred, ſenſible of the folly he had committed, reſolved not to fall into a ſimilar error; he therefore aſſembled a Wittena-gemote, in which it was determined to collect as powerful a fleet as poſſible to block up the Danes in port. This prudent reſolution was, however, prevented from taking effect by the treachery of Ealfric, Duke of Mercia, who gave them private intelligence of their danger; and, when the Daniſh fleet put to ſea, he deſerted to them, with the ſquadron he commanded, the very evening before the engagement, and by that means diſappointed all the efforts of his countrymen.

This traitor had, in 983, ſucceeded his father in the command of the extenſive province of Mercia; but being deprived of it two years after, and baniſhed the kingdom, he was compelled to exert all his influence and power, which were too great for a ſubject to poſſeſs without danger to the ſtate, to obtain a reverſal of his ſentence, and procure a reſtoration to his former authority. Having found from experience that his power, though extenſive, was inadequate to ſecure him from the attempts of his numerous enemies, he reſolved no longer to ſeek for protection in the favour and eſteem of his countrymen; but to confide ſolely in the ſupport of his vaſſals, who paid him the moſt implicit obedience, and to wait patiently till ſome revolution in the ſtate ſhould render his aſſiſtance neceſſary; pleaſed with the patriotic idea, that he ſhould then be able to profit by the diſtreſs of his country! Fixed in this laudable reſolution, he determined to prevent any ſignal ſucceſs which, by contributing to the public tranquillity, might firmly eſtabliſh the royal authority, and thereby render his own ſituation dependent, and conſequently precarious! With this view, therefore, he deſerted to the Danes, previous to an engagement which, from the ſuperiority of the Engliſh fleet, would probably have effected their deſtruction.

Ethelred, incenſed at his perfidious conduct, ſeized his ſon Alfgar, and commanded his eyes to be put out. This inſtance of cruelty and injuſtice was ſucceeded by a meaſure which affords ample demonſtration of the weakneſs and imprudence of the court. Ealfric was again reſtored to favour, and allowed to reſume the important command of Mercia, though his true character had been ſufficiently diſplayed by a frequent repetition of treaſonable practices.

Hitherto the Daniſh incurſions had been conducted only by adventurous chieftains; but, in the year 993, a more formidable deſcent took place. Swein, King of Denmark, and Olave, King of Norway, allured by the ſucceſs of their ſubjects, who in their ſeveral expeditions ſeldom failed to return with a conſiderable acquiſition of riches, now determined to ſhare in the ſpoils of this devoted iſland. They accordingly equipped a powerful

fleet; and, ſailing up the Humber, ſpread their deſtructive ravages on every ſide. Having plundered Lindeſey, they marched into Northumberland, which being chiefly inhabited by Danes, made but little reſiſtance. A conſiderable body of troops was aſſembled to oppoſe their progreſs; and an action enſued: but the Engliſh were repulſed with loſs, from the cowardice and treachery of their three commanders, Frena, Frithegiſt, and Godwin, all of them of Daniſh extraction, who fled at the beginning of the engagement, and left their troops to ſuſtain the attack of the enemy without a leader to direct their manœuvres.

The Danes having wintered in Northumberland, embarked in the ſpring on board a fleet of ninety-four veſſels; and, entering the Thames, inveſted London, in hopes of haſtening the conqueſt of the kingdom by obtaining poſſeſſion of the capital. But their hopes were diſappointed by the courage of the citizens, who defended the metropolis with ſuch ſpirit and ſucceſs, that the Danes were compelled to raiſe the ſiege; and, directing their march into Kent, Suſſex, and Hampſhire, made thoſe provinces experience the dreadful effects of their depredations.

The whole kingdom being menaced with a ſimilar fate, Ethelred convened an aſſembly of his nobles; at which the former inefficacious expedient being again adopted, ambaſſadors were diſpatched to the Daniſh monarchs, with an offer of ſixteen thouſand pounds to induce them to put an immediate ſtop to hoſtilities, and to quit the kingdom as ſoon as the tribute ſhould be paid.

This weak policy of purchaſing the forbearance of an enemy, inſtead of attempting to repel his attacks, was not peculiar to England; for the French had frequent recourſe to the ſame expedient. Charles the Bald, King of France, had purchaſed a peace of the piratical Danes, who had beſieged Paris about the middle of the preceding century, with fourteen thouſand marks of ſilver; and Carloman, a very few years after, had paid them twelve thouſand marks on a ſimilar occaſion. Indeed, ſuch inſtances frequently occur in the hiſtory of that country, prior to the eſtabliſhment of the Normans.

The offer being accepted, the Danes retired to Southampton, where the money was ſoon after paid; and the two kings, in compliance with the terms of the treaty, immediately ſailed for Denmark.

Olave, during his ſtay at Southampton, made a viſit to Ethelred, who then reſided at Andover; and, by the perſuaſions of the Engliſh monarch, became a convert to Chriſtianity, and received baptiſm from an Engliſh biſhop. He there ſolemnly declared that he would never more moleſt the Engliſh territories; and he adhered to his declaration with religious ſcrupuloſity. Olave was afterwards dignified by the church of Rome with the title of Saint; and his name is ſtill to be ſeen in the Romiſh calendar.

The departure of the two monarchs procured to the Engliſh but a ſhort ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities: for a freſh army of Danes, in the year 997, appeared in the Severn; and, having ravaged the coaſt of Wales, ſailed round to the ſouth; and, entering the Tamar, laid waſte the counties of Cornwall and Devon. They then returned to the Briſtol Channel; and, ſailing up the Avon, penetrated into the interior parts of the iſland, which they deſolated with fire and ſword; and carried their devaſtations even into Dorſetſhire, having firſt defeated the troops that were raiſed for the defence of the country.

In the year 999, theſe reſtleſs invaders changed the ſcene of action; and, after ravaging the Iſle of Wight, entered the Thames and Medway, vanquiſhed an army of Kentiſhmen near Rocheſter, and committed the moſt deſtructive depredations throughout the province of Kent.

A council was convened by Ethelred, to conſult on the beſt means of defence at this alarming criſis: but, ſuch was the imbecility of the monarch, and ſuch the ſpirit of faction that prevailed among the nobility, who were moſt of them either cowards or traitors, that every effort was rendered abortive. An army was indeed raiſed, and a fleet equipped; but the daſtardly conduct of their leaders either taught them to avoid the enemy, or to make ſo feeble a reſiſtance, that they were ſpeedily repulſed with diſhonour. Thus preparations for defence, or implicit ſubmiſſion, proved equally fatal to the people. The Engliſh, therefore, alike deſtitute of wiſdom and unanimity in council, as of valour and conduct in the field, had once more recourſe to that miſerable expedient of bribing their enemy to depart, the inefficacy of which had been already demonſtrated.

The Danes, conſcious of their ſuperiority, gradually roſe in their demands; and now inſiſted on twenty-four thouſand pounds, which the degenerate Engliſh were baſe enough to comply with. This ſum, like thoſe which had before been paid to the Danes, was raiſed by a tax called Danegeld, or Daniſh Payment. It was originally impoſed with the conſent of the Wittena-gemote, at the rate firſt of one Saxon ſhilling, and afterwards of two, or even more, on every hyde of land in the kingdom. As there were two hundred and forty-three thouſand ſix hundred hydes of land in England, this tax, at one ſhilling each hyde, produced the ſum of twelve thouſand one hundred and eighty Saxon pounds, equal in quantity of ſilver to about thirty-ſix thouſand five hundred and forty pounds ſterling, and in efficacy to more than three hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds of our money at preſent. It was afterwards raiſed to two, and at laſt to ſeven ſhillings; and continued to be levied long after the original occaſion of impoſing it had ceaſed. While the viſits of the Danes were frequent, the monarchs derived little profit from it; but, after the acceſſion of the Daniſh kings to the throne of England, it formed one of the principal branches of the royal revenue.

Beſides the ſum of twenty-four thouſand pounds paid them by the Engliſh for that purpoſe, Hume ſays that the Danes had another motive to haſten their departure from England; having received an invitation from Richard, Duke of Normandy, to aſſiſt him in oppoſing the arms of Robert, King of France, who threatened to deprive him of his territories.

tories. But this aſſertion is evidently incorrect; as, ſo far from Robert being at war with Richard in the year 999, when the Danes left the iſland, it appears that a cloſe alliance ſubſiſted between the French and Normans preciſely at that period: for Mezeray, in his Hiſtory of France, in the reign of Robert, ſpeaking of a private feud between Bouchard, Comte de Melun, and Eudes, Comte de Brie, which happened in the year 999, ſays, that the king, undertaking the defence of Bouchard, ſummoned Richard the Second, Duke of Normandy, his couſin and *good friend*, to aſſiſt him; and they accordingly united their forces, and laid ſiege to Melun. The words of the French hiſtorian are theſe—" *C'eſt pourquoi ce Roi prenant ſa défenſe en* " *main, manda Richard* 2, *Duc de Normandie, ſon* " *couſin, & bon ami, & avec lui aſſiegea Melun.*" We find, indeed, in the Hiſtory of Normandy, that about eighteen years after, in 1017, Richard being at war with Eudes, Comte de Chartres, his brother-in-law, who had perſuaded many of the moſt powerful vaſſals of the crown to eſpouſe his cauſe, which was *ſecretly* favoured by Robert, was compelled to apply for aſſiſtance to the Danes, who were then in England; which being granted, he was enabled to deſeat the projects of his enemies.

In order to obtain the friendſhip of a nation from whoſe enmity he and his ſubjects had ſuſtained ſo many injuries, Ethelred, being now a widower, demanded Emma, the beauteous ſiſter of Richard the Second, Duke of Normandy, in marriage; and his demand being chearfully complied with, that princeſs arrived in England, in the year 1002, when the marriage was conſummated.

Towards the concluſion of the ninth century, the Danes, who had long infeſted the maritime provinces of France, were commanded by the celebrated Rollo, a powerful chieftain, who had been originally poſſeſſed of an independent principality in Denmark, of which the cruelty and perfidy of the reigning monarch had unjuſtly deprived him. Rollo, who had been compelled to take refuge in a remote corner of Scandinavia, reſolved to repair the loſs he had ſuſtained by following the example of his countrymen in committing depredations on the more ſouthern coaſts of Europe. For this purpoſe he collected a formidable band of adventurers, compoſed of Norwegians, Swedes, Friſians, and Danes, who, allured by the proſpect of plunder, flocked to his ſtandard from all quarters; and, having equipped a numerous fleet, he bade adieu to his native country.

His firſt attempt was made on England, in the latter end of the reign of Alfred; but, finding the iſland in a proper poſture of defence, and governed by a wiſe and courageous prince, he prudently deſiſted from his enterprize, and repaired to France; where he arrived, according to Mezeray, in the year 895, during the reign of Charles the Simple, who was then engaged in a war with his powerful competitor Eudes. Charles and his rival being more anxious to diminiſh the power of each other than to repreſs the incurſions of this formidable invader, Rollo was ſuffered to ſpread his deſtructive ravages over the greateſt part of the kingdom with impunity. He continued his devaſtations for a ſeries of years with uninterrupted ſucceſs; which ſo haraſſed the French, that they at length compelled their ſovereign, in the year 912, to ſue for peace.

As Rollo was victorious, he impoſed ſuch terms on the French monarch as beſt ſuited his conveniency. A ceſſion of territory was an object he inſiſted on; and Charles was reduced to purchaſe a peace by the ſacrifice of one of his moſt fertile provinces. The greateſt part of the extenſive country of Neuſtria was yielded to the Dane; which was thenceforward denominated Normandy, from it's new inhabitants, and conſiſted of all the province which now bears that name; excepting the ſmall diſtrict of Bayeux, which did not fall under the dominion of the Norman dukes till many years after. For this he was required to do homage to the crown: but he obſtinately refuſed to comply with the ceremony of kneeling to the king; a mark of ſubjection impoſed on vaſſals by the rites of the feudal law, and which appeared to him an indignity that his fierce ſpirit could not brook; and it was with ſome difficulty that he could be perſuaded even to put his hand within the king's while he took the oath of fidelity. Beſides Neuſtria, Charles likewiſe gave him the turbulent province of Britanny, to hold as a fief of the crown: but the Bretons, not leſs fierce and imperious than the Danes themſelves, refuſed to pay homage to Rollo, which occaſioned frequent wars between the two provinces.

In order to attach Rollo more firmly to his intereſt, Charles gave him his daughter Giſelle in marriage; but required his converſion to Chriſtianity as a preliminary condition. This was chearfully complied with by the Norman; who accordingly received baptiſm from the hands of Francon, Archbiſhop of Rouen, and was named Robert, from Robert, Count of Paris, who anſwered for him at the baptiſmal font. " The grace of this holy ſa-" crament," ſays a French hiſtorian, " operated ſo " powerful a regeneration in Rollo, that he became " one of the beſt princes of the age." Certain it is, that he governed his new-acquired territories with great equity and moderation. He treated the French who ſubmitted to his ſway with juſtice and lenity; and, reclaiming his followers from thoſe inveterate habits of plunder to which they had been accuſtomed from their cradle, effected the eſtabliſhment of good order and ſalutary laws throughout his dominions.

Rollo, on his acquiſition of the Dutchy of Normandy, divided the lands among his officers and ſoldiers, according to the cuſtoms of the feudal ſyſtem, which was then univerſally eſtabliſhed in the ſouthern parts of Europe. He died in 917; and was ſucceeded by his ſon William, ſurnamed Longue-Epée.

William the Firſt ruled over Normandy twenty-five years; and, by his marriage with a daughter of the Comte de Senlis, eſtabliſhed an intimate connection between his ſubjects and the French; which, though it tended to civilize the former, was viewed with an eye of envious diſcontent by ſome of the Norman nobility, who accordingly excited a revolt: but

but it was ſoon quelled by William; who likewiſe repreſſed the commotions of the Bretons, who refuſed to pay him homage. He was at laſt aſſaſſinated, in December 942, by ſome ruffians hired by Arnoul, Count of Flanders, who entertained the moſt violent animoſity againſt William, for having eſpouſed the cauſe of a nobleman with whom Arnoul was at enmity.

Richard, a minor, ſucceeded his father; and, after a reign of fifty-four years, left his dominions to his ſon, Richard the Second, in the year 996, eighty-four years after the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Normans in France. This was the duke who gave his ſiſter Emma in marriage to Ethelred; and by that means formed a connection with a country which his poſterity was ſo ſoon after deſtined to ſubdue.

The marriage of Ethelred was certainly well-timed; and would probably have been productive of the moſt happy conſequences to his kingdom, had he not defeated the end it was meant to promote by a ſubſequent ſtroke of policy, equally remarkable for it's imprudence and cruelty.

The Daniſh mercenaries, whom the flagrant degeneracy of the natives made it neceſſary to ſupport for the defence of the kingdom, had attained to a degree of profligacy which rendered them objects of univerſal deteſtation. By a cloſe attention to the adornment of their perſons, and other effeminate arts, they had ſo far inſinuated themſelves into the good graces of the fair ſex, that they were enabled to debauch the wives and daughters of the Engliſh, and to inflict the ſtain of diſhonour on numerous families. This was ſufficient to excite the indignation of the inhabitants, without any additional provocation: but their reſentment was conſiderably heightened by the treachery of theſe unprincipled hirelings, who were ever ready to betray them to the enemy, and to grant to their piratical countrymen that aſſiſtance which they were paid for affording to the Engliſh.

This repetition of injuries had created ſuch a mutual animoſity between the Engliſh and Daniſh inhabitants, as would have required all the vigour and wiſdom of a ſettled government to allay: but Ethelred determined to operate it's effectual extinction, by a remedy which the heart of a coward could alone have ſuggeſted, and the hand of a ſavage alone have applied. This was nothing leſs than a general maſſacre of the Danes throughout his dominions. The execrable plan was no ſooner adopted, than orders were iſſued to enforce it's execution, with ſuch preciſion as precluded the poſſibility of a miſtake, and ſuch ſecrecy as effectually prevented the danger of promulgation.

The day appointed for this horrid ſacrifice was the feſtival of St. Brice, which fell on Sunday the 13th of November, in the year 1002. The circumſtances of uncommon cruelty with which the maſſacre was attended, as related by ancient hiſtorians, are too ſhocking to repeat. Suffice it to ſay, that the Engliſh, in this inſtance, appear to have been wholly diveſted of thoſe feelings which tend to diſcriminate the reſentment of a man from the revenge of a brute. The rage of the populace, ever wild and ungovernable, had the ſtrongeſt motives for aggravation in the recollection of recent injuries, the ſanction of royal authority, and the powerful ſtimulation of example. Thus inflamed into madneſs, it made no diſtinction either of age or ſex: the innocent incurred the ſame puniſhment with the guilty; and the horrors of death were augmented by the infliction of torture.

Œdric Streon, the king's brother-in-law, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this ſcene of carnage, by an action which muſt reflect eternal infamy on his memory. The late peace with Swein, King of Denmark, had been principally effected by the mediation of his ſiſter Gunilda, who had embraced Chriſtianity; and being married to Earl Paling, an Engliſh nobleman, reſided conſtantly in England, which ſhe regarded as her native country, and had even voluntarily offered herſelf and family as hoſtages for her brother's obſervance of the treaty. In return for this important ſervice, Gunilda was doomed to deſtruction by the infamous Œdric; who firſt cauſed her huſband and children to be murdered in her preſence, and then gave orders that ſhe ſhould be beheaded. This unfortunate princeſs bore her fate with extraordinary reſolution; and with her laſt breath foretold, that the effuſion of her blood would prove the ruin of the Engliſh nation.

Hiſtorians vary as to the extent of this maſſacre: ſome aſſert, that it was ſo general throughout England as to effect a total extirpation of the Danes; while others affirm that it was only partial. The latter is the moſt probable opinion, as the Danes were almoſt the only inhabitants of Eaſt Anglia and Northumberland, and were very numerous in Mercia; ſo that they certainly could not have been extirpated without a pertinacious reſiſtance, that muſt have occaſioned a war of ſome duration. From theſe conſiderations, we are induced to believe that the maſſacre was chiefly confined to thoſe Daniſh mercenaries whoſe debauchery and perfidy had juſtly excited the public indignation.

Some of the Danes, who had eſcaped the fate of their countrymen, embarked for Denmark, to bear the diſmal intelligence to Swein. The deſtruction of his countrymen was alone ſufficient to urge that ferocious prince to the moſt dreadful revenge; but when he was informed of the deplorable cataſtrophe of his ſiſter Gunilda, his rage was inexpreſſibly furious; he imprecated the bittereſt curſes on the nation, uttered the moſt horrid denunciations of vengeance, and ſolemnly ſwore that nothing but the total annihilation of the Engliſh could gratify his reſentment.

A plan was immediately formed to render his menaces effective; and the alacrity of it's execution equalled the ſuddenneſs of it's adoption. All the men at arms in his dominions were ſummoned to attend him at a ſtated rendezvous; and foreigners were invited to partake of the plunder of England. He had ſoon aſſembled an army of ſufficient ſtrength; and, having equipped a formidable fleet of three hundred ſail, he embarked his troops, and ſailed on this important enterprize, in the ſpring of the year 1003.

After

After a quick paſſage, he arrived ſafe on the ſouth-weſt coaſt of England; where he landed without oppoſition, and ravaged the country as far as Devonſhire. He then inveſted Exeter; of which he ſoon became maſter, by the treachery of the governor, one Hugh, a Norman, who had been promoted to that ſtation by the intereſt of Queen Emma. The Danes now began to ſpread their devaſtations over the neighbouring provinces; when the Engliſh, alarmed at the rapidity of their deſtructive progreſs, aſſembled a powerful army, and made every preparation for a vigorous defence: but they were all rendered fruitleſs by the imprudence of Ethelred; who, from an infatuation wholly unaccountable, which ſeems to have marked every circumſtance of his life, had again received Ealfric, Duke of Mercia, into favour, and conferred on him the chief command of his army. This conſummate traitor advanced into Hampſhire, into which province Swein had by this time penetrated; and when he approached the enemy, feigning to be ſick, he ordered his troops to retire, without riſking an action. The ardour of the men was ſo effectually damped by this treacherous conduct of their general, that they ſoon after ſeparated, and returned to their reſpective homes.

The retreat of the Engliſh afforded an opportunity to Swein to deſolate the whole county of Wilts, and to reduce the towns of Wilton and Saliſbury to aſhes. Having thus laid waſte the country, he quitted England, and ſailed to Denmark to paſs the winter.

About this period, Ealfric dying, the government of Mercia, and the command of the Engliſh army, were beſtowed on Œdric-Streon; whom the king had raiſed from an inferior ſtation to the higheſt honours of the ſtate, and had given him his own ſiſter in marriage. Ethelred was peculiarly unfortunate in his ſelection of favourites; for this man was, if poſſible, a more infamous traitor than his predeceſſor. Unreſtrained by the ties of affinity, and deaf to the dictates of gratitude, he diſcovered the intentions of his ſovereign, and the projects of his council, to the enemy; and, by ſome villainous contrivance or other, fruſtrated every ſcheme that was adopted for the defence of his country.

In the commencement of the enſuing ſpring, Swein made another deſcent on England; and, landing in Eaſt Anglia, advanced to Norwich, which he pillaged and burnt. Ulfketel, governor of the province, paid him a conſiderable ſum to reſcue the reſt of the country from deſolation: but Swein, after accepting the propoſed conditions, continued his ravages; and, proceeding to Thetford, reduced it to aſhes. The governor, juſtly incenſed at this violation of a ſolemn agreement, collected a body of troops, and took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt, which was ſituated between the fleet and army of the Danes, with the view of cutting off their retreat. Swein, being apprized of his intention, immediately returned to give him battle, and a deſperate conflict enſued; which, according to the Saxon annals, was maintained with equal pertinacity for a conſiderable time, though a ſuperiority of numbers at length enſured the victory to the Danes.

After the action, the Danes advanced farther into the country; and the provinces of Kent, Suſſex, and Weſſex, experienced the dreadful effects of their rage and rapacity. To add to the calamities of the Engliſh, a ſucceſſion of unfavourable ſeaſons, and the gradual decay of agriculture, produced a famine that was no leſs deſtructive than the ravages of the enemy. Thus oppreſſed by every ſpecies of miſery, and deſtitute of every reſource, they were again compelled to purchaſe a precarious reſpite, which Swein conſented to accord for the valuable conſideration of thirty thouſand pounds, on the payment of which he ſailed with his army for Denmark.

But, at the expiration of a year from the time of his departure, Swein ſent a number of veſſels to England, to demand a ſum equal to that which he had received, under a pretence that it was to be conſidered as an annual tribute which the Engliſh had conſented to pay. The inſolence of this demand impelled the Engliſh to exertions which at leaſt wore an appearance of vigour. A law was made, which enacted, that every proprietor of eight hydes of land ſhould provide a horſeman, with a compleat ſuit of armour; and that the proprietors of three hundred and ten hydes ſhould equip and maintain a ſhip for the defence of the coaſt. In conſequence of this law, a powerful fleet of ſeven hundred and eighty-five veſſels was raiſed: a certain proof that commerce had not been wholly neglected during the oppreſſions under which the country had laboured.

Yet the factious diſpoſition of the nobles, who were more intent on the gratification of their private animoſities than anxious to exert themſelves for the public ſafety, diſappointed the ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs which were juſtly entertained from the efforts of ſo formidable an armament.

Œdric had perſuaded his brother Brightric to prefer a falſe accuſation of treaſonable practices againſt Wolfnoth, governor of Suſſex, the father of the famous Earl Godwin; and that nobleman, aware that little juſtice could be expected from a court that was under the immediate influence of an enemy whoſe power was equal to his malevolence, ſaw no proſpect of ſafety but in flight. Impreſſed with this idea, he deſerted to the Danes, with twenty ſhips that were chiefly manned by his own adherents.

Brightric, incenſed at ſeeing the object of his reſentment eſcape from the ſnare which he had prepared for him, immediately purſued him with a fleet of fourſcore ſail: but, being overtaken by a ſtorm, his veſſels were conſiderably damaged, and afterwards ſtranded on the coaſt; where they were ſuddenly attacked by Wolfnoth, who compleated his diſappointment by the deſtruction of his whole fleet. The imbecility of the government rendered the reparation of this misfortune impoſſible; and the treachery of Œdric fruſtrating every plan for future defence, the navy became uſeleſs, and was at length diſperſed, in the different harbours of the kingdom, a few months after it's equipment.

The Danes, finding the required tribute reſolutely refuſed, and the Engliſh in no condition to oppoſe them, determined to profit by their anarchy and diſſenſions. They accordingly prepared two powerful fleets; and, in the ſpring of the year 1007, ſailed for England, under the command of three leaders, who formed a junction of their reſpective forces in the province of Kent: after which, they deſolated the ſurrounding country; and, laying ſiege to Canterbury, compelled the inhabitants to reſcue themſelves and their city from deſtruction by the payment of a conſiderable ſum of money; according to the Saxon annals, three thouſand pounds; on the receipt of which, the Danes repaired to their ſhips; and, ſailing to the Iſle of Wight, penetrated into Hampſhire, Suſſex, and Berkſhire, which they plundered without oppoſition.

During theſe tranſactions, Ethelred aſſembled an army; and, marching to meet the enemy, took poſſeſſion of a ſtrong poſt, with the intent of intercepting them as they returned to their fleet. The Engliſh being greatly ſuperior to the Danes in number, and thus advantageouſly ſituated, flattered themſelves with the hopes of retrieving their paſt diſgraces; and it is highly probable that their confidence might have been productive of a ſucceſsful effort, had not the perfidious Œdric prevented an action, by diſſuading the king from expoſing his life to the danger of a battle with an enemy of ſuch approved courage and experienced cruelty. The native timidity of Ethelred being increaſed by theſe artful inſinuations, the Danes were ſuffered quietly to paſs with their plunder, which they conveyed to the Iſle of Thanet; where they eſtabliſhed their winter quarters, making occaſional incurſions into the adjacent country, and even extending their depredations to London, which they repeatedly attacked, but were conſtantly repulſed.

They had hitherto been deſtitute of cavalry, as their veſſels afforded no accommodation for the tranſportation of horſes from their native kingdom: but, having obtained poſſeſſion of Eaſt Anglia by a ſecond defeat of the brave Ulfketel, who appears to have been the only nobleman of rank in thoſe degenerate times that entertained a true ſenſe of honour, and diſcharged his duty to his ſovereign, they found a plentiful ſupply; and, mounting a great part of their army, ſoon reduced to ſubjection the counties of Eſſex, Middleſex, Hertford, Buckingham, Oxford, Bedford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, Kent, Surrey, Suſſex, Hants, Wilts, and Devon. In the courſe of their conqueſts they burned many cities, towns, and villages; and among them were the two univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, which cauſed a total ceſſation of ſtudy for a conſiderable length of time.

The only places which had been able to withſtand the efforts of the Danes in all the above provinces were the cities of London and Canterbury: but Canterbury was at laſt attacked with ſuch irreſiſtible fury as baffled the utmoſt exertions of the inhabitants for it's preſervation. It was taken, pillaged, and burnt; nine-tenths of the Auguſtine monks who were found in the place were put to the ſword; and St. Alphage, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being made priſoner, was conducted to Greenwich, and inhumanly murdered.

In this ſtate of deſperation, general councils were ſummoned; and, as deſperate circumſtances commonly impel the adoption of deſperate remedies, ſome uncommon exertion might naturally have been expected: but, an univerſal conſternation prevailing, no mode of defence was propoſed. The ſole expedient, therefore, that remained, was that of again ſubmitting to purchaſe a peace, which incurred the approbation of the degenerate nobles, though it could only tend to accelerate the ruin of the nation, by weakening themſelves to ſtrengthen the enemy. A negotiation was immediately commenced with the Danes, who conſented to leave the kingdom on the receipt of eight and forty thouſand pounds. The money was accordingly paid, and the enemy departed.

This imprudent ſtep did not, however, procure them that interval of happineſs which was expected from it; for they had ſcarcely time to congratulate themſelves on their liberation from miſery, when they received the unwelcome intelligence that their old enemy Swein had entered the Humber, with ſo large a fleet as ſeemed to evince a determined reſolution to compleat the deſolation of the kingdom. The Daniſh monarch, having landed his troops, took quiet poſſeſſion of Northumberland, Eaſt Anglia, and the whole country to the north of Watling Street; and, having received hoſtages from the principal towns, advanced to London; but the citizens making an obſtinate defence, compelled him to relinquiſh his enterprize. He therefore marched into Weſſex; and, no enemy appearing to diſpute his progreſs, plundered that province at his leiſure. The Engliſh nobility, wanting courage to reſiſt, ſought for ſecurity in ſubmiſſion. They ſwore allegiance to Swein, and delivered hoſtages for their fidelity.

Ethelred, forſaken by his ſubjects, and juſtly alarmed for his perſonal ſafety, privately retired to the Iſle of Wight; from whence, in the year 1013, he embarked for Normandy, whither he had previouſly ſent Queen Emma, with her two ſons, Alfred and Edward. Towards the end of that year, the victorious Dane gained poſſeſſion of London, which compleated the conqueſt of the kingdom.

Swein enjoyed the beneficial fruits of this important conqueſt but a very ſhort time, as he died ſuddenly at Gainſborough, on the 3d of February, in the year 1014; and, having never undergone the ceremony of coronation, he is ſeldom ranked by hiſtorians among the kings of England. After his death, his ſon Canute was by the Danes proclaimed his ſucceſſor; but neither the intrigues nor menaces of thoſe foreign intruders could deter the Engliſh from adopting the reſolution of recalling their legitimate ſovereign. A deputation, therefore, was immediately ſent over to Normandy, by the principal nobility and clergy, to invite Ethelred to return to England, and reſume the reins of government, expreſſing their firm determination to pay him the

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moſt chearful ſubmiſſion, and to afford him the moſt effectual ſupport; at the ſame time intimating their hopes, that he would ſo far profit by the leſſons of Experience as to ſuffer his paſt misfortunes to operate as a prevention to any future miſconduct.

The king complied with this invitation; and having ſent his ſon Edmund before him, to aſſure his ſubjects that he would endeavour to correct the errors of his former adminiſtration, arrived in his native country in the time of Lent. Such was the ardour of the Engliſh to deliver themſelves from the yoke of the Danes, that they flocked to the ſtandard of their monarch from all quarters of the kingdom; and Ethelred ſoon found himſelf at the head of a numerous army inſpired with loyalty, and inflamed with reſentment.

His firſt motions tended to confirm the hopes of his ſubjects; for he marched with uncommon alacrity againſt the enemy, who were then plundering the country in the vicinity of Gainſborough; and, taking them by ſurprize, attacked them with vigour, put numbers to the ſword, and compelled the reſt, with Canute their king, to fly to their ſhips for protection. He next inflicted a ſevere puniſhment on the inhabitants of Lindſey, who had ſupplied the Danes with horſes, to enable them to extend their conqueſts and depredations with greater facility.

Canute ſailed for Denmark, where his younger brother Harold had, after the death of his father, uſurped the throne, which Canute was by no means inclined to relinquiſh for the uncertain proſpect of ſucceeding in his deſigns on England: but, before he left the Engliſh coaſt, he touched at Sandwich, where he debarked the hoſtages he had received from thoſe towns which had been compelled to acknowledge his ſovereignty; having previouſly cut off their hands, noſes, and ears, from a barbarous ſpirit of vengeance which no provocation could palliate.

Ethelred was no ſooner relieved, by the departure of the Danes, from the fear of immediate danger, than he relapſed into his former indolence and imbecility of conduct. He ſuffered the infamous Œdric to reſume that influence over his mind which, by rendering him an object of deriſion to his ſubjects, and of contempt to his enemies, had reduced his kingdom to the verge of deſtruction.

The firſt inſtance of his miſconduct was diſplayed in an attempt to eſtrange the affections of the people, to which he was indebted for his reſtoration to the throne, by the impoſition of exorbitant taxes, that excited an univerſal clamour of diſcontent. This was followed by ſeveral acts of oppreſſion, which compleated the diſappointment of their hopes, and plainly evinced the prevalence of Œdric's advice. That conſummate traitor, not content with the diſgrace and ruin in which he had involved his ſovereign, led him by a natural gradation from error to crime; and, at length, made him the abettor of aſſaſſination. Lured by the riches of Sigefert and Morcar, two potent earls, whoſe fidelity to their monarch was unqueſtionable, he doomed them to deſtruction. Having privately accuſed them of treaſonable practices, he obtained from Ethelred, whoſe fears were alarmed by his artful inſinuations, an order to invite them to an entertainment during the convention of the ſtates, which had aſſembled at Oxford, where he cauſed them to be treacherouſly murdered; and their attendants, after a fruitleſs attempt to revenge the death of their lords, were compelled to retire for ſhelter to the church of St. Frideſwide, which being ſet on fire by the aſſaſſins, they all periſhed in the flames.

That Ethelred was privy to this baſe and inhuman tranſaction was ſoon made apparent, by his public confiſcation of the eſtates of theſe unfortunate noblemen; and the compulſory ſecluſion of Algitha, the young and beautiful widow of Earl Sigefert, in a monaſtery. To this act of tyranny, however, was that lady indebted for her ſubſequent elevation: for Prince Edmund, the king's eldeſt ſon, being captivated by her charms at a caſual interview, married her without his father's conſent. By theſe events the peace of the royal family was interrupted, and the confidence of the nobility deſtroyed, at a time when the moſt cordial unanimity was requiſite to preſerve the ſtate from the ruin which threatened it.

Canute, King of Denmark, having ſecured the poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions, returned to aſſert his claim to the crown of England; and landed with a powerful army at Sandwich, in Kent. He ſoon reduced Dorſetſhire, Wiltſhire, and Somerſetſhire; and Ethelred, being diſabled by ſickneſs from marching himſelf to oppoſe the progreſs of the Danes, cauſed two armies to be raiſed; one in Mercia, which was entruſted to the command of his brother-in-law Œdric; and another in the north, under his ſon Prince Edmund.

When a junction of theſe forces was effected, Edmund received private intelligence that the perfidious Œdric had formed a plot to deprive him of his life, which obliged him to retire with his army without bringing the enemy to action. Œdric, finding his treacherous machinations unexpectedly fruſtrated, now reſolved to throw off the maſk; and, having previouſly diſperſed the army which he commanded, deſerted to Canute with forty ſhips of the Engliſh navy, the crews of which he had found means to corrupt.

The Daniſh monarch, ſtrengthened by this powerful acceſſion, was enabled to purſue his projects with greater vigour and effect. He advanced into Warwickſhire, and compelled the inhabitants of the different provinces through which he marched to ſubmit to his authority.

In the mean time, Prince Edmund advanced with a body of troops which he had haſtily collected; but, finding that they were not to be joined by the inhabitants of London, whoſe preſence was requiſite for the protection of their own city, neither the commands nor entreaties of their leader could induce them to face the enemy, or prevent them from immediately diſbanding. But the gallant Edmund, whoſe ſpirit was neither to be checked by defeat, nor diſmayed by diſappointment, raiſed a ſecond army with ſurprizing alacrity; and, having

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perſuaded his father to join him at the head of the Londoners, haſtened to attack the foe. The preſence of the king, and the popularity of Edmund, revived the drooping ſpirits of the Engliſh; and, inſpiring them with courage and confidence, induced them to repair to the royal ſtandard. As they were now aware that their preſervation depended entirely on their own exertions, there is little doubt but they would have acted with ſpirit and vigour: but Ethelred was ſtill ſurrounded by a herd of faithleſs cowards, who infuſed into his weak mind, ever open to the ſuggeſtions of fear, ſuch doubts of the fidelity of his ſubjects as all the aſſurances of Edmund were unable to diſpel; and his ſuſpicions, at length, aroſe to ſuch a height, that, wholly inattentive to the earneſt entreaties of his ſon, and regardleſs of the conſequences that muſt enſue from ſo imprudent a ſtep, he refuſed to continue with the army, and retired with precipitation to London.

The Mercians could not be prevailed on to ſerve when their monarch had quitted the field; and the army was ſo conſiderably weakened by their deſertion, that it was impoſſible for Edmund to undertake any enterprize of importance. In this emergency, he retired into the north; where he joined Uhtred, Earl of Northumberland, who had married his ſiſter, and laid waſte the provinces which had declared for the Danes. But Canute, having reduced to ſubmiſſion the greateſt part of the ſouthern counties, ſoon marched to their relief, and compelled Edmund and Uhtred to retire into Lancaſhire. The Daniſh monarch ſtill purſued them; and Uhtred, finding reſiſtance would be vain, thought it prudent to ſubmit to Canute, who ſuffered him to enjoy the government of Northumberland for a ſhort time: but, knowing that his ſubmiſſion aroſe more from policy than inclination, he was induced to ſuſpect his fidelity; and, to relieve himſelf from troubleſome fears, ordered him to be murdered, and appointed a Daniſh governor to ſucceed him.

Edmund now retired to London, with a full reſolution of defending it to the laſt extremity againſt the attacks of the enemy; but, on his arrival, he found his father at the point of death, who expired, after a calamitous reign of thirty-ſeven years, on the 23d of April, in the year 1016.

Ethelred left by his firſt marriage two ſons; Edmund, who ſucceeded him in the throne, and Edwy; and three daughters: the eldeſt, named Elgiva, married an Engliſh earl, who was ſlain in battle; Editha, the ſecond, was wife to the traitor Œdric, Duke of Mercia; and Edgiva, the third, was married to Uhtred, Earl of Northumberland. By Emma of Normandy he left two ſons, Alfred and Edward; who, immediately after the death of their father, were ſent by their mother into Normandy: and a daughter, called Goda, who firſt married Walter, Count of Mantes, and afterwards Euſtachius, Earl of Boulogne.

EDMUND IRONSIDE.

THIS prince, who, from the robuſtneſs of his conſtitution and his intrepidity in war, received the name of Ironſide, was crowned at London, immediately after the death of his father, by Livignus, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, amidſt the acclamations of the loyal inhabitants of London; who, brave themſelves, were happy to witneſs the acceſſion of a monarch whoſe courage had been ſo frequently diſplayed in defence of his country. But very few of the Engliſh nobility and clergy attended his coronation: timid and depraved, they ſacrificed their loyalty to their fears; and, repairing to Southampton, ſwore allegiance to Canute, whom they acknowledged for their ſovereign, and baſely abjured the poſterity of Ethelred. When theſe ceremonies were performed, the two monarchs made preparations for the ſupport of their reſpective claims, which were urged with ſuch ſpirit and vigour by both, as, could right have been derived from courage, muſt have given them an equal title to ſucceſs.

Edmund, immediately after his coronation, marched into Weſſex, where his influence was conſiderable; and Canute, taking advantage of his abſence, ſailed up the Thames, and laid ſiege to London; but the extreme bravery of the inhabitants repelled his attacks: and Edmund haſtening to their relief with what troops he could collect, the Daniſh monarch was compelled to raiſe the ſiege, and retire with precipitation. The two armies met ſoon after at Gillingham, in Dorſetſhire; where a battle was fought, in which victory declaring for the Engliſh, Canute was obliged to retreat to Winchester to repair his loſs.

Edmund's army being conſiderably reinforced by a body of troops, whom his late ſucceſs had encouraged to join him, he marched, ſoon after Midſummer, to the relief of Saliſbury, which was then beſieged by a party of Danes, whom Canute had diſpatched from Winchester to gain poſſeſſion of it. But his motions being ſtrictly watched, he was cloſely purſued by his vigilant competitor, who had acquired a powerful acceſſion of ſtrength by a numerous band of Engliſh from Hampſhire and Wiltſhire, whom the infamous traitor Œdric had perſuaded to join the Daniſh army. Edmund, apprized of Canute's intention, reſolved to wait for him at a place called Sceorſtan, the true ſituation of which is not aſcertained with any tolerable degree of preciſion: ſome hiſtorians ſuppoſing it to be in Glouceſterſhire; others, on the borders of Worceſterſhire; while Camden imagines that it was Sherſton, in Wiltſhire. It is certain, however, that the two armies met, in the year 1016, with an avowed reſolution to terminate the conteſt by a deciſive engagement.

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The two leaders were equally matched in point of ſkill, valour, and experience; and their forces were nearly equal in number, though the ſuperior diſcipline of the Danes gave them an eſſential advantage over the Engliſh. The firſt onſet was inexpreſſibly furious; and both armies being inſpired by the preſence of their ſovereigns, fought with aſtoniſhing intrepidity, till night put an end to the conteſt. But, at the dawn of day, the battle was renewed with additional vigour, and maintained with equal perſeverance and advantage till the day was far advanced, when the ardour of the Danes began viſibly to relax, and victory muſt in all probability have declared for the Engliſh, but for a ſtratagem adopted by the deteſtable Œdric, who cutting off the head of one Oſmer, whoſe features bore a ſtrong reſemblance to thoſe of the gallant Edmund, expoſed it on a ſpear, and called out to the Engliſh to fly, for their monarch was ſlain. This artful contrivance would have effectually anſwered the purpoſe of intimidating the Engliſh, had not Edmund, whoſe coolneſs was equal to his courage, lifted up his beaver as he rode along the ranks; and, by ſhewing himſelf to his ſoldiers, convinced them of the artifice. It ſerved, however, to revive the drooping ſpirit of the Danes; and even to cauſe a momentary confuſion in the Engliſh army, which, but for the extraordinary exertions of the king, muſt have been attended with fatal effects. He rode up to Œdric, and darted his javelin at him with ſuch aſtoniſhing force, that, having unfortunately miſſed the traitor, it tranſpierced the man who was next to him; and, pinning him to the ſoldier who ſtood immediately behind him, brought them both to the ground. This heroic atchievement inſpired the troops with freſh courage, and impelled them to ſuch vigorous exertions, that the intrepid conduct of Canute could with difficulty incite the Danes to withſtand the ſhock, till the ſecond night procured them time for repoſe.

Edmund remained on the field, with a full intent of renewing the battle in the morning; but the Daniſh king, perceiving the inability of his troops to withſtand the ſhock of a third encounter, profited by the obſcurity of the night to effect a retreat.

It is neceſſary to obſerve, that our ancient hiſtorians differ in their accounts of this celebrated action, as much as thoſe of a more modern date, in regard to the ſpot on which it happened; and, though we have been careful to ſelect that relation which appears to us the moſt exact and authentic, we will by no means preſume to vouch for it's veracity: for the annals of that age are ſtrongly tinctured with the confuſion of the times; and, indeed, it is not to be expected that, during the prevalence of univerſal anarchy, when the kingdom was divided between two powerful parties, and the life and liberty of every inhabitant was in hourly danger, any individual could be found ſufficiently calm and impartial to tranſmit to poſterity a juſt and candid recital of public tranſactions.

After the battle, Edmund retired into Weſſex, to recruit his army; and, during his reſidence in that country, the arch-traitor Œdric, whoſe attempts to effect the deſtruction of his king by open oppoſition had proved unſucceſsful, now determined to promote his purpoſe by the leſs precarious mode of embracing his party. With this view he repaired to Edmund; and, by an adequate profuſion of expreſſions replete with ſorrow and remorſe, by the moſt ſolemn promiſes of implicit obedience, and the moſt ſacred oaths of future fidelity, ſoftened his honeſt, unſuſpecting heart, and wholly diſarmed his reſentment. Duped by theſe hypocritical profeſſions, Edmund entruſted him with a conſiderable command in his army; which being by this time compleatly reinforced, he began his march towards London, now again beſieged by the Danes. At his approach the enemy raiſed the ſiege; and one part of their army betook themſelves to their ſhips, while the other marched by the Thames ſide to Brentford; where the Engliſh king, having paſſed the river in the face of the Danes, attacked and routed them with great ſlaughter. He then returned to Weſſex, and by that means afforded Canute an opportunity of renewing his attacks on London; which, being peculiarly anxious to gain poſſeſſion of it, he ſpared no exertions to reduce: but as his army was inadequate to form a compleat blockade, and the inhabitants defending themſelves with extraordinary valour, all his attempts to ſubdue the metropolis were rendered abortive. Thus diſappointed, he embarked his troops; and, ſailing down the Thames, proceeded to the River Orwel, which divides Eſſex from Suffolk, and laid all the adjacent country under contribution. From thence he directed his courſe to the entrance of the Medway; and, landing his forces, ravaged the whole province of Kent: till Edmund, having received intelligence of his devaſtations, repaſſed the Thames at Brentford; and, advancing to Ottenford, attacked his army, and compelled them to fly to the Iſle of Shepey.

It is probable that this action might have terminated the war, had not Œdric interpoſed, and by ſome plauſible pretext perſuaded the king to diſcontinue the purſuit; by which means the Danes were enabled to accompliſh their retreat to their veſſels, which conveyed them into Eſſex, where they had an opportunity of recruiting their forces.

When Canute had repaired his loſs, he made incurſions into Mercia, and endeavoured to intimidate the adherents of Edmund, by deſolating their lands, and deſtroying their habitations: but the Engliſh monarch, having purſued him into Eſſex with a powerful army, compelled him to a general engagement at Aſſington, by the Saxons called Aſſandun. The extraordinary inſtances of perſonal bravery diſplayed by Edmund, ſtimulated the Engliſh troops to ſuch powerful exertions, that the Danes were giving way on every ſide, and on the point of ſuſtaining a total defeat; when the villain Œdric wheeled off with the whole wing which he commanded, and deſerted to the enemy. This unexpected circumſtance turned the tide of ſucceſs. The Danes, encouraged by ſuch an acquiſition, redoubled their efforts; and the diſpirited Engliſh were thrown into ſuch conſternation and diſorder,

that the utmoſt exertions of their courageous prince were inadequate to reſtore the fortune of the day. This defeat was rendered more calamitous by the loſs of great numbers of the Engliſh nobility, who periſhed in the action; and among them was the gallant Ulfketel, whoſe courage had been ſignalized on ſo many occaſions, and whoſe fidelity to his monarch had reſiſted the powerful influence of example, and the dangerous attacks of adverſity.

The fortitude of Edmund was ſtill unſubdued, and his hopes were unextinguiſhed. Indefatigable in his endeavours to repair the ſevere loſs he had ſuſtained, he retired to Glouceſter with very few attendants; where the eſteem and admiration with which his conduct had inſpired the minds of his ſubjects, enabled him in a ſhort time to collect a new army, and march to meet the enemy, who had advanced into that part of the country with the view of preventing him from retrieving his affairs. The place at which they met is ſaid, by Brompton, to be Doerhurſt, in Glouceſterſhire; where the two kings ſtood in ſight of each other for a conſiderable time, at the head of their reſpective armies, without giving the ſignal of battle.

William of Malmſbury aſſerts, that during this pauſe, Edmund, to prevent the farther effuſion of blood, propoſed to Canute a deciſion of the conteſt by ſingle combat: but that the Dane refuſed to accept the propoſal, on account of the ſuperiority of Edmund in point of agility and perſonal ſtrength; at the ſame time expreſſing his willingneſs to liſten to an amicable accommodation, and to leave the terms of the treaty to be ſettled by the principal officers of either army. On the other hand, Ethelred, Abbot of Rïevalle, Huntingdon, and Matthew of Weſtminſter, ſay, that both the Engliſh and Daniſh noblemen, being wearied with inceſſant war, publicly declared, that as Edmund and Canute were reſolved to purſue the conteſt till one of them ſhould gain the entire poſſeſſion of the crown, it was juſt that they ſhould terminate the diſpute by ſingle combat. The kings, informed of their deliberations, mutually agreed to ſubmit to that mode of deciſion; and the Iſle of Alney, in the River Severn, was appointed for the liſts. There they accordingly met, arrayed in armour, while the oppoſite ſides of the river were occupied by their reſpective forces. A furious encounter enſued, which laſted for ſome time without any viſible advantage on either ſide; till, at laſt, Canute, finding his ſtrength exhauſted, demanded a parley, and propoſed a partition of the kingdom, to which Edmund conſented: then throwing away their ſwords, they cordially embraced each other, to the equal joy and aſtoniſhment of both armies. The articles of the treaty were immediately ſpecified and confirmed, and the two monarchs parted in amity.

But Simeon of Durham, and Hoveden, are ſilent with reſpect to the challenge and combat, and attribute the accommodation that took place to the interpoſition of Œdric. Amidſt theſe various repreſentations, therefore, it is difficult to decide. The only point in which all authors agree is, that after a ſhort negotiation, the two monarchs agreed to a diviſion of the kingdom. To Canute was allotted the northern diſtrict, conſiſting of Mercia, Eaſt Anglia, and Northumberland, which were chiefly inhabited by Danes; and all the reſt of England was left to Edmund, who did not ſurvive the treaty more than a month, being murdered at Oxford, on the 30th of November, before he had compleated the firſt year of his reign, by two of his own domeſtics, ſuborned by Œdric, who was the firſt to bear the news to Canute, and to congratulate him on his ſucceſſion to the throne of England.

Edmund left two ſons by his wife Algitha, Edwin and Edward.

CANUTE.



CANUTE.

THOUGH Canute had no legal pretenſions to the throne, his power was too formidable to be reſiſted: being anxious, however, to give a ſemblance of juſtice to his proceedings, he convened a general aſſembly of the ſtates; at which ſeveral noblemen, whom he had ſuborned to ſanction his uſurpation, depoſed, that by the treaty of Glouceſter, it had been expreſsly ſtipulated that Canute ſhould ſucceed to the ſovereignty of the whole kingdom on the death of Edmund. There being no one preſent poſſeſſed of ſufficient probity and reſolution to confute this depoſition, the validity of his title was univerſally acknowledged. He was immediately proclaimed King of all England; and, both the Engliſh and Daniſh nobility having taken the oaths of allegiance, his coronation was performed with great ſolemnity.

Canute, though in poſſeſſion of the regal power, did not think that his government was ſufficiently ſecure while Edwin and Edward, the two ſons of Edmund, were in exiſtence: he therefore reſolved to diſpatch them; but, fearing to riſk his popularity by deſtroying them in England, where the traitor Œdric would willingly have undertaken the taſk of deſtruction, he ſent them abroad to his friend and ally the King of Sweden, with a requeſt that he might be relieved from his anxiety by their immediate death. The Swediſh monarch, however, poſſeſſed too much generoſity to comply with ſo inhuman a requeſt; but, being unwilling to incur the diſpleaſure of Canute, by affording them protection at his court, he ſent them to Solomon, King of Hungary, whom he deſired to beſtow on them an education ſuitable to their birth.

Edwin, the eldeſt, was afterwards married to the ſiſter of the King of Hungary; but dying young, and without iſſue, Solomon gave his wife's ſiſter, Agatha, daughter of Henry the Second, Emperor of Germany, in marriage to Edward, the younger brother; who had by her Edgar Atheling; Margaret, afterwards Queen of Scotland; and Chriſtina, who retired into a convent.

All the objects of Canute's jealous apprehenſions were not yet removed: two ſons of Ethelred the Second, bearing the ſame name of Edwy, one by his firſt wife, and the other by a concubine, ſtill remained in England. With theſe he employed leſs ceremony than with the ſons of his predeceſſor, as he openly baniſhed them his dominions: but the legitimate ſon, who was ſo great a favourite with the common people, that he was always called the *Ceorl's King*; that is, King of the Peaſants; and whoſe pretenſions, therefore, he might probably conſider as too formidable to be deſpiſed, was ſoon after recalled, under a pretence of receiving ſome marks of the royal favour; but, in fact, to be baſely aſſaſſinated.

Having thus effected the removal or deſtruction of all Edmund's children, the only obſtacles to his peaceable enjoyment of the throne were Alfred and Edward, the two ſons of Ethelred, by his queen Emma, who reſided in the court of their uncle Richard, Duke of Normandy, a warlike and powerful prince, who evinced an inclination to enforce the claims of his nephews. In order, therefore, to avert any danger that might ariſe from ſuch an attempt, Canute reſolved to acquire his friendſhip; and for that purpoſe offered him his ſiſter Eſtritha in marriage: and, being a widower himſelf, made propoſals to Emma, the mother of the young princes, and ſiſter of Richard; promiſing that, if his propoſals were accepted, the children he might have by that princeſs ſhould ſucceed to the throne of England. Richard accepted his offer; and Emma, dazzled with the luſtre of a crown which ſhe had already worn, ſacrificed her feelings to her pride,

pride, and liſtened to his addreſſes. She accordingly arrived in England; and was ſoon after married to the inveterate enemy of her family, in the year 1017. Though the Engliſh were far from approving this unnatural connection, they could not forbear to cheriſh ſome ſentiments of eſteem for a ſovereign who had long reſided among them.

Thus Canute, by this politic marriage, not only converted the animoſity of a powerful adverſary into a firm alliance, but gradually acquired the confidence of his own ſubjects.

Richard, Duke of Normandy, ſurvived the marriage of his ſiſter but a few years, dying in 1026; when he was ſucceeded in the government of the dutchy by his ſon, Richard the Third; who died a year after him, not without violent ſuſpicions of having been poiſoned by his brother and immediate ſucceſſor Robert.

When Canute had taken theſe precautions to ſecure himſelf from the danger of foreign attacks and family claims, he thought it prudent to provide againſt domeſtic commotions, by the deſtruction of many powerful noblemen, whom he had been conſtrained by political motives to reward with honorary diſtinctions and territorial poſſeſſions; but whoſe treachery to their late ſovereign induced him to ſuſpect their fidelity. Among theſe were Turkill, Duke of Eaſt Anglia; and Yric, Duke of Northumberland; whom he deprived of their honours and eſtates, and condemned to perpetual baniſhment.

Œdric, of whoſe diſpoſition to perfidy and rebellion he had witneſſed ſuch repeated examples, was next deſtined, by an inſtance of retaliation the moſt equitable in it's effects, though unjuſt in it's motives, to pay for his paſt ingratitude and diſloyalty, by falling a ſacrifice to the intereſt and apprehenſions of Canute. The impetuous temper of that traitor afforded the king a very ſpecious pretext for deſtroying him, as he had the infamous audacity to reproach him one day in council for having neglected to proportion the magnitude of his rewards to the importance of the ſervices he had received; and, among other ſervices of a ſimilar tendency, he mentioned the murder of Edmund, which had proved the means of raiſing Canute to the throne, and which he therefore aſſerted ought to have enſured the higheſt recompence in the power of a monarch to confer. The ferocious Dane, being juſtly incenſed at the villain's preſumption, eagerly embraced an opportunity which gave an appearance of equity to his proceedings; and telling him that, ſince he had made a voluntary confeſſion of his guilt, he had precluded the neceſſity of a trial by operating his own conviction, and incurred that exemplary puniſhment which was due to ſo atrocious a crime, he immediately ordered him to be beheaded on the ſpot, and his body to be thrown into the Thames.

Canute, having no farther dread of interruption, either from domeſtic or foreign enemies, now ventured to impoſe a ſevere tax on his ſubjects, to enable him to diſcharge the arrears which were due to the Daniſh troops, the greateſt part of which he ſent back to Denmark. He exacted from them at one time the ſum of ſeventy-two thouſand pounds; beſides eleven thouſand pounds which he levied on the inhabitants of London alone, whom he probably was anxious to puniſh for their ſteady adherence to Edmund, and for the obſtinate valour they had diſplayed in their reſiſtance to all his attacks. Though theſe impoſts were ſeverely felt, the Engliſh paid them with chearfulneſs, as they were appropriated to the purpoſe of freeing them from ſuch unpleaſant gueſts, whoſe preſence they deemed more burdenſome than the exactions which procured their abſence.

The king having at length compleated the taſk of rigour, now commenced the taſk of moderation. He announced his determination of aboliſhing all invidious diſtinctions between the Engliſh and Danes; and evinced an earneſt reſolution to obſerve the moſt rigid impartiality in the diſtribution of favours and rewards. He reſtored the Saxon cuſtoms in a general aſſembly of the ſtates; and ſuffered no private motives to interfere in the due adminiſtration of juſtice, but took ſpecial care, by a ſtrict execution of law, to afford equal protection to the lives and properties of all his ſubjects. The Danes, by degrees, became incorporated with the Engliſh; and, both being happy to obtain a reſpite from the toils and fatigues of war, ſunk their paſt animoſities in mutual oblivion, and quietly ſubmitted to the dominion of a monarch under whom they expected to enjoy the comforts of peace and tranquillity.

By the adoption of theſe various meaſures he acquired the appellation of Canute the Great. With what degree of juſtice that title was conferred on him, the reader will be competent to judge by an attentive review of his actions. We cannot, however, refrain from obſerving, that the magnanimity and nobleneſs of mind which conſtitute greatneſs, are not to be found in a mere compliance with the intereſted ſuggeſtions of prudence; nor in the execution of a ſagacious plan for the preſervation of that power which was originally obtained by fraud, and confirmed by tyranny and aſſaſſination.

Finding himſelf firmly ſeated on the throne, and in no danger of any ſudden revolution, he made a voyage to his native kingdom of Denmark, where his preſence was neceſſary to repel the attacks of the King of Sweden; and he took with him a conſiderable body of Engliſh troops, under the command of Earl Godwin. This nobleman ſoon met with an opportunity for diſplaying his attachment to his ſovereign, by the performance of an important ſervice which endeared the Engliſh nation to Canute, and laid the foundation of thoſe great honours and that immenſe fortune which Godwin afterwards acquired.

The night before an intended engagement, he was ſtationed with the Engliſh troops next to the Swediſh camp; and, obſerving a favourable opportunity for attacking the enemy at a time when they were off their guard, which muſt have been inevitably loſt had he waited for the orders of Canute, he bravely reſolved to ſeize it, and puſhed the

the Swedes with ſuch vigour, that they were driven from their trenches, and the Engliſh purſuing them to a conſiderable diſtance from their camp, obtained a deciſive victory.

In the morning, Canute, finding that part of the camp which had been occupied by the Engliſh troops totally deſerted, began to ſuſpect them of diſaffection; but, ſoon learning the true ſtate of the caſe, he beſtowed on them the praiſe that was due to their valour and fidelity; and was ſo highly pleaſed with the conduct of Godwin, that he gave him his daughter in marriage, and treated him in future with the moſt ſignal marks of confidence and eſteem.

Having paſſed about a year in Denmark, during which time he concluded a peace with Sweden, Canute returned to England in the year 1020; and had the ſatisfaction to find that the precautions which he had employed, previous to his departure, had proved ſo effectual, that the public tranquillity had not ſuffered the ſmalleſt interruption during his abſence. The people, happy in the enjoyment of peace, began to recover from thoſe diſtreſſes which are the inevitable conſequences of long and calamitous wars; and Canute evinced his wiſdom by a cloſe attention to the formation of laws, calculated for the ſalutary purpoſe of augmenting their felicity.

To enſure ſtill farther the eſteem of his ſubjects, he cauſed churches to be built at Aſſington, and other places, which were diſtinguiſhed by the ſlaughter of the Saxons during his long conteſt for the crown; and erected chantries, where he appointed continual prayers to be ſaid for the ſouls of the ſlain. He alſo repaired many monaſteries which had ſuffered from the ravages of the Danes; and founded a convent at Bury, in honour of St. Edmund, who had been murdered by his countrymen a hundred and fifty years before, and whoſe memory was at this period highly revered by the Engliſh.

Theſe were his chief occupations till the year 1028: when he was induced to make an expedition into Norway, by motives which afford ample demonſtration that thoſe inveterate habits of plunder, in the exerciſe of which he had paſſed ſo large a portion of his life, were ſtill dear to him; and give us juſt grounds for ſuſpicion, that in the wiſe regulations and equitable laws which he eſtabliſhed in his dominions, he was leſs ſwayed by a ſacred reſpect for juſtice than by a ſelfiſh regard to perſonal intereſt.

Olaus, King of Norway, was a monarch greatly diſtinguiſhed by his equity and goodneſs; but ſuch qualities were in thoſe rude times inſufficient to ſecure him from contempt. Being urged by an ardent zeal to reſtrain his ſubjects from piracy and rapine—a zeal which, politically conſidered, might be deemed imprudent, but in point of morality was highly commendable—he made a fruitleſs endeavour to operate a reformation in their manners, and loſt their affections in the vain attempt. That ferocious people took no pains to diſguiſe their ſentiments; but publicly expreſſed their averſion to a monarch whoſe virtues merited their eſteem.

Canute, apprized of their diſaffection, reſolved to profit by it; and accordingly ſailed for Norway with a fleet of fifty ſail, took poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and compelled Olaus to fly for refuge to Sweden. That unfortunate monarch, about two years after this unjuſt expulſion, made an attempt to recover the crown; but, being baſely deſerted, at the battle of Stucklaſtad, by a part of the ſmall army which he had collected, he was overpowered by numbers, and periſhed in the action.

After this expedition, Canute, who had attained the ſummit of military fame, ſeems to have devoted his chief attention to the exerciſe of religious duties; and though his piety, from the prevailing prejudice of the age, was ſtrongly tinctured with ſuperſtition, it muſt inevitably command reſpect, as the probable effect of remorſe, and a favourable ſymptom of reformation: and, as his ſubſequent conduct was ſtrictly conſiſtent with his profeſſions, there can be no reaſon for ſuſpecting his ſincerity. Wearied with the toils of war, and poſſeſſed of ample leiſure for reflection, he muſt have felt the ſterility of all earthly enjoyments. Senſible that the utmoſt plenitude of power, the pomp of victory, and the ſplendour of rank, were unable to produce the ſmalleſt portion of ſolid felicity, his mind, by a natural impulſe, muſt have applied for conſolation to that ſtate of futurity, the hopes of which, by reducing man to a due ſenſe of his own inſignificance, renders him juſt, pious, and devout.

Impreſſed with compunction for the ſins of his paſt life, he reſolved to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome, for the purpoſe of obtaining abſolution, which he was taught to believe the Pope was alone competent to grant; and to gain the friendſhip of St. Peter, whoſe interceſſion was, in thoſe times of ignorance, deemed of ſingular efficacy. He performed this journey in the year 1031, attended by a numerous and ſplendid train of nobility; and, during his reſidence at Rome, he excelled all the royal pilgrims who had preceded him in the number and magnificence of his gifts to the clergy and different churches. In return for this pious profuſion, he obtained ſome additional privileges for the Engliſh college, a trifling mitigation of the expence incurred by the Engliſh archbiſhops in the purchaſe of palls, and certain favours and immunities for thoſe devout perſons who went to viſit the tombs of the Apoſtles. Nor, in the proſecution of this religious ſcheme, was he wholly neglectful of the intereſts of his ſubjects; for he engaged all the princes, through whoſe dominions he was obliged to paſs, to diſpenſe with thoſe onerous tolls and ſevere exactions which they never failed to impoſe on the Engliſh merchants and pilgrims.

On his return to England, Canute thought it neceſſary to raiſe an army, and march againſt Malcolm, King of Scotland, who refuſed to pay the Danegeld for the province of Cumberland, which he held as a fief of the Engliſh crown. When the payment of this tax, impoſed by Ethelred, was originally demanded from the Scottiſh monarch, he fiercely replied, that as he was able to defend his dominions from the attacks of his enemies, he would never conſent to purchaſe their forbearance, or to pay others for repelling them. Ethelred, incenſed at this reply, which conveyed a reflection on the im-

becility of his own conduct, made an expedition into Cumberland, and ravaged the country; but neither threats nor entreaties could reduce the Scot to obedience. When Canute acceded to the throne, Malcolm was ſummoned to do homage, and pay the tax; but he refuſed to ſubmit to a king whom he conſidered as an uſurper. This inſult the Dane had hitherto forborne to reſent: but he now determined to enforce compliance with his requeſt; and accordingly marched a powerful army into the north. Malcolm, however, thought proper to retract his refuſal, and to compromiſe the diſpute by the reſignation of Cumberland to Duncan, his grandſon and heir, who conſented to pay the demanded tribute, and to hold the province, according to the original tenour, as a vaſſal of the Engliſh crown.

Canute, the moſt formidable monarch of his time, ſovereign of three powerful kingdoms, could not fail to receive that courtly adulation, the tribute of ſervile dependence, which is ſeldom witheld even from princes whoſe power and abilities are equally confined.

We are told by Huntingdon, that as he was one day walking on the beach at Southampton, accompanied by his courtiers, who were remarkably profuſe in their expreſſions of flattery, and even beſtowed on him the attributes of the Deity, declaring that nothing in nature dared to diſobey his commands; he ordered his chair to be placed by the ſea-ſide as the tide was riſing, and ſeating himſelf, commanded the approaching waves to retire, and evince their obedience to him who was lord of the ocean. He continued to ſit ſome time, as in expectation of their ſubmiſſion; but, being almoſt ſurrounded by the water, he at length aroſe, and turning to his courtiers, reproved them for their flattery: telling them to learn, from what they had ſeen, that all human power was weak and inſignificant, and that omnipotence was veſted in God alone! a truth ſufficiently obvious, but not often impreſſed by royalty in the circle of adulation. From that moment he is ſaid never to have worn the crown; but to have ordered it to be placed on the head of a crucifix in the church at Wincheſter, where it remained till his death.

The tranquillity of Canute experienced no interruption till the year 1033; when Robert, Duke of Normandy, reſolved to eſpouſe the intereſt of his couſins, Alfred and Edward, the ſons of Ethelred, who ſtill reſided at his court. In conſequence of this reſolution, he diſpatched ambaſſadors to Canute, formally to demand the reſtoration of their lawful inheritance; but, finding his embaſſy neglected, he proceeded to take more effectual means for the ſupport of their claims. He accordingly equipped a powerful fleet, on board of which he embarked with a choſen band of the Norman nobility, and a numerous army, at the port of Fécamp, with the view of making a deſcent on the Engliſh coaſt; but, being overtaken by a ſtorm near the Iſland of Guernſey, he loſt a great number of his ſhips, and was compelled to return with the remainder.

The attempt, however, was ſufficient to convince Canute of the danger of expoſing himſelf to the reſentment of ſo determined and warlike a prince; he therefore thought it prudent to temporize and propoſe terms of accommodation. He even offered to make a ceſſion of ſome part of Weſſex to the two princes: but continued to protract the negotiation till Robert undertook a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem; on his return from whence he died at Nice, in Bithynia, in the year 1035.

This was the only diſturbance which Canute experienced from the time of his expedition againſt Malcolm, King of Scotland, to that of his death, which happened at Shaſtſbury, on the 12th of November 1035.

He left three ſons: Swein, the eldeſt, whom he had by a concubine; Harold, ſurnamed Harefoot, from his extreme agility, by his firſt wife Alfwen, daughter of the Earl of Hampſhire; and Hardicanute, who was borne him by Queen Emma, by whom he had likewiſe a daughter, named Gunilda, who was afterwards married to Henry the Third, Emperor of Germany.

HAROLD HAREFOOT.

THOUGH Canute had expreſsly ſtipulated, on his marriage with Emma, that her children ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England, he thought proper to make ſuch a diviſion of his dominions as was wholly inconſiſtent with the tenour of this engagement, from which he might probably think himſelf releaſed by the death of Richard, Duke of Normandy. To Hardicanute he allotted the throne of Denmark; Norway he gave to Swein; and appointed Harold to ſucceed him in England.

The Engliſh, however, were far from paying an implicit obedience to his will. Their expectations were diſappointed; and they reſolved, if poſſible, to place the crown on the head of Hardicanute, whom they regarded as their countryman. Earl Godwin was their leader; and his wealth and power, particularly in Weſſex, the principal ſeat of the ancient Engliſh, gave conſiderable influence to their party. The pretenſions of Hardicanute were likewiſe favoured by the articles of treaty between his father and uncle.

On the other hand, all the Danes in the kingdom were ſtrenuous in ſupport of Harold, whoſe preſence was of material advantage to his cauſe; and he took the moſt effectual means of ſucceeding in his deſign, by gaining poſſeſſion of his father's treaſures, which muſt have proved of equal utility, whether he had been conſtrained to enſure his ſucceſſion by force or intrigue.

The conteſt was maintained with ſuch obſtinacy, that

that a civil war muſt have been the inevitable conſequence, but for the fortunate interpoſition of the Engliſh and Daniſh nobles, who propoſed terms of accommodation, which were mutually accepted. It was agreed to divide England between the two brothers. Harold was to retain poſſeſſion of London, and all the provinces to the north of the Thames; while the ſouthern counties were to be enjoyed by Hardicanute: and, till that prince ſhould arrive from Denmark, his mother Emma was to fix her reſidence at Wincheſter, and govern the portion which was allotted to him, in his name.

Theſe arrangements being adopted and confirmed, Emma took poſſeſſion of her government: and, deeming her power ſufficient to afford protection to her children, invited to her court Alfred and Edward, her two ſons by Ethelred; who, having loſt their patron and kinſman, Robert, Duke of Normandy, were happy to accept her invitation, and arriving in England with a numerous retinue, repaired to Wincheſter.

But Emma unfortunately miſtook both the extent and ſtability of her power; for while ſhe was giving vent to the pleaſing effuſions of maternal affection, and congratulating her ſons on their reſtoration to their native country after ſo tedious an exile, a plot was forming to deprive her of her authority, and them of their exiſtence.

Harold, ſuſpecting that Alfred would renew his claims to the crown, ſecretly determined to promote his deſtruction. For this purpoſe, he had recourſe to Godwin; who, ſeduced by the promiſe of Harold to eſpouſe his daughter, baſely conſented to ſecond his treacherous deſigns. The young prince was accordingly invited, with great profeſſions of friendſhip and appearance of cordiality, to viſit Harold at London: but, when he had reached Guilford, he was attacked by the vaſſals of Godwin, commanded by the earl himſelf, who murdered ſix hundred of his retinue with circumſtances of peculiar barbarity; and, having taken Alfred priſoner, conducted him to Gillingham, where his eyes were put out, and then conveyed him to the monaſtery of Ely, where he ſoon after expired.

Emma, apprized of the deplorable fate of her unfortunate ſon, and not doubting but a ſimilar cataſtrophe awaited his brother and herſelf, fled to the continent with Edward, who returned to Normandy; while his mother ſought refuge in the court of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, who received her with great hoſpitality, and generouſly ceded to her the city of Bruges for her reſidence and ſubſiſtence.

Harold now reaped the fruits of his cruelty, by taking quiet poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom; and the diſguſt which his uſurpation had given birth to in the minds of his ſubjects, was ſoon augmented by a tax which he impoſed for the maintenance of a powerful navy to protect the coaſts from invaſion, though no fleet could be expected to approach them, except ſuch as belonged to one of the princes whoſe juſt claims to the crown cauſed them to be conſidered by Harold as his moſt formidable adverſaries. The Engliſh, highly diſcontented with his ſanguinary diſpoſition and oppreſſive meaſures, would probably have attempted to free themſelves from his yoke, had not their wiſhes been ſpeedily gratified by his death, which happened on the 14th of April, in the year 1039, when he was ſucceeded by his brother Hardicanute.

HARDICANUTE.

HARDICANUTE, or Canute the Hardy, ſo named from the robuſtneſs of his form and the ſtrength of his conſtitution, had determined to recover by force what he had loſt by fraud: and had actually equipped a fleet of forty ſail, and was on his way to England, when he received the news of Harold's death at Bruges, where he had ſtopped to pay a viſit to his mother; doubtleſs, with the view of learning from her own mouth the particulars of that plot which had deprived him of his ſhare of the kingdom.

This pleaſing intelligence being accompanied by an invitation from the nobility of England to take immediate poſſeſſion of the crown, he haſtened his departure from Bruges; and, arriving at the port of Sandwich about Midſummer, in the year 1039, was received by people of all ranks with uncommon demonſtrations of joy. Godwin himſelf was the firſt to congratulate him on his acceſſion, and to ſwear allegiance to a ſovereign whoſe brother he had aſſaſſinated, and whoſe dominions he had been the inſtrument of reducing to the ſubjection of an uſurper.

The joy of the Engliſh was, however, ſoon diminiſhed, by the conduct of their new monarch; who diſplayed an implacability of temper, and a ferocious eagerneſs in the gratification of revenge, which afforded ſtrong ſymptoms of a vicious heart, and made them juſtly deſpair of enjoying happineſs under his adminiſtration.

Hardicanute was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he reſolved to evince his reſentment againſt his predeceſſor, by an act alike derogatory to the dignity of a monarch, and the feelings of a man. He ordered the ſacred manſions of the dead to be violated, the body of Harold to be taken from the grave, firſt beheaded, and then caſt into the Thames; where it was found by ſome fiſhermen, who cauſed it to be privately interred in the church-yard of St. Clement, which at that time was the Daniſh burying-ground.

According to Hoveden, the obſequious Godwin deigned to be the inſtrument of impotent cruelty, by aſſiſting the common hangman in the execution of this ungrateful office. But the mind that can riſe to power by the path of infamy, will ſeldom refuſe

refuſe to ſtoop to baſeneſs for the preſervation of perſonal ſafety.

The only palliation that could be offered for this infamous tranſaction, muſt be founded on a ſuppoſition that Hardicanute was impelled to it by motives of duty to an injured parent, and of reſpect to the memory of a murdered brother: a ſuppoſition which appears rational, when we conſider his tender treatment of his mother and her ſurviving ſon Edward; the latter of whom he invited to his court, in the year 1040, and received with a warmth of hoſpitality that evinced the ſincerity of his affection.

His ſecond exertion of the regal authority was but ill calculated to obliterate from the minds of his ſubjects thoſe unfavourable impreſſions which the firſt had occaſioned. This was the renewal, or rather confirmation, of that ignominious and unpopular impoſt, the Danegeld, and the farther impoſition of a burdenſome tax for the payment of the fleet and army which he had brought with him from Denmark. The odium which he incurred by theſe onerous exactions was greatly augmented by the extreme rigour employed in collecting them, and by a grievous famine with which the inhabitants were afflicted at the ſame time. Murmurs and diſcontents prevailed throughout the kingdom; and, in a popular commotion at Worceſter, two of the collectors were put to death. This flagrant oppoſition to his will inflamed the mind of Hardicanute to ſuch a pitch of reſentment, that he denounced the moſt direful vengeance againſt the rebellious city, and gave orders to Godwin, Earl of Weſſex, Leofric, Duke of Mercia, and Siward, Duke of Northumberland, to carry his threats into execution, by the total deſtruction of the town, and extermination of it's inhabitants. The firſt part of theſe orders was literally complied with: but the laſt was fortunately rendered impracticable by the timely departure of the people; who, having received notice of the impending danger, made their eſcape to a ſmall iſland in the Severn, called Beverey, from whence they afterwards returned, and rebuilt their city, which had been reduced to aſhes.

This was a certain mark of a cruel and vindictive diſpoſition. Though it is difficult to reconcile the character of a vicious man and an oppreſſive monarch with that of a pious ſon and an affectionate brother, yet a long and ſtudious attention to the operations of the human mind will afford too many inſtances of ſimilar contradictions, that muſt baffle all the arguments of philoſophy, and overturn thoſe fallacious ſyſtems of ſpeculative theoriſts which are founded on the conſiſtency of man.

It was about this period that the king celebrated the nuptials of his ſiſter and Henry the Third, Emperor of Germany, with aſtoniſhing magnificence.

The preſence of Edward, and the extenſive influence of his mother, now began to give conſiderable force to the Norman intereſt at the Engliſh court; and, as the ſucceſſion of the former to the throne of England appeared highly probable from the celibacy of Hardicanute, thoſe flattering attentions were paid him by the nobility which the heir to the crown never fails to command. Alfric, Archbiſhop of York, appears to have been peculiarly anxious to cultivate his eſteem; and, to recommend himſelf the more ſtrongly to his favour, he ſtood forward as the accuſer of Earl Godwin as an accomplice in the murder of Alfred. On the ſtrength of this accuſation, Edward demanded juſtice; but Godwin, by the interceſſion of his friends, who were numerous and powerful, and by a more forcible appeal to the avarice of the king, found means to elude the puniſhment that was due to the enormity of his crime. Among the valuable bribes with which he purchaſed his ſafety, was one that reflects great credit on his ingenuity, and enables us to form ſome idea of the immenſity of his wealth. It was a curious galley of exquiſite workmanſhip, gilded in a ſtile of ſuperior magnificence, and manned by eighty young men, ſelected for their perſonal beauty, and ſuperbly accoutred, each having on either arm a bracelet of gold weighing ſixteen ounces; while their ſwords, lances, battle-axes, helmets, and ſhields, compoſed of burniſhed gold and poliſhed ſilver, made a moſt ſumptuous appearance. In conſequence of theſe preſents, Godwin was permitted to make oath of his innocence; an indulgence by which he gladly profited, and accordingly ſaved his life at the expence of his honour.

The conduct of Hardicanute had afforded the moſt compleat demonſtration of his inability to govern a kingdom; it was therefore a fortunate circumſtance for his ſubjects, that his habits of intemperance, by overcoming the native ſtrength of his conſtitution, put a ſpeedy termination to his life. His death happened at Lambeth, on the 8th of June, in the year 1041, where he was aſſiſting at the celebration of the nuptials of a Daniſh nobleman; and was occaſioned by an indigeſtion, proceeding from a criminal indulgence in the vice of gluttony, to which he was peculiarly addicted.

The Engliſh, far from regretting the loſs of a monarch who had forfeited all pretenſions to their eſteem, made his death the ſubject of deriſion; and the anniverſary of the day on which it occurred was long diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Hock-Holiday*.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

ON the death of Hardicanute, a revival of thoſe animoſities between the Engliſh and Danes, which had ſo long convulſed the kingdom, was much to be feared; as Swein, the ſon of Canute, and brother to the deceaſed monarch, was ſtill alive, and might have urged his pretenſions to the throne with great plauſibility. His claims would have been certain to meet the protection of all the Daniſh inhabitants

inhabitants in England; while, on the other hand, the Engliſh were reſolved to embrace an opportunity that appeared to favour their liberation from the Daniſh yoke, which the oppreſſive conduct of their late monarchs had rendered inſupportable. Swein, however, was fortunately abſent in Norway; and the two laſt kings having left no iſſue, there was not any one whom the Danes could ſupport as ſucceſſor to the throne. The reſtoration of the Saxon line was therefore certain; but Edward, ſurnamed the Exile, the ſon of Edmund Ironſide, who was the undoubted heir of that line, by his continual reſidence from his infancy in a country ſo remote as Hungary, had ſo entirely eſtranged himſelf from the Engliſh, that they now regarded him as a foreigner, and turned their eyes on Edward, the ſon of Ethelred and Emma, who was in the kingdom at his brother's deceaſe.

Edward, however, was ſo timid and devoid of ambition, that, ſuſpecting he ſhould incur a violent oppoſition from the Danes, he actually projected a ſcheme for eſcaping the danger of a conteſt, by flying into Normandy; but was deterred from putting it in execution by the perſuaſions of Godwin. The influence and power of that nobleman were ſuch as no ſubject had ever enjoyed. Beſides the dukedom of Weſſex, he poſſeſſed the government of Kent and Suſſex, and the dignified charge of High-Treaſurer of England. Swain, his eldeſt ſon, enjoyed the office of governor of the four counties of Berks, Oxford, Glouceſter, and Hereford; and his ſecond ſon, Harold, was Duke of Eaſt Anglia, and had the government of Eſſex. The extenſive authority of this family was, moreover, confirmed and augmented by immenſe poſſeſſions and powerful alliances; ſo that any party which Godwin choſe to eſpouſe could not fail of ſucceſs. But, as Edward had preferred an accuſation of murder againſt him in the preceding reign, Godwin feared that his reſentment was ſo powerful and inveterate, that no ſubſequent ſervices could poſſibly operate it's extinction: till, by the interpoſition of their mutual friends, a reconciliation was effected, which entirely removed his fears and ſuſpicions; and Edward, as a pledge of his own ſincerity, promiſed to marry Editha, the daughter of Godwin, and to ſecure to him and his family the poſſeſſion of all their honours and eſtates.

This union of intereſts gave energy to their exertions; and, being determined to reſcue the kingdom from a foreign yoke, they convened an aſſembly of the ſtates at Gillingham, and took every neceſſary precaution to enſure the ſucceſſion to Edward. When the council met, the feeble and ſpiritleſs oppoſition of the Danes was wholly inadequate to reſiſt the zealous and reſolute unanimity of the Engliſh, ſupported by the power and eloquence of Godwin. Edward was accordingly acknowledged as ſovereign, amidſt the acclamations of the multitude: but as a dreadful famine prevailed throughout the kingdom, and carried off great numbers both of men and cattle, it was thought proper to defer his coronation till the following year; when it was performed at Wincheſter, on Eaſter Sunday, by Eadſig, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The joy of the Engliſh on the acceſſion of a prince who was deſcended from their ancient kings, is ſaid to have betrayed them into exceſſes, of which our ancient hiſtorians give ſuch various accounts, that it is impoſſible to ſeparate truth from fiction. By ſome it is affirmed, that the outrages they committed againſt the Danes—which were not, however, attended with any effuſion of blood—compelled all the Daniſh inhabitants to quit the kingdom, and retire to the continent. Others aſſert, that many of them were put to the ſword: while the Daniſh hiſtorians boldly advance, that a general maſſacre took place, ſimilar to that which happened during the reign of Ethelred; and that their countrymen were wholly exterminated from the iſland in the ſpace of one night.

The latter aſſertion muſt be as deſtitute of truth as it is of probability, or elſe our own hiſtorians would not have failed to mention it; for their ample accounts of the maſſacre in the reign of Ethelred, afford a compleat proof that no miſtaken notions of delicacy for the reputation of a monarch could induce them to paſs over ſo atrocious an act without the leaſt notice, however they might be impelled by motives of party, or perſonal intereſt, to palliate or diſguiſe.

The Danes had, from the acceſſion of Canute to the death of Hardicanute, been compleat maſters of the kingdom, and had evinced their ſuperiority over the Engliſh by continual acts of deſpotic inſolence. The latter, during this period, ſeemed to have loſt every ſpark of their native ſpirit, and to have bowed their necks with the abject ſubmiſſion of ſlaves to the yoke of tyranny and oppreſſion. Their patience and timidity ſerved but to increaſe the ferocity of their conquerors, and to incite them to the commiſſion of outrages, which muſt have inevitably urged to reſiſtance any mind that was not totally deſtitute of every principle of honour, or callous to every impulſe of courage. The deſpotiſm of the Danes was carried to ſuch an extreme, that when an Engliſhman met a Dane on a bridge, or in a narrow path, where it was impoſſible to avoid him, he was obliged to ſtand ſtill in a poſture of ſubmiſſion, and ſo to remain till the Dane had paſſed him, and was out of ſight. We are alſo told, by Pontopidon, that if an Engliſhman preſumed to drink in the preſence of a Dane, without having previouſly obtained his expreſs permiſſion, it was deemed ſo flagrant a violation of reſpect, that nothing but his inſtant death could afford an adequate expiation. Nay, ſo intimidated were the Engliſh, that they dared not accept an invitation to drink till the Danes had pledged their honour for their ſafety; from which circumſtance aroſe the cuſtom of pledging that ſtill prevails in a certain degree.

A ſtill more flagrant inſtance of the barbarity of the Danes, and the extreme ſervility of the Engliſh, is to be found in a ſermon of Biſhop Lupus, preſerved by Hickeſius, in his *Theſaurus Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium*. The original paſſage is this—" *Sæpenumero decem aut duodecim Dani alternis*

" *vicibus, uxorem, vel filiam, vel cognatam Thayni*
" *vitiant, ipſo Thayno ſpectante, nec prohibente.*"

From theſe repeated exertions of deſpotic authority, we muſt infer that the power of the Danes was unlimited, and their number conſequently conſiderable: that the Engliſh, therefore, ſhould have been able at this period to operate their total extirpation, without incurring a reſiſtance that muſt have occaſioned a long and obſtinate conteſt, will appear incredible. On the other hand, it is certain that, from the acceſſion of Edward the Confeſſor, the Danes, far from retaining that diſtinguiſhed place in the annals of England which they had hitherto occupied, are not even mentioned by hiſtorians. From theſe various conſiderations, we are induced to believe that their extinction was gradual, not ſudden; paſſive, not violent: that, though the trivial injuries or inſults which they experienced from the Engliſh, in their firſt effuſions of joy, might have urged many of them to leave the kingdom, the greateſt part of them wiſely ſubmitted, with patience, to a revolution which they were unable to prevent; and, having no ambitious chieftains to excite them to revolt, but being interſperſed with the natives in the different provinces, they became reconciled to their cuſtoms and habits, till by frequent intermarriages they were gradually incorporated with the Engliſh, in the ſame manner as the Picts were with the Scots, and all difference between them was totally aboliſhed.

Edward, at his acceſſion, finding the crown conſiderably impoveriſhed by a ſhameful alienation of the royal domains, prudently revoked thoſe liberal grants and donations of his immediate predeceſſors, which had been profuſely laviſhed for the gratification of avaricious favourites. Though many families were injured by the ſeverity of this revocation, which not only produced an important acquiſition of wealth, but an eſſential augmentation of power; yet, the moſt conſiderable loſſes being incurred by the Danes, who had obtained from the late kings, their countrymen, many extenſive grants, as rewards for the ſervices they had performed in the conqueſt of the kingdom, the popularity of Edward did not experience the leaſt diminution. Nor did his ſevere treatment of his mother, the queen-dowager, who now reſided at Wincheſter, though infinitely more deſerving of cenſure, incur the diſapprobation that might have been expected from a public diſplay of contempt for the Chriſtian virtues of charity and forgiveneſs, and from a total diſregard to that ſacred affection wiſely ordained by Nature to ſpring from the ties of blood. His unnatural enmity to Emma is ſuppoſed to have originally proceeded from her ſecond marriage with Canute; and to have been confirmed by her ſubſequent behaviour, which, according to Edward, betrayed a decided preference for her offſpring, by that marriage, to the children which ſhe had by Ethelred the Second. Though theſe circumſtances might be deemed ſufficient to palliate, if not to juſtify, a certain degree of reſentment, yet his mother's ſucceſsful endeavours to fruſtrate the malicious deſigns of his inſidious enemies, and her earneſt anxiety to promote his elevation to the throne, muſt have effectually eraſed any unfavourable impreſſions from a mind leſs liable to be ſwayed by a vicious impulſe of revenge than the laudable dictates of virtue. But there is reaſon to believe that Emma's regard for her ſon Hardicanute had deprived her of the affections of the multitude; and, though her benefactions to churches and monaſteries ſecured her the favour of the monks, the injuries ſhe ſuſtained from Edward did not excite the general compaſſion of the nation. That monarch ſeized all her treaſures and effects, which were conſiderable, and confiſcated all her eſtates; leaving her but a ſcanty penſion for her future ſubſiſtence in a monaſtery at Wincheſter, to which he confined her for the remainder of her life.

The monkiſh hiſtorians make his cruelty and oppreſſion ſtill more criminal. They ſay, that his revenge not being yet ſatiated, he inſtigated Robert the Norman, who was afterwards promoted to the ſee of Canterbury, to accuſe her of a participation in the murder of her ſon Alfred, and of maintaining a criminal correſpondence with Alwin, Biſhop of Wincheſter: that, in conſequence of theſe accuſations, Edward ordered her to be tried; but Robert, being unable to adduce ſufficient evidence for the eſtabliſhment of their validity, inſiſted that ſhe ſhould prove her innocence by the fiery ordeal: that ſhe accordingly walked, blindfold and bareſoot, over nine burning ploughſhares, without receiving the leaſt hurt; and was conſequently acquitted with honour. But the whole of this ſtory appears to be a fiction, invented for the abſurd purpoſe of exciting wonder.

Edward, by theſe unjuſtifiable proceedings, had ſo much enriched the crown, that he was enabled to aboliſh that odious and ignominious tax, the Danegeld, by which the Engliſh had been ſo long oppreſſed: a circumſtance that acquired him the favour of his ſubjects; and, probably, induced them to beſtow commendation on thoſe tranſactions which, abſtracted from motives of intereſt, muſt have enſured their cenſure.

The king having by this time exhauſted all the ſpecious pretences which his unconquerable averſion to Godwin could ſuggeſt for delaying his promiſed marriage with Editha, was at length compelled, in the year 1043, to fulfil his engagements. But his hatred was unfortunately transferred from the father to the child; and though Editha is repreſented by contemporary writers as poſſeſſed of all the graces of perſonal beauty, and endued with every virtue that can adorn the female mind, ſhe could never acquire the confidence and eſteem of her huſband. It is even aſſerted, that he never conſummated the marriage; but abſtained from all connection with his wife, in conſequence of a pretended vow of chaſtity, which excited the praiſe and admiration of the monks, and contributed not a little to procure him the title of Saint and Confeſſor.

About this time, Edward received certain intelligence that great preparations were making by Swein, King of Denmark, for invading England, with the view to aſſert his title to the crown, as heir

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to his father Canute. Alarmed at the news, he immediately repaired to Sandwich, with a fleet of thirty-five ſail, and gave the command of his forces to Godwin, Leofric, and Siward, by whoſe exertions the kingdom was ſpeedily put in a formidable poſture of defence. But a war that opportunely occurred between Swein, and Magnus a ſon of the late King of Norway, by calling the attention of the former to the preſervation of the throne he was poſſeſſed of, diſpelled the fears of the Engliſh. In this war, Swein, being conquered and depoſed, had recourſe to Edward for ſuccour; and Godwin ſtrenuouſly adviſed that fifty ſhips might be ſent to his aſſiſtance, to enable him to maintain the conteſt; but Leofric and Siward ſo warmly oppoſed it in the council, that the idea was given up.

During theſe commotions in Denmark, the Engliſh coaſts were infeſted by the Daniſh pirates. A large body of them arrived at Sandwich, in the year 1046, with a fleet of five and twenty ſail; and, having ravaged the country, retired to their ſhips with the ſpoil: then ſailing to the coaſt of Eſſex, they committed ſimilar depredations, and even carried off great numbers of the inhabitants of both ſexes, whom they ſold for ſlaves in the markets of the continent. But at length, the noblemen who were entruſted with the defence of the kingdom, having aſſembled a body of forces, marched to oppoſe them, drove them to their ſhips, and compelled them to retire from the coaſts.

But they were no ſooner departed, than the coaſt was alarmed by the appearance of another adventurer. This was Swain, the ſon of Godwin; who, having violated the chaſtity of the Abbeſs of Leon, now Leominſter, in Herefordſhire, of whoſe perſon he was deeply enamoured, had been compelled to fly the kingdom, and had retired to Denmark, in full confidence of obtaining his pardon by the interceſſion of his father: but whether Godwin was determined to puniſh his ſon by a refuſal to exert his influence, or was unable to procure his pardon from the king, the expectations of Swain were diſappointed. Incenſed at the delay which he experienced, he reſolved to wreak his vengeance on the nation; and for that purpoſe equipped eight ſhips, with which he ſailed to England, diſtreſſing the merchants by the ſeizure of their veſſels, and committing every ſpecies of depredation on the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts, whoſe effects he plundered, and whoſe perſons he treated with ſingular barbarity. Theſe daring outrages gave the enemies of Godwin a fair opportunity for augmenting the king's averſion to that nobleman and his family, who durſt not apply to Edward himſelf to obtain the pardon of Swain, leſt he ſhould be accuſed as the public abettor of rebellion; he therefore had recourſe to Count Beorn, the ſon of Ulphon, by Eſtritha, ſiſter to Canute, whom he prevailed on to intercede with the king in favour of his ſon: and Beorn, having procured a conditional pardon, repaired to Swain, that he might acquaint him with the ſucceſs of his negotiation, and perſuade him to ſubmit to the terms preſcribed. But that ferocious pirate, ſuſpecting the count's ſincerity, and believing that his profeſſions of ſervice were but lures to betray him into the hands of juſtice, baſely murdered him, and ordered his body to be thrown into the ſea. This act of inhumanity only ſerved to retard the accommodation, but did not prevent it from finally taking place: for Edward, awed by the power of Godwin, was fearful to incur his reſentment; and therefore conſented to pardon the ruffian, notwithſtanding the complication of his crimes.

When Edward aſcended the throne, the Engliſh expected a total liberation from the dominion of foreigners; but this could not be reaſonably hoped for during the reign of a monarch who had received his education in a foreign country. Having paſſed his youthful days in Normandy, he had contracted many intimacies and formed many friendſhips with the natives, to whom he was under eſſential obligations: nor had he failed to acquire that affection for their manners which a long reſidence in the ſame country ſeldom fails to inſpire. The companions of his youth very naturally came to congratulate him on his exaltation; and, as they had evinced the ſolidity of their attachment in the hour of adverſity, they were juſtly entitled to expect a return in the days of his proſperity. Nor were their expectations diſappointed; for Edward, whoſe mind appears to have been equally ſuſceptible of gratitude and reſentment, afforded them a kind reception, loaded them with the moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of his favour, and raiſed ſome of them to the moſt elevated and honourable ſtations both in church and ſtate. By this means the court of England became crouded with Normans; who enjoying the unlimited confidence and favour of the king, and having attained to a degree of refinement unknown to the Engliſh in thoſe rude days, ſoon rendered themſelves objects of imitation; and made the Norman language ſo faſhionable at court, that whoever was ſtudious to obtain the protection of Edward, never addreſſed him in his native tongue; and ſo prevalent did it become in a ſhort time, that it was even employed by the lawyers in all their deeds. The Norman eccleſiaſtics were particularly favoured: two of them, Ulf and William, who had formerly been chaplains to the king, were created Biſhops of Dorcheſter and London; and Robert, a monk of Jumiéges, was promoted to the ſee of Canterbury. This laſt was a man of learning and abilities, and therefore not unworthy of the confidence which the king repoſed in him: but Godwin, whoſe jealous and ambitious mind could ill brook the idea of a rival, and who thought himſelf entitled to monopolize the favour of his ſovereign, was highly incenſed at the ſignal preference he beſtowed on a foreigner, and determined, if poſſible, either to ſupplant or deſtroy the object of his envy and inquietude. An incident, however, ſoon occurred, which reduced this imperious nobleman to the verge of deſtruction, and gave Edward a fair opportunity for diſplaying the hatred he bore him.

Euſtace, Count of Boulogne, who had married Goda, ſiſter to Edward, arrived in England, in the year 1050, on a viſit to the king his brother-in-law; and, having tarried ſome time at his court,

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ſet out in the month of September on his return to the continent, by the way of Dover. On his arrival at that city, one of his retinue being refuſed admittance into a lodging which had been aſſigned him, endeavoured to force an entrance, and in the attempt wounded the maſter of the houſe; but the inhabitants coming to the aſſiſtance of their fellow-citizen, the domeſtic was ſlain. Euſtace and his train being reſolved to revenge this inſult, a dreadful tumult enſued, in which twenty of the townſmen and nineteen of the count's retinue were killed, and many more wounded on each ſide. The conflict had laſted ſome time, when Euſtace, overpowered by numbers, was compelled to eſcape by flight from the fury of the populace; and returning immediately to Glouceſter, where the court then was, complained to the king of the treatment he had experienced.

Edward, greatly mortified that a foreigner ſhould have ſuſtained ſuch an inſult in his dominions, eſpouſed the count's cauſe with more zeal than prudence; and, without any farther inveſtigation into the merits of the caſe, ordered Godwin, in whoſe government the tumult had occurred, to aſſemble an army, and inflict a ſevere chaſtiſement on the citizens of Dover. But Godwin, who earneſtly wiſhed to encourage and augment the popular diſcontents againſt foreigners, refuſed to obey the commands of his ſovereign; alledging, that to condemn unheard, was a violation of the firſt principles of juſtice; and that a fair and legal trial, to which every Engliſhman was indiſputably entitled, was the only poſſible mode of diſcrimination between innocence and guilt, and would be attended with the ſalutary conſequence of counteracting the pernicious effects of prejudice and miſrepreſentation, by enabling the king to inflict puniſhment where it was juſtly due. Theſe arguments were undeniably valid; though they were rather deſigned to promote diſcord than to enforce equity, and came with a peculiar ill grace from a man whoſe conduct evinced a total contempt for the principles on which they were founded. But remonſtrances, urged in juſtification of diſobedience, are ſeldom confined within the limits of reaſon. Godwin proceeded ſtill farther. He aſſerted that, as Governor of Kent, it was his duty to protect the people he was commanded to puniſh; and, by a diſplay of partiality ſimilar to that which he condemned in the king, with no more knowledge of the fact, and probably with leſs than Edward poſſeſſed, undertook to eſpouſe the oppoſite party, ſtanding forth as the advocate of the inhabitants of Dover, who he maintained had been merely actuated by motives of ſelf-defence; and inſiſting, that the miſchief which had enſued, was to be ſolely attributed to the Count of Boulogne and his followers, who ought to be ſurrendered to juſtice, and receive the puniſhment due to their fault.

The king, juſtly incenſed at the inſolence and preſumption of Godwin, reſolved, by a well-timed exertion of the royal authority, to reſtrain thoſe daring encroachments which tended to aboliſh the neceſſary diſtinction between the ſovereign and ſubject: he therefore threatened, if he perſiſted in his diſobedience, and continued to remonſtrate where it was his duty to obey, to make him experience the ſevereſt effects of his reſentment.

Godwin, perceiving he had advanced too far to retreat, either with honour or ſafety, and imagining that no opportunity more favourable for the extenſion of his own power could ever occur, chearfully embarked in a cauſe which he thought could not fail to be popular, and proceeded to open acts of rebellion. In conjunction with his ſons, Swain and Harold, he raiſed a powerful army, under pretence of repreſſing ſome diſorders of the Welſh, who had erected a ſmall fort on the borders of Herefordſhire, and marched towards Glouceſter, where the king reſided; who, having no ſuſpicion of his intentions, had neglected to provide himſelf with any military force. In this exigency, Edward applied for aſſiſtance to Siward, Duke of Northumberland, and Leofric, Duke of Mercia; who, equally impelled by duty to their ſovereign, and jealouſy of Godwin's exceſſive power and influence, immediately haſtened to him with ſuch forces as they could collect: but, finding the danger more ſerious than they had imagined, they adviſed the king to enter into a negotiation with Godwin, that they might gain time to aſſemble an army ſufficiently ſtrong to oppoſe that of the rebels. This prudent advice was complied with; and Godwin, hoping to increaſe his popularity by an appearance of moderation, fell into the ſnare: while Siward and Leofric repaired to their reſpective governments, and raiſed a formidable body of troops.

Thus reinforced, Edward marched to London, and was joined on the road by great numbers of his ſubjects, who repaired to his ſtandard from all quarters, and evinced an ardent anxiety to protect him from the impending danger. A great council was immediately ſummoned, to judge of the rebellion of Godwin and his ſons, who at firſt expreſſed a willingneſs to ſubmit to it's deciſions; but having attempted, in vain, to make their followers perſiſt in their rebellious attempts, they offered to appear before the council, if hoſtages were previouſly given them for their perſonal ſafety: a propoſal which, if accepted, might have tended to annul the effects of their deciſions; it was therefore unanimouſly rejected, and they proceeded to trial, though the parties accuſed were abſent. Swain was ſentenced to perpetual baniſhment; and Godwin, with the reſt of his family, received orders to ſurrender themſelves, or depart the kingdom in five days. They choſe the latter; and Godwin, with his three ſons, Swain, Gurth, and Toſti, took ſhelter in the court of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, whoſe daughter Toſti had married; and Harold and Leofwin, two other of his ſons, retired into Ireland. All their eſtates were confiſcated, and their governments beſtowed on more loyal and leſs dangerous ſubjects.

Thus far puniſhment appears to have been the effect of juſtice: but Edward reſolved to extend it ſtill farther; and his illiberal averſion to the beautiful Editha, whoſe innocence the tongue of Calumny had not dared to queſtion, urged him unjuſtly to involve

involve her in the general ruin of her family. He accordingly ſtripped her of her jewels and effects, and confined her in a monaſtery at Warewel.

After the expulſion of Godwin and his family, the influence of the Normans in the court of England naturally increaſed: and it was at this period that William, Duke of Normandy, paid a viſit to the king his couſin, who received him with all thoſe marks of diſtinction which he had a right to expect, in return for the generous ſupport and protection that Edward had experienced from his family in the time of his adverſity.

It is pretended, by ſome writers, that during this viſit, Edward, in compliance with the ſuggeſtions of Robert the Norman, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, privately made a will, by which he appointed William to ſucceed him in the throne: others affirm, that it was only a verbal promiſe. Whichever it was, William founded thereon his pretenſions to the crown of England.

Though Godwin and his ſons had found themſelves unable to oppoſe the decrees of juſtice, and had therefore thought it prudent to forſake their country, they poſſeſſed too much ſpirit and ambition quietly to ſubmit to a deciſion which deprived them of their honours and eſtates; and the influence and authority of their numerous friends and adherents were too extenſive not to urge them to attempt a retrieval of their loſſes, and an infliction of revenge on the authors of their diſgrace. They had carried away with them conſiderable treaſures, which were applied, with the permiſſion of Baldwin, to the equipment of a fleet in the different ports of Flanders, with which they put to ſea, at the commencement of the ſummer, in the year 1052, with the deſign of making a deſcent on the Engliſh coaſt.

The king, who had been apprized of his intentions, took every precaution to defeat them; and, having collected a fleet of ſuperior force, Godwin was induced to retire without riſking an action, and return to the Flemiſh harbours.

Ralph and Oddo, two Norman earls, who commanded the royal fleet, ſailed to Sandwich; and, not ſuppoſing that any farther attempt would be made that year, laid up their ſhips, and diſmiſſed their ſailors. Godwin, informed of this imprudent ſtep, immediately put to ſea again; and being joined off the Iſle of Wight by his ſon Harold, with a fleet of nine ſail, which he had collected in Ireland, he now became maſter of the ocean, and entering every harbour on the ſouthern coaſt, ſeized all the ſhips he could find, forced the ſailors into his ſervice, and raiſed heavy contributions for their ſupport. He alſo ſummoned all his friends and followers in the different counties which had been ſubject to his government to join him without delay, and aſſiſt him to procure redreſs for the injuries which himſelf and family had ſuſtained, as well as to reſcue themſelves from the dominion of inſolent and rapacious foreigners.

Having, by theſe means, collected a formidable body of troops, and conſiderably augmented his fleet, he entered the River Thames, and appeared before London, where the king lay with his army. The whole city was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation; and Edward alone evinced a determined reſolution to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity: but the perfidious interpoſition of the Engliſh nobility, many of whom ſecretly favoured the pretenſions of Godwin, compelled him to recede from ſo laudable a deſign, and to conſent to a degradation of his dignity, by entering into a negotiation with a rebellious ſubject; the conſequence of which was a formal peace on the following conditions: That Godwin, his ſons, and adherents, ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their eſtates and honours; that they ſhould give hoſtages to the king for their future loyalty; and that the primate, and all the Normans, to whom the preſent commotions were falſely attributed, ſhould be expelled the kingdom. The laſt article gave the greateſt offence to Edward; but, by the ſtrenuous perſuaſions of Stigand, Biſhop of Worceſter, he was at length prevailed on, or rather conſtrained, to aſſent to it. We can eaſily conceive that the entreaties of that prelate were forcibly urged, when we know that he ſhortly after procured his tranſlation to the ſee of Canterbury, which by the ſentence of baniſhment Robert the Norman was compelled to relinquiſh. This diſgraceful treaty was ſolemnly confirmed, the enſuing day, in a general aſſembly of the ſtates; which at the ſame time declared Godwin to be innocent of the crimes that were laid to his charge, and recommended his reſtoration to the king's favour, which accordingly took place. The unfortunate Editha was likewiſe reſtored to liberty, and to the enjoyment of her former dignity.

Edward thus ſecured his kingdom, for the preſent, from all the horrors of a civil war, by the ſacrifice of that authority without which ſovereignty is but a ſhadow. Whenever a monarch ſhall ſuffer himſelf to be deluded by the inſidious policy of an ariſtocratic faction, and ſubmit to a rebellious infringement on the legal prerogative of the crown, he muſt either be content to ſit on the throne as a puppet, whoſe every motion is ſubject to the capricious will of it's imperious maſters, or expect to behold a ſpirit of anarchy and revolt, the inevitable conſequence of ſimilar uſurpations, obtain throughout his dominions.

The power and influence of Godwin now increaſed to an alarming degree; and, as they had already proved ſufficient to ſap the foundation of the ſtate, it is highly probable that the whole fabric muſt have finally ſunk beneath their weight: but, fortunately, his tyranny was not of long duration; for he died ſuddenly on the 15th of April, in the year 1053, as he was ſitting at table with the king at the palace of Oldiham. He was ſucceeded in the government of Eſſex, Weſſex, Suſſex, and Kent, as well as in the important office of Steward of the Houſhold, by his ſon Harold, who was obliged to reſign his own government of Eaſt Anglia to Algar, the ſon of Leofric.

Harold, now at the head of this powerful family, was equal to his father in wealth and influence, and far ſuperior to him in talents and integrity. He

was actuated by the ſame ambition; but, being eminently verſed in the arts of inſinuation and addreſs, knew how to obtain the object of his purſuit with greater certainty and leſs danger. He applied himſelf with the utmoſt aſſiduity to acquire the confidence and eſteem of Edward; but the averſion which the king bore to his family was too juſt and inveterate to be eaſily eradicated, though prudence forbade him to make a public diſplay of it at a time when he was not poſſeſſed of ſufficient power to give it effect. But the attempts of Harold to extend his authority by increaſing his treaſures, and obtaining a dangerous influence over the minds of the people, were attended with greater ſucceſs: nor could Edward deviſe any better expedient for impeding the alarming rapidity of his progreſs, than that of raiſing a formidable rival to oppoſe him in the perſon of Leofric, Duke of Mercia. This, however, was but an uncertain remedy; and, if not ſkilfully managed, might be productive of conſequences as fatal as thoſe it was deſigned to obviate. The king's abilities proved inadequate to the purpoſe; and the animoſities of theſe powerful opponents accordingly gave riſe to civil broils and factious commotions, which interrupted the public tranquillity.

The influence of Harold at firſt prevailed, and effected the expulſion of Algar, the ſon of Leofric, from his government: but that nobleman being protected by Griffith, Prince of Wales, who had married his daughter, as well as by the power of his father, he conſtrained Harold to conſent to an accommodation, in conſequence of which he was reinſtated in the government of Eaſt Anglia. The death of Leofric, however, afforded Harold a favourable opportunity for the renewal of hoſtilities. Algar was again expelled, and even baniſhed the kingdom; when retiring to Norway, he there collected an army, with which he returned to England; and, making a deſcent on Eaſt Anglia, overran the whole country: but death ſoon put a ſtop to his progreſs, and freed Harold from a rival whoſe power and pretenſions might have proved an effectual bar to the ſucceſs of his ambitious projects.

Godiva, the wife of Leofric, is highly extolled by hiſtorians both for her mental and perſonal accompliſhments. It is ſaid that, in order to relieve the inhabitants of Coventry from an oppreſſive tax impoſed on them by her huſband, ſhe conſented to ride naked through the city, ſuch being the condition of their exemption, ſtipulated by the caprice of her lord. Accordingly, having previouſly forbidden the inhabitants to look at her on pain of death, ſhe mounted her horſe, and rode from one extremity of the town to the other, with no covering but what her hair, which was extremely long and beautiful, could afford her. It is pretended that one man, being prompted by curioſity to diſobey her injunction, was ſtruck dead with lightning for his preſumption. In remembrance of this event, there is ſtill an annual proceſſion obſerved at Coventry, in which the figure of a naked woman is carried through the town on horſeback. The pictures of Leofric and Godiva are alſo to be ſeen in the windows of Trinity Church, with the following inſcription—

> " I Luric, for the love of thee,
> " Do ſet Coventry toll-free."

About this time, Siward, Duke of Northumberland, was ſent by Edward, with a conſiderable army, to the aſſiſtance of Malcolm, Prince of Cumberland, who was about to invade Scotland. Duncan, the late King of Scotland, was a prince more remarkable for the mildneſs of his diſpoſition than for his military talents; and was therefore unfit to govern a kingdom continually expoſed to the turbulent commotions of a factious nobility. This encouraged Macbeth, a nobleman of great power, and very nearly allied to the crown, to form a plan for promoting his own elevation by the deſtruction of his ſovereign. He accordingly murdered Duncan at Inverneſs, in the year 1040, and immediately uſurped the crown, to the excluſion of Malcolm, the lawful heir, who was compelled to retire to his principality of Cumberland. Here he was afterwards joined by many Scottiſh chieftains, whom the cruelty and oppreſſion of the uſurper had compelled to retire from their native country. Among theſe fugitives was Macduff, the celebrated Thane of Fife, who fled with ſuch precipitation, that he left all his family and effects behind him; and Macbeth, not content with confiſcating his eſtates, put his wife and children to death.

The continual entreaties of theſe noblemen, at length, prevailed on Malcolm to take up arms for the vindication of his own right, and the revenge of thoſe injuries which they had ſuſtained in common from this ſanguinary tyrant. He therefore made application to Edward, who ſent Siward to his aſſiſtance; and that nobleman accordingly marched againſt the uſurper, who was defeated in ſeveral actions, and at laſt ſlain by Macduff, in a deciſive battle fought near the Caſtle of Dunſinnan.

In one of theſe battles, Oſberne, the ſon of Siward, was ſlain; and the news of his death being brought to his father, the duke appeared inconſolable, till he was informed that his ſon's wounds were all received on the breaſt—" Then," exclaimed he, with infinite exultation, " all is well; for I can " give him a ſoldier's burial!"

Siward, having accompliſhed the object of his miſſion by placing Malcolm on the throne of his anceſtors, returned to England; but did not long ſurvive this glorious expedition. When he found that his life was haſtening to it's termination, he called for a compleat ſuit of armour, and being cloathed in it, ordered his ſervants to ſupport him in an upright poſture, which he declared to be the only one worthy a warrior; and they accordingly ſuſtained him till he expired in their arms. At his death, Harold obtained for his brother Toſti the dukedom of Northumberland; and, having previouſly gained the government of Eaſt Anglia for himſelf, he found nearly two-thirds of the kingdom under the immediate command of his own family.

As the influence of Harold increaſed, he began to extend his ambitious views; and Edward having

no

no children, he entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceeding to the crown. The great popularity which he had acquired, gave ſome proſpect of ſucceſs to his deſigns, and probably made him leſs anxious to conceal them; for it is certain that the king was aware of them, and determined, if poſſible, to render them abortive. Inexpreſſibly hurt at the idea of being ſucceeded in the throne by the heir of a family whoſe power had been built on the ruins of regal authority, Edward adopted a plan which ſeemed to promiſe an effectual diſappointment to his projects. Though his natural affection for the Normans had led him to wiſh that William might ſucceed him, he was now fearful that ſuch an appointment would prove favourable to the pretenſions of Harold, by affording the people, who were averſe to the domination of foreigners, a ſpecious pretext for ſupporting the claims of their favourite. For this reaſon, he judged it more prudent to fix on his nephew Edward, the ſon of Edmund Ironſide, for his ſucceſſor, who was the only remaining heir of the Saxon line, and whoſe title could not have admitted of a diſpute. He therefore ſent Aldred, Biſhop of Worceſter, to Hungary, where that prince had reſided from his infancy, with a preſſing invitation to come over to England: and Edward accordingly arrived in his native country, in the year 1057, after an abſence of forty years; but unhappily died within a month from his arrival, leaving an infant ſon, named Edgar Atheling, and two daughters: Margaret, afterwards Queen of Scotland; and Chriſtina, who retired to a convent, where ſhe took the veil.

Thus the fears of the king, which had been diſpelled by the arrival of his nephew, were renewed by his death; and he was conſtrained to look out for another ſucceſſor, as he plainly perceived that the youth and inexperience of Edgar would be able to form but a feeble oppoſition to ſo popular and powerful a rival as Harold. In this extremity, he again caſt his eyes on William, Duke of Normandy, whoſe talents and power, he was induced to hope, would enable him to ſurmount every obſtacle that might be oppoſed to his ſucceſſion.

William was the natural ſon of Robert, Duke of Normandy, by Arlotte, the daughter of a furrier of Falaiſe. When he was but nine years of age, his father reſolved to undertake a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem; and having no other children, determined before his departure to have William acknowledged as his ſucceſſor: for which purpoſe he convened the ſtates of the dutchy, and engaged them to ſwear allegiance to him. This was a prudent and neceſſary precaution; as, in caſe of his own death, much danger was to be apprehended from the continual turbulency of the nobles, the pretenſions of other branches of the ducal family, and the vigilant jealouſy of the Gallic monarch.

Robert died on his pilgrimage; and the minority of his ſon was attended with all thoſe diſorders which he had taken ſuch pains to prevent. Alain, Count of Britanny, whom Robert had appointed guardian to William, on the firſt news of his death, marched into Normandy, rather with a determination to extend his own authority than to defend that of his royal ward from rebellious encroachments. The Norman nobility, jealous of their own power, and loth to ſubmit to the dominion of a foreigner, took up arms on his arrival; and, after a long ſtruggle, obtained by treachery what they could not effect by force. Alain was poiſoned at Vimontier; and ſucceeded in the regency by Raoul de Gacé, who found himſelf perpetually haraſſed by the turbulent diſpoſition of the nobles, whoſe inſolence now aroſe to ſuch a height, that ſome of them even advanced pretenſions to the crown. But all ſubordinate claims were ſoon obliged to yield to thoſe of Roger, Count of Toni, which were founded on his lineal deſcent from an uncle of the celebrated Rollo; and therefore poſſeſſed a degree of validity that rendered them formidable. This nobleman, having received very conſiderable rewards from the Spaniards for ſervices which he had formerly rendered them againſt the Moors, was enabled to collect a powerful army; and his adherents being numerous, the whole country became a ſcene of war and devaſtation.

Henry the Firſt, King of France, reſolved to profit by theſe inteſtine commotions; thinking a more favourable opportunity could never occur for reducing the power of a vaſſal who had originally acquired his eſtabliſhment by violence, and whoſe increaſing authority had long been a juſt object of apprehenſion to his ſovereign. The regent found it a matter of extreme difficulty to ſupport the government under this complication of dangers: and, though by his courage and conduct he compelled the French monarch to liſten to terms of accommodation; yet William, when he arrived at years of maturity, ſaw his dominions reduced to a moſt diſtreſsful ſituation. He oppoſed the torrent, however, with the firmneſs of a hero; and by plans, adopted with wiſdom and executed with vigour, revived the drooping ſpirits of his adherents, and inſpired his enemies with diſmay. But his utmoſt efforts muſt have proved ineffectual, from the ſuperior force of his adverſaries, had not Henry, whoſe enmity was by this time converted into friendſhip, afforded him that aſſiſtance which enabled him to gain a compleat victory over the rebels, at the celebrated battle of Val-des-Dunes, and thereby paved the way for a total reſtoration of his authority.

By valour and perſeverance, William at length ſucceeded in all his attempts: he expelled all daring pretenders to the ducal crown; reduced his turbulent and imperious barons to due ſubmiſſion, compelled them to ſacrifice their mutual animoſities to the public tranquillity, and eſtabliſhed his ſovereignty on the firmeſt baſis. In a moſt rigorous adminiſtration of juſtice he diſplayed the natural ſeverity of his temper, which was well adapted to reſtrain the impetuoſity of ſubjects whom lenity could not ſoothe to obedience: but, from the ſucceſs which attended this plan of government in his Norman dominions, William was unfortunately induced to believe that it's excellence was not local, but univerſal; and therefore eſtabliſhed as a maxim, that inflexibility of conduct was the firſt duty of a ſovereign.

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Though Edward was fixed in his determination that William ſhould ſucceed him, yet fearful to promote diſturbances by an open avowal of his intentions, he deferred the execution of them till a future period; and even obſerved a profound ſilence on the ſubject with his moſt confidential miniſters. But Harold, whoſe hopes, which had been damped for a time, were now revived by the death of the lawful heir, openly proceeded to purſue the moſt effective meaſures for the increaſe of his popularity, and the eſtabliſhment of his power. There was one obſtacle, however, in his way to the throne, which it ſeemed difficult to remove. Earl Godwin, when reſtored to his fortune and honours, had given hoſtages for his peaceable and loyal demeanour; and among the reſt was a ſon named Ulnoth, and a grandſon named Haquin, whom Edward, for greater ſecurity, had conſigned to the cuſtody of the Duke of Normandy, at whoſe court they were ſtill detained.

Though Harold did not know that the duke was his competitor, yet he was ſtill anxious to procure the liberation of his brother and nephew, from an apprehenſion that William might, in favour of Edgar Atheling, retain theſe pledges to operate as a check on the ambitious pretenſions of any other claimant. He therefore repreſented to the king, that as Godwin was dead, there could be no reaſon for their longer detention; particularly, as his own conduct had afforded the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of unfeigned ſubmiſſion to royal authority, and the moſt perfect attachment to his prince and devotion to the ſervice of his country. But Edward, though inceſſantly importuned on the ſubject, ſteadily refuſed to comply with his entreaties; alledging, that his application ſhould not be addreſſed to him, but to the Duke of Normandy, in whoſe poſſeſſion the hoſtages were: and Harold, at length, perceiving that all attempts to obtain a more ſatisfactory anſwer would prove unavailing, deſired the king's permiſſion to make a voyage to the continent, that he might have an opportunity of ſoliciting the duke in perſon, and endeavour to obtain from him the releaſe of his kinſmen. This requeſt was perfectly conſonant with the king's wiſhes, who did not doubt that William would find ſome ſpecious pretext for detaining him in Normandy; or, at leaſt, that he would take ſuch meaſures as would effectually prevent Harold from oppoſing any obſtacle to his deſigns.

Having obtained the king's conſent, Harold, wholly ignorant of his intentions in favour of William, and conſequently unſuſpicious of the danger he was about to incur, made immediate preparations for his departure, and embarked for Rouen with a numerous and ſplendid retinue: but, being driven by a tempeſt on the coaſt of Picardy, he was compelled to take refuge in a port ſituated on the territories of Guy, Count of Ponthieu; who, being apprized of his quality, ordered him to be detained as a priſoner, and demanded an exorbitant price for his ranſom. Fortunately, Harold found means to convey intelligence of his ſituation to the Duke of Normandy; to whom he repreſented, that the avaricious diſpoſition of the Count of Ponthieu had impelled him to take an unfair advantage of a misfortune which had befallen him, as he was proceeding to the court of Normandy in execution of a commiſſion from the King of England.

The importance of this incident immediately ſtruck William in the moſt forcible point of view. He foreſaw that, if he could once gain Harold, either by threats or promiſes, he ſhould encounter no farther obſtructions in his way to the throne; and Edward might then execute, without fear of danger, or dread of oppoſition, thoſe intentions which he entertained in his favour: he therefore diſpatched a meſſenger to the Count of Ponthieu, to demand, in a peremptory tone, the liberation of his priſoner; and that nobleman, not daring to incur the diſpleaſure of ſo powerful a prince, delivered Harold into the hands of his emiſſary, who conducted him to Rouen.

William received Harold with every poſſible demonſtration of reſpect, and the moſt cordial marks of friendſhip: but, being acquainted with his ambitious projects, he was at a loſs in what manner to proceed; whether to deſtroy him as a dangerous competitor, or to ſecure him as a powerful friend. By the adoption of the firſt meaſure, he muſt have made a premature declaration of his own views, which it was his intereſt to conceal: beſides, the deſtruction of a nobleman ſo univerſally eſteemed, might have occaſioned a rupture between the Engliſh and Normans, which muſt have entirely fruſtrated any meaſures the king might wiſh to purſue in order to enſure him the ſucceſſion; and, had Edward died during a war, it was even impoſſible he ſhould leave the kingdom to a prince by whom it was actually attacked. Harold, moreover, being entruſted with the government of Weſſex and Kent, all the forts in the ſouthern parts of the iſland were in poſſeſſion of his immediate dependents, who would doubtleſs defend them to the laſt extremity againſt his aſſaſſin: a circumſtance alone ſufficient to create a formidable obſtruction to the deſigns of the duke. The duke farther conſidered, that by putting Harold to death, or even detaining him priſoner, he ſhould be guilty of a moſt flagrant violation of the rights of hoſpitality, which a mind the leaſt ſuſceptible of glory ſhudders but to think on.

Theſe conſiderations, added to his uncertainty of the advancement which Harold had made in the affections of the Engliſh, and conſequently of the probability that exiſted of ſucceeding in his attempts, induced William to adopt the leſs deſperate mode of endeavouring to enſure his friendſhip, though it was liable to objections equally valid, and was attended with equal danger: for, by communicating his intentions to Harold, he afforded him an ample opportunity of defeating them. He was willing, however, to believe that, by ſo extraordinary a proof of his confidence, he ſhould excite the generoſity of Harold to make a ſuitable return; and, therefore, after evincing a diſpoſition to comply with his requeſt in delivering up the hoſtages, he took an opportunity of diſcloſing to him the important ſecret of his pretenſions to the crown of England,

England, and of the will which Edward intended to make in his favour. This diſcovery was followed by the expreſſion of an earneſt deſire that Harold would aſſiſt him in eſtabliſhing his claims: and by a ſolemn aſſurance that, in return for ſo great an obligation, he would comply with the ſuggeſtions of unbounded gratitude in ſupporting the preſent unrivalled grandeur of Harold and his family; which, he remarked, could with difficulty ſuſtain itſelf againſt the jealous and inveterate averſion of Edward, but could not fail to receive a conſiderable augmentation from a ſucceſſor who would be ſo highly indebted to him for his elevation. He gave him to underſtand, at the ſame time, that he was not unacquainted with his own ambitious ideas; and endeavoured to impreſs on his mind a juſt ſenſe of the extreme difficulty with which an attempt to attain his ends would be infallibly attended. To divert Harold from his purpoſe, he repreſented to him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the determined oppoſition he muſt naturally expect to incur, as well from Edgar Atheling as from the Engliſh nobility, who would not fail to regard his ambition with an eye of jealouſy. He made uſe of an argument ſtill more forcible, by plainly telling him that, ſhould fortune prove ſo far favourable as to enable him to ſurmount every other obſtacle, he would ſtill find a reſolute enemy in himſelf, who was amply poſſeſſed of every requiſite for undertaking a long and obſtinate conteſt, and whom no conſiderations of danger or difficulty could deter from enforcing a claim which he conceived to be founded in juſtice. In ſhort, he obſerved to him, that by affording his aſſiſtance, he might ſecure an extent of power equalled by none but the royal authority; whereas, if he rejected his proffered friendſhip, he hazarded the loſs of a certain and eſtabliſhed good for an uncertain and precarious proſpect of aggrandizement.

Harold, though infinitely ſurprized at the duke's declaration, poſſeſſed ſufficient preſence of mind to be ſenſible of the danger he ſhould incur by a peremptory refuſal to favour his pretenſions; he therefore feigned to be convinced by the reaſons which the duke had alledged to deter him from the purſuit of his intended projects; and, aſſuming a tone of hypocriſy juſtly adapted to the occaſion, confeſſed to William, with a plauſive appearance of candour, that before the arrival of Prince Edward, as the king was without heirs, he had indeed entertained hopes of ſucceeding to the crown, from a conſciouſneſs that there was no nobleman in England whoſe wealth and ſervices could give him ſo juſt a claim to the affections and obedience of the people: that, in conſequence of ſuch hopes, he had even proceeded to take certain meaſures, which had afforded him the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs; but that the arrival of the legitimate heir to the throne had induced him to change his intentions, as he had been anxious to receive the crown as the free gift of the people, and not to ſeize it as an uſurper. He added, that, ſince he was acquainted with the pretenſions of William, and the pleaſure of his ſovereign, he ſhould think it his duty to promote them, as he would much rather that the kingdom ſhould fall under the dominion of a prince who was able to defend it, than under that of a child, whoſe infant imbecility gave but little hopes of improvement.

William, to attach him more firmly to his intereſts, offered him one of his daughters in marriage; but, the princeſs not being yet arrived at years of maturity, the conſummation of the marriage was deferred to a future period. He alſo required Harold to take a ſolemn oath to adhere ſtrictly to the promiſes he had made; and, in order to render it more ſacred and binding, had recourſe to an artifice which will convey a juſt idea of the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the times. He ordered the reliques of ſome of the moſt revered martyrs and ſaints to be privately conveyed beneath the altar on which Harold had conſented to ſwear; and, when the oath was taken, expoſed them to his view, with an earneſt exhortation to obſerve moſt religiouſly an engagement contracted under ſuch auſpices, and ratified by ſo tremendous a ſanction. The duke then diſmiſſed him, with great profeſſions of friendſhip and future protection; having firſt delivered to him his nephew Haquin, and promiſed to bring over his brother Ulnoth when he ſhould go to England himſelf.

Harold was no ſooner at liberty, than he conceived himſelf authorized to violate an oath which had been extorted by fear, and which, if fulfilled, might tend to operate the ſubjection of his native country to the domination of a foreigner. He determined to take advantage of the confidence that had been repoſed in him, the more effectually to fruſtrate the deſigns of the Duke of Normandy. He exerted the utmoſt diligence and aſſiduity in increaſing the number of his partizans: he attended all public meetings; harangued the multitude; inflamed the paſſions, and humoured the caprice of the people; and, in ſhort, practiſed all thoſe dangerous arts of popularity which have been too often ſucceſsfully employed for the baſe and inſidious purpoſe of ſanctioning illegal encroachments, and overturning the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of government. If hitherto he had really experienced any ſcruples of conſcience from an attempt to uſurp the crown, to the excluſion of the lawful heir, he now conceived himſelf to be totally exempt from any imputation of injuſtice to Edgar Atheling; as, even ſhould he forego his pretenſions, the ſucceſſion of that prince would be effectually impeded by the interpoſition of William. He therefore ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to reconcile the minds of the Engliſh to his own elevation to the regal dignity: he revived their ancient averſion to the Normans; and, by an oſtentatious diſplay of his influence and power, ſought to deter the wavering and timorous Edward from executing his intended will in favour of his Norman competitor.

The king, advanced in years, and oppreſſed with infirmities, preferred the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity to an attempt to counteract the projects of Harold. It is probable, too, that he was at a loſs how to act without incurring the cenſure of inconſiſtency, as he could not fulfil his engagement

to William without injuring his nephew Edgar; nor could he bequeath his crown to the legitimate heir, without affording an opportunity to the Duke of Normandy to reproach him with a breach of promiſe. In this diſagreeable dilemma, he determined to remain paſſive; and Harold, therefore, had no obſtructions to encounter in the promotion of his deſigns. Two fortunate incidents which occurred ſoon after, enabled that nobleman to fortify himſelf in the eſteem of his countrymen, and conſiderably to augment that reputation for virtue and talents which he had long ſince acquired.

The Welſh had long been accuſtomed to infeſt the weſtern borders of the kingdom, and to make continual inroads into the Engliſh territories; and, after ravaging the low countries, they generally made a precipitate retreat with the booty they had acquired to their rugged mountains, which effectually ſheltered them from the purſuit of their enemies, and afforded them protection till a favourable opportunity offered for repeating their depredations. Having renewed their incurſions in the year 1064, under their reigning prince, Griffith, a man of an enterprizing genius and great courage, whoſe name had become formidable to the Engliſh, Harold conceived that, by the ſuppreſſion of ſo dangerous an enemy, he ſhould render a very acceptable ſervice to the public, and conſequently acquire infinite honour to himſelf: he therefore formed the plan of an expedition againſt Wales, with ſuch conſummate prudence as promiſed the moſt compleat ſucceſs. He prepared a body of light-armed infantry to purſue and diſlodge them from their mountainous retreats, while his cavalry was deſtined to ſcour the open country; and, at the ſame time, a ſquadron of ſhips was ordered to attack the ſea-coaſt. The Welſh, thus aſſailed on all ſides, were ſoon diſpirited and overcome; and Harold, purſuing his advantage with unremitting vigour, gave them no time to rally, and at laſt reduced them to ſuch diſtreſs, that, in order to prevent their total extirpation, they made a ſacrifice of their gallant prince, who had been the primary means of inciting the reſentment of the Engliſh; and, cutting off his head, ſent it to Harold as a peace-offering. This token of ſubmiſſion was accepted, on condition that they would acknowledge the authority of Blethyn and Rywalhan, the ſons of the Princeſs Angharat, and half-brothers to their deceaſed monarch, whom Edward appointed to rule over them.

The other incident afforded Harold an equal opportunity of adding new luſtre to his glory, as it enabled him to render his equity and moderation as conſpicuous as his martial endowments. His brother Toſti, who had been created Duke of Northumberland, being a man of a violent temper, had been guilty of ſo many acts of cruelty and oppreſſion, that the Northumbrians, finding all their remonſtrances treated with neglect, and ſeeing no probability of obtaining redreſs for their grievances, had recourſe to arms; and, declaring war againſt their governor, ſlew about two hundred of his adherents, who had been inſtrumental to the injuries they had ſuſtained, ſeized his treaſures, and expelled him from their country, in the year 1064. The baniſhed duke repaired immediately to the king, and complained of the treatment he had experienced; and Edward, not doubting but his complaints were founded in juſtice, commanded Harold to collect an army, that he might puniſh the Northumbrians for their diſobedience, and effect the reſtoration of Toſti to his government. Morcar and Edwin, two brothers, who were grandſons to the celebrated Duke Leofric, and poſſeſſed great influence and power in Northumberland, had joined the inſurgents; and the former, being elected Duke by the unanimous voice of the people, advanced with an army to oppoſe Harold. When the two armies drew near to each other, Harold was met on the frontiers of the province by a deputation from the Northumbrians, headed by Morcar, who was anxious to juſtify his own conduct, and clear himſelf from any ſuſpicions of rebellious intentions. He repreſented to Harold that the conduct of Toſti had diſgraced the elevated ſtation he enjoyed, and fully juſtified the reſiſtance he had experienced; that his tyranny had been ſuch as no man could attempt to ſupport without participating, in a certain degree, of the infamy which attended it; that the Northumbrians, ever accuſtomed to a legal adminiſtration, were willing to pay due ſubmiſſion to the royal authority, but ſcorned to bear with the oppreſſive caprice of an imperious delegate, who had dared to violate their moſt ſacred rights and privileges; that, having been taught by their anceſtors to prefer a glorious death to an ignominious ſervitude, they had taken up arms, with a full determination to periſh rather than again to ſubmit to the cruelty and injuſtice of a rapacious governor, who had already expoſed them to the moſt humiliating indignities; and they hoped that Harold would not attempt to defend in another that violence of conduct which he had ever been ſtudious to avoid himſelf in the exerciſe of thoſe dignities with which he was inveſted. This vigorous remonſtrance was accompanied by ſuch a detail of the numerous inſtances of cruelty and oppreſſion of which their late governor had been guilty, and all ſo well ſupported by facts, that Harold, convinced of the juſtice of their repreſentations, immediately abandoned his brother's cauſe; and, returning to Edward, perſuaded him to pardon the Northumbrians, and to confirm Morcar in the government. By this ſignal diſplay of his equity and moderation, he became the idol of the people; while Toſti, exaſperated at his conduct, quitted the kingdom in a rage, and retired to the court of his father-in-law, Baldwin, Earl of Flanders.

Harold, ſoon after this tranſaction, procured the government of Mercia for Edwin, the younger brother of Morcar, and married Edgiva, the ſiſter of thoſe noblemen; by which means he ſecured the affections of the inhabitants of Northumberland and Mercia, and extended his influence and power over the whole kingdom.

Harold, by this marriage, convinced the Duke of

of Normandy that he did not think himſelf bound by an oath which had been extorted by fear. Having attained to as great a degree of authority as it was poſſible for a ſubject to enjoy, he now openly aſpired to the ſucceſſion; and maintained that, ſince it was univerſally acknowledged that there exiſted an abſolute neceſſity for excluding the royal family, on account of the imbecility of Edgar Atheling, the only ſurviving heir, there was not any one capable of filling the throne, with ſo fair a proſpect of advantage to the nation, as a nobleman of mature age, whoſe power was extenſive, whoſe talents and courage had ſtood the teſt of experience, and who, being an Engliſhman by birth, would ſtrain every nerve to ſecure the kingdom from the dominion and tyranny of foreigners.

While this powerful nobleman was thus making rapid ſtrides to royalty, the attention of Edward was wholly engroſſed by the ſtructure of a new church at Weſtminſter, which, with an adjoining monaſtery, he had cauſed to be erected on the ſame ſpot where an old temple had formerly ſtood, in the time of the Pagan Saxons, dedicated to Apollo, but which had afterwards been converted into a Chriſtian church, by Sabert, King of Eſſex, when he had firſt embraced Chriſtianity. This church had been totally demoliſhed by the Danes; and Edward, having made a vow to perform a pilgrimage to Rome, which he found it inconvenient to execute, obtained a diſpenſation from the Pope, who abſolved him from the obligation he had impoſed on himſelf, on condition that he ſhould devote the money which he would have expended on his journey to the purpoſe of rebuilding it. To this cathedral of Weſtminſter, ſo named from it's ſituation being to the weſt of London, he granted, by charter, the privilege of a ſanctuary; and to the monaſtery he accorded many ſingular and valuable exemptions. The church was conſecrated to St. Peter.

This was the laſt tranſaction of the reign of Edward, whoſe indiſpoſition had greatly increaſed before the conſecration was finiſhed. Previous to his death, he recommended his queen, as a virgin, to the protection of the nobility; requeſted that ſome proviſion might be made for the ſervants who had followed him from Normandy; and directed that his body ſhould be interred in the new cathedral of Weſtminſter: then, having received the ſacrament, he reſigned his breath, on the 5th of January 1066, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign.

Edward, the laſt prince of the Saxon line who ruled in England, was poſſeſſed of virtues that might have entitled him to reſpect in a private ſphere of life, though his talents were inſufficient to make him ſhine as a monarch. It was, however, a fortunate circumſtance for his ſubjects that his defects proved a ſource of tranquillity; for, had his mind been ſuſceptible of a laudable ſpirit of reſentment, his ardour to repreſs the daring encroachments of Godwin muſt have neceſſarily involved the kingdom in the dreadful calamities of a civil war: but, indolent and timid, he ſacrificed his glory to his eaſe, and rather choſe to ſubmit to illegal infringements on his authority, than to maintain the prerogative of the crown by any violent exertion. The general tenour of his conduct affords juſt grounds for believing that he was wholly exempt from thoſe ſtrong paſſions which are equally productive of ſignal virtues and flagrant vices: but his continence, which is ſo highly extolled by the monkiſh writers, who aſſert that he married the beautiful Editha for the ſole purpoſe of exerciſing his virtue, by expoſing it to continual temptation, appears to have been the effect of conſtitutional frigidity, which it certainly would have been more commendable to overcome than indulge. His piety and charity, however, merit the higheſt praiſe, and procured him the titles of Saint and Confeſſor, which were confirmed to him by Pope Alexander the Third, by whom he was canonized about two centuries after his death. The ſums which are too commonly devoted by princes to purpoſes of private gratification, were applied by Edward to charitable uſes; and his extreme attention to all religious concerns, ſhews that he entertained a juſt ſenſe of the firſt duties of a monarch.

He is likewiſe entitled to commendation for his impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, to facilitate which he compiled a body of laws, from the collections of Ethelbert, Ina, and Alfred. This compilation muſt have been formed with judgment, ſince it long continued to be cheriſhed by the Engliſh, even after the introduction of new laws: but it is now unfortunately loſt; for the laws that paſs under the name of Edward the Confeſſor, bear evident marks of a ſubſequent compoſition.

Edward was the firſt ſovereign who is ſaid to have received from Heaven the ſpecial privilege of curing the king's evil by the touch. The high opinion which the people entertained of his ſanctity, induced them to pay an implicit belief to the efficacy of this extraordinary remedy: and the ſucceeding monarchs, finding it enſured a greater portion of reverence and reſpect, endeavoured to confirm the opinion from motives of policy. It continued till the acceſſion of the preſent royal family; who, obſerving that it could only furniſh a ſubject for ridicule and deriſion to the thinking part of mankind, and was no longer an object of aſtoniſhment even to the populace, wiſely aboliſhed the cuſtom.

Before we conclude the reign of Edward, we think it neceſſary to relate two private incidents of his life, which tend more ſtrongly to evince his native indolence and facility of diſpoſition than thoſe public tranſactions which may juſtly be ſuppoſed to reſult from ſtudy and deliberation.

One day, as he was repoſing himſelf on a couch, a ſervant, who did not know he was there, entered the room without perceiving the king; and repairing to a cheſt of money that was open, took out a part of it's contents. Encouraged by the ſucceſs of his firſt attempt, he returned in a few minutes; when the king, thinking it neceſſary to put a ſtop to his rapacity—" Boy," ſaid he very calmly, " you " had better reſt ſatisfied with what you have got; " for ſhould Hugolin my chamberlain come and " catch you, he will not only take from you what

" you

" you firſt ſtole, but order you to be ſeverely " whipped."

Another time, as he was hunting, a ſport to which he was greatly attached, an inſolent peaſant croſſed the hounds for the expreſs purpoſe of ſpoiling his diverſion; upon which the king rode up to him in a violent paſſion, and exclaimed—" By our Lady, " fellow, I would be revenged on thee, were it in " my power!"

Upon the whole, we may conclude that, though Edward poſſeſſed few qualities which could entitle him to the appellation of a great monarch, he was endued with many that gave him a juſt claim to the more enviable title of a Good Man.

HAROLD.

THE acceſſion of Harold was attended with as little trouble and diſpute as if he had ſucceeded to the throne by the moſt clear and indiſputable right. He was indebted for his elevation to his own extenſive power and immenſe riches; to his intimate connection, either by alliance or friendſhip, with all the principal nobility; to the favour of the clergy, which he had wiſely ſecured; to the ardent affection of the citizens of London; and, finally, to the beſt title a ſovereign can acquire, the general eſteem of the people, who teſtified their unanimity and ſatisfaction by every poſſible mark of public approbation. The juſt claims of Edgar Atheling were ſcarcely noticed on this occaſion, though that prince was on the ſpot; and the pretenſions of the Duke of Normandy ſeem not to have been known in England at that time.

Some hiſtorians affirm, that Harold was duly elected by the ſtates, aſſembled for the purpoſe of appointing a ſucceſſor; while others aſſert that Edward, in his laſt illneſs, had made a will in his favour: but the moſt prevalent and beſt founded opinion is, that Harold, having aſſembled his friends and adherents, received the crown from their hands, before the right of ſucceſſion could be fairly diſcuſſed by the ſtates, to whoſe deciſion the queſtion was, in fact, never regularly ſubmitted. He was in conſequence crowned King of England, the very day after that on which Edward died, by Aldred, Archbiſhop of York, at the cathedral of St. Paul, amidſt the joyful acclamations of the multitude; and his authority was univerſally acknowledged with chearfulneſs and unanimity.

The commencement of Harold's reign was marked by many popular acts of government, which afforded ample teſtimony of his wiſdom, and of a cloſe attention to the rights and liberties of his ſubjects. He treated the clergy with a becoming deference, without paying a blind ſubmiſſion to their will: when he found them guilty of irregularities, he exerciſed a requiſite ſeverity; but did not fail to beſtow the moſt ſignal marks of his favour on ſuch whoſe conduct was ſuitable to their character, rewarding them by a confirmation of their charters, and a reaſonable extenſion of their immunities. He enforced a moſt rigid and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, commanded an attentive reviſion of the laws, and inflicted the moſt exemplary puniſhment on all robbers and violators of the public tranquillity, whom the lenity of the late reign had rather encouraged than repreſſed.

He conferred on Edgar Atheling the earldom of Oxford; cultivated the favour of the nobility by acts of kindneſs and friendſhip; eaſed the people of many burdenſome taxes; and eſtabliſhed ſuch ſalutary regulations for the ſecurity of their property, that his authority was in no danger of being expoſed to the dangerous attacks of domeſtic commotions: and, in order to defend his dominions from foreign invaſion, he prepared a powerful fleet and army to repel any attempts that might be made on them.

Theſe precautions were rendered highly neceſſary by the dangers which menaced him from the continent. The Duke of Normandy, when he firſt received intelligence of Harold's ſucceſsful intrigues, made a vow that he ſhould experience the moſt dreadful effects of his indignation: but, that his attempt might be ſanctioned by ſome colour of juſtice, he ſent ambaſſadors to England, to reproach Harold with a violation of his oath, and to demand, in a peremptory tone, the immediate reſignation of the throne which he had uſurped; threatening him with immediate war in caſe of a refuſal. To this inſolent ſummons Harold juſtly replied, that William could have no poſſible pretenſions to the crown of England; that if the late king had really made a will in his favour, it could be of no effect, as the laws of the land expreſsly forbade him to diſpoſe of the liberties of his ſubjects according to the ſuggeſtions of his own caprice; and that they had expreſsly provided againſt the ſucceſſion of a foreigner: that, for his part, the crown had been conferred on him by the unanimous ſuffrages of the people, whoſe favour he ſhould deſerve to forfeit, were he capable of betraying the deareſt intereſts of the nation which had been conſigned to his care; that, in regard to the oath, with the violation of which his ambaſſadors had dared to upbraid him, it had been extorted by a well-grounded fear of perſonal violence, and could therefore never be regarded as obligatory. Finally, he gave the duke to underſtand that, if he made any attempt to enforce his claim, he would find the Engliſh ready to defend their liberties to the laſt extremity, under a monarch who, conſcious of the importance of the truſt repoſed in him, was determined that his government ſhould end but with his life. William, on his receiving this reſolute anſwer, made the moſt formidable preparations for war.

In the mean time, Toſti, the baniſhed Duke of Northumberland, enraged at the ſucceſsful accompliſhment

pliſhment of Harold's ambitious projects, reſolved that he ſhould not enjoy in tranquillity the dignity he had acquired. He flew to the Duke of Normandy, who had married his wife's ſiſter, Matilda, and conjured him to haſten his preparations for the deſtruction of their common enemy. He diſpatched emiſſaries into Denmark and Norway, to urge the piratical adventurers of thoſe countries to a renewal of their former depredations. He endeavoured to form intrigues with ſome diſcontented noblemen in England: and this implacable exile, impatient to be in action, collected a ſmall fleet in the ports of Flanders, with which he ſailed for England, at the beginning of May, and attempted to make deſcents on ſeveral parts of the coaſt; but was every where repulſed with loſs. This failure of ſucceſs having induced many of his ſailors to deſert him, he retired into Scotland, in hopes of perſuading Malcolm, the Scottiſh monarch, to ſecond his deſigns; but all his endeavours to engage that prince to eſpouſe his quarrel proved ineffectual.

During this time, the Duke of Normandy was preparing a formidable armament for the invaſion of England. Though fully aware of the dangers that muſt inevitably attend this important enterprize, he ſuffered the voice of Prudence to be ſilenced by the dictates of Reſentment; and, ſubſtituting ambition for juſtice, determined to ſurmount every obſtacle that ſhould be oppoſed to his progreſs. He founded his hopes of ſucceſs on the conſideration, that the long period of tranquillity which England had enjoyed for the ſpace of near half a century, muſt have eſſentially enervated it's inhabitants; that the Engliſh ſoldiers muſt conſequently be devoid of diſcipline, and the officers of experience. He knew that the kingdom was wholly unprovided with fortified towns, which afford an opportunity of prolonging a war, and that one deciſive action muſt, therefore, determine it's fate. He was, moreover, willing to believe, that as Harold had aſcended the throne in direct oppoſition to the will of the late monarch, and to the excluſion of the royal family, he was not ſo firmly ſeated in it, but that the leaſt commotion might occaſion a revolt that would prove fatal to his authority.

The Normans had long been diſtinguiſhed for their valour among the nations of Europe, and about this period had attained the ſummit of military glory. They had diſmembered from the monarchy of France the fertile and extenſive province of Neuſtria, and procured for themſelves a firm eſtabliſhment, which they had ſucceſsfully defended againſt the continual attacks of the Gallic monarchs and other neighbouring adverſaries. They had obtained many important victories under their preſent ſovereign; and had juſt added freſh luſtre to the Norman name, by extending their martial atchievements to the other extremity of Europe.

About the beginning of this century, a few Norman pilgrims, on their return from Jeruſalem, having ſtopped at the town of Salerno, in Italy, found it inveſted by a numerous army of Arabs; while the diſpirited inhabitants, unable to defend themſelves, were bargaining for their ranſom. The Normans, enraged to find a ſpirit of cowardice prevail where confidence and vigour might have promoted ſucceſs, immediately repaired to the governor, and made a courageous offer to expel the enemy from his territories. Their ſervices were joyfully accepted; and the ſucceeding night was fixed on for putting their promiſes in execution. Accordingly, about midnight, they boldly ſallied from the town, to the number of ſixty, accompanied by a few of the inhabitants, who had offered themſelves as volunteers; and, attacking the camp of the enemy, put ſome thouſands of the Arabs to the ſword; while thoſe who could eſcape the carnage, retired to their ſhips with precipitation, and inſtantly put to ſea.

The fame of this glorious action was diffuſed over all Europe; and the pilgrims returning to Normandy, inſpired their countrymen with ſuch a ſpirit of envy and emulation, that a numerous band of adventurers, under the command of Oſmond, who was baniſhed his country for aſſaſſination, prepared to embark for Italy, with the view of enliſting in the ſervice of the different princes, who were then engaged in a war with the Saracens. The ſucceſs of this band induced others to follow their example; and, in the courſe of half a century, the Normans had become ſo numerous in Italy, that, having expelled not only the Saracens, but the Greeks and Germans, who had made incurſions into the country, they ſubdued the Italians themſelves, who treated them with ingratitude; and, taking poſſeſſion of an extenſive territory, laid the foundation of the opulent kingdom of Naples and the two Sicilies.

Theſe ſucceſsful enterprizes rouzed the warlike ſpirit of William; who, reaſoning from analogy, concluded, that ſince his vaſſals, who in compariſon with himſelf were weak and impotent, had performed ſuch glorious atchievements at a diſtance from home, and deprived of every reſource in caſe of misfortune, there could be little doubt of his own ſucceſs in an attempt on a neighbouring iſland, where the whole power of his principality would be at hand to aſſiſt him. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, he haſtened the equipment of his fleet; and the fame of the intended invaſion being already diffuſed over the neighbouring kingdoms, great numbers of powerful noblemen, allured by the reputation which William had acquired by his military conduct, repaired to his ſtandard, accompanied by their vaſſals and dependents. But Conan, Count of Britanny, who was the avowed enemy of William, embraced this favourable opportunity of reviving his ancient claim to the dutchy of Normandy, which he prepared to enforce by marching a powerful army into the Norman territories.

The duke, aware that a defeat at the preſent critical period muſt effectually fruſtrate his deſigns upon England, propoſed terms of accommodation to the count; but the count rejecting them with diſdain, William was compelled to prepare for deciding the diſpute by the ſword: and, as the two armies were nearly equal, a deſperate engagement was expected to enſue; when the death of Conan, who died

ſuddenly, very opportunely prevented the effuſion of blood.

Some hiſtorians affirm that this nobleman was poiſoned by his chamberlain, at the inſtigation of William: a fact which acquires a great ſemblance of probability from a due conſideration of all relative circumſtances; though we are compelled to own that it is not ſufficiently aſcertained to enable us to vouch for it's authenticity.

Hoel, the brother-in-law and ſucceſſor of Conan, deviated from the prudent policy of his predeceſſor, and not only concluded a peace with the Duke of Normandy, but ſent his eldeſt ſon, Alain Fergeant, to join him with a body of five thouſand Bretons. The Counts of Anjou, Poictou, Maine, and Boulogne, alſo engaged to ſupply him with troops and tranſports, on condition of being repaid for their ſervices by a ſtipulated portion of land after the conqueſt of England.

William had even the audacity to apply for aſſiſtance to France, though it was evidently the intereſt of that kingdom rather to repreſs the encroachments than encourage the aggrandizement of ſo powerful and dangerous a vaſſal. But Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, the duke's father-in-law, was fortunately at the head of the regency which had been appointed to govern the kingdom during the minority of Philip the Firſt; the application, therefore, being ſecretly encouraged, though openly oppoſed, by that nobleman, met with ſucceſs: and William having promiſed, if he ſucceeded in his attempt, to do homage to the French monarch for the crown of England, the nobility of France were permitted to enliſt under his banners.

Henry the Fourth, Emperor of Germany, not only gave permiſſion to his vaſſals to embark in this expedition, on which the eyes of all Europe were fixed, but ſolemnly engaged to protect the dutchy of Normandy from inſult or invaſion during the abſence of William, who was thereby enabled to employ his whole force in the enterprize.

But an ally of ſtill greater importance, whom the duke had found the means of winning over to his intereſt, was the Pope, whoſe influence on the minds of the people in thoſe days of darkneſs and ſuperſtition was immenſe. The authority of the Roman pontiff had been inſenſibly increaſing during ſeveral centuries; and he now began to aſſert a ſuperiority over all the potentates of Europe. Far from confining his cares to the due performance of his ſpiritual duties, and the ſalutary regulation of his church, this aſpiring prelate aſſumed the right to interpoſe in all ſecular tranſactions, and to act as a deſpotic arbiter in the diſputes of monarchs; not merely with the laudable view of enforcing harmony, but too frequently for the malignant purpoſe of lighting the torch of diſcord, and affording a ſanction to injuſtice. Alexander the Second, who now enjoyed the papal dignity, highly pleaſed by William's appeal to his tribunal, and his offer to hold the kingdom of England as a fief of the apoſtolic ſee, determined to eſpouſe his quarrel; hoping, too, by that means, to extend his influence to England, which ſtill maintained a certain degree of independence in it's eccleſiaſtical government, and had hitherto ſtrenuouſly reſiſted thoſe exorbitant claims which ſupported the grandeur of the papacy. Urged by theſe potent conſiderations, without giving himſelf time to inveſtigate the juſtice and validity of William's claim, he openly declared in favour of it; and, to inſpire the Normans with confidence, ſent the duke a conſecrated banner, a golden Agnus Dei, and one of St. Peter's hairs ſet in a ring: while, on the other hand, he attacked his adverſary, Harold, with all the artillery of the church, denouncing excommunication againſt him and all his adherents.

Though this concurrence of favourable circumſtances removed many obſtacles that had oppoſed themſelves to William's deſigns, by affording a colour of juſtice to his proceedings, and thereby diſpelling the doubts of ſome who were deterred by ſcruples of conſcience from engaging in his cauſe; yet one eſſential difficulty ſtill remained to be obviated. This conſiſted in the means of raiſing a ſufficient ſum to defray the enormous expences of ſo vaſt an undertaking. He at firſt had recourſe to the ordinary mode of convening an aſſembly of the ſtates of Normandy, which accordingly met at Liſlebonne; but when he demanded their permiſſion to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies by means of a general impoſt, they unanimouſly refuſed to comply with his requeſt, from a judicious preference of the happineſs and repoſe of their country to the dangerous gratification of their ſovereign's ambition: for they plainly foreſaw that, if William ſucceeded in his deſigns, Normandy would infallibly become a province of England; and that, if he failed in his attempt, the dutchy muſt long feel the fatal effects of his defeat. They therefore repreſented to him, that the late wars having nearly exhauſted the principality both of men and money, they were ſo far from being able to attempt new conqueſts, that they ſhould even find great difficulty in defending their own territories againſt the attacks of any powerful invader. They added, that though the claims of William might be founded in juſtice, they were not aware of any advantage that could poſſibly accrue to their country from the enterprize; nor were they obliged to ſerve in foreign expeditions, in which the intereſt of Normandy was not immediately concerned.

The duke, finding there was no probability of ſucceeding with the ſtates, reſolved on a ſeparate application to the moſt wealthy individuals of the province; and, beginning with thoſe in whom he could place the firmeſt reliance, obtained by degrees the requiſite ſum for the equipment of his armament.

The Counts of Longueville and Mortaigne afforded him great aſſiſtance in this negotiation. Odo, Biſhop of Bayeux, brother to the duke, fitted out forty veſſels at his own expence; William Fitz-Oſborne, Count of Breteüil and Conſtable of the Dutchy, provided a ſimilar number; and the Biſhop of Mans ſupplied him with thirty. The example of theſe noblemen was followed by many others; and the ſtates, finding it in vain to perſiſt in refuſing the required aſſiſtance, as

without

without it he would be enabled to put his project in execution, at last consented to grant his request.

William had by this time collected a fleet of three thousand vessels, and assembled an army of sixty thousand chosen men; among which were more than five thousand noblemen, four hundred and fifty of whom were of the first rank. The most celebrated were Guy, Count of Ponthieu; Alain Fergeant, Count of Dol; Amaury, Viscount of Thouars; the Lords of Vetré, Châteaugiron, Gael, and Loheac: all of them Bretons. The chief of the Normans were Odo, Bishop of Bayeux; the Count of Mortaigne, and his son Geoffrey de Rotrou; Roger, Count of Beaumont, and his son Robert; the Count of Longueville; with the Lords of Avranches, Touques, Etouteville, Arques, Gournay, and St. Sauveur de Cotentin, an old general of eighty, who was resolved to terminate a life of glory in the field of honour. There were also Eustace, Count of Boulogne; Hugh, Count of Estaples; William Fitz-Richard, Count of Evreux; William de Warrenne; Hugh de Grantmesnil; Charles Martel; Roger de Montgomery; and Walter Giffard. To these courageous chieftains William promised the spoils of England, as a reward for their valour; and, pointing to the British coast, told them that was the field in which they must render their names immortal, and procure to themselves honourable establishments.

While the duke was making these immense preparations, he found means to divide the attention of the English monarch, by exciting Harold Harfagar, King of Norway, to make a descent on his dominions. That prince accordingly approached the coast of Northumberland, about the beginning of September, with a fleet of three hundred sail; when, being joined by Tosti from Scotland, they entered the Humber, and landing their forces, ravaged the surrounding country.

Morcar, Earl of Northumberland, and Edwin, Earl of Mercia, the king's brothers-in-law, hastily assembled a body of undisciplined troops to oppose their progress: and the two armies meeting at Fulford, near York, on the 19th of September, an obstinate engagement ensued; but the numbers and discipline of the enemy at length prevailing, the English sustained a total defeat.

The Norwegians then marched to York, which was compelled to open it's gates to the conquerors. But their triumph was of short duration; for Harold, being apprized of their descent, marched with an army to the protection of his people, who flocked to his standard from all quarters; so that by the time he reached the enemy he found himself in a condition to give them battle. The action took place on the 24th of September, near Stanford Bridge, since called Battle-Bridge, situated on the River Derwent, at a small distance from York. Here the Norwegians had thrown up strong entrenchments, and taken possession of an advantageous post on the opposite banks of the river, being masters of the only bridge by which they could possibly be attacked. When Harold approached, he saw that this important passage must be gained at all events; and therefore ordered the attack to be made without delay. The Norwegians long defended the bridge with great courage; but were at last compelled to yield to the more vigorous efforts of the English. A single Norwegian, however, is said, by many historians, to have maintained his post against the whole army of the English for a considerable time: Brompton affirms, that he killed forty men with his own hand, and continued to fight till slain by an arrow. When Harold had gained possession of the bridge, he crossed the river with his army, and attacked the enemy in their entrenchments. The battle lasted from seven in the morning till three in the afternoon, and was sustained with obstinate valour on both sides; but the English obtained a decisive victory. Both Harfagar and Tosti were slain, and almost the whole of the Norwegian army cut in pieces. All the spoils which they had made were retaken; and their whole fleet fell into the hands of Harold, who generously granted Prince Olaus, the son of Harfagar, his liberty, and suffered him to depart with twenty vessels.

While the king was employed in rectifying the disorders occasioned in the north by the late invasion, he received intelligence that William, Duke of Normandy, had landed with a powerful army on the southern coast.

The Norman fleet had been collected early in the summer, but was prevented from sailing by contrary winds, and different incidents, till the month of September, when it set sail from the harbour of St. Valori; and, after a fortunate passage, arrived at Pevensey, in Sussex, on Michaelmas-day, when the army was disembarked without the smallest opposition, as a large fleet which Harold had assembled, and which had cruized off the Isle of Wight during the summer, had been dismissed, on a false report that William had discontinued his preparations.

It is said that, as the duke leaped on shore, he stumbled and fell; but had sufficient presence of mind to convert this omen, which might otherwise have discouraged his superstitious soldiers, to his advantage, by exclaiming that he had thus taken possession of the country. Some authors have affirmed, that William sent his fleet back to Normandy, that his men, being deprived of all hopes of retreat, might be urged to more desperate exertions of courage: but there is no reason to induce us to afford credit to this assertion; nor to that of Camden, who asserts, that he ordered his ships to be burnt.

After a short stay at Pevensey, he marched along the sea-coast to Hastings; where he caused a fort to be erected, and published a manifesto, containing the motives that induced him to invade the island, in hopes that some of the English might be prevailed on to espouse his cause. He declared that he came to revenge the death of Prince Alfred, brother to Edward; to effect the restoration of Robert the Norman to the see of Canterbury; and to assist the English in inflicting a punishment on Harold for having usurped the crown, in direct violation

violation of the oath he had taken at the Norman court. Reaſons more frivolous and abſurd could not well have been ſuggeſted: it is not ſurprizing, therefore, that they were not able to procure him a ſingle partizan. It is worthy of remark, that in this manifeſto not the ſmalleſt mention was made of any will executed, or intended to be executed, by Edward, in favour of William, nor even of any verbal promiſe; though it is natural to ſuppoſe that William would not have neglected to promulgate every poſſible reaſon that could tend to afford the ſmalleſt colour of juſtice to his pretenſions.

Harold's victory over the Norwegians, though it procured him freſh laurels, and inſpired his ſubjects with a juſt confidence in the courage and abilities of their ſovereign, was highly detrimental to his intereſts, and may indeed be regarded as the immediate cauſe of his ruin. Many of his moſt experienced officers and braveſt ſoldiers periſhed in the action, and the reſt were diſguſted by a refuſal to diſtribute among them the ſpoils that were taken from the enemy; though the conduct of Harold in this particular, far from being ſwayed by any ſelfiſh conſideration, was influenced by a laudable deſire to ſpare his ſubjects from the impoſition of burdenſome taxes, which muſt neceſſarily have been levied to defray the expences of the impending war with the Duke of Normandy, had he not applied the Norwegian ſpoils to that purpoſe.

When he received the news of William's deſcent, he haſtened by quick marches to London; where he reviewed his army, which he found conſiderably weakened by deſertions, occaſioned by the diſcontent of his ſoldiers: but he was joined by all the nobility of the kingdom, who anxiouſly repaired to his ſtandard, equally eager to evince their affection to a monarch who afforded conſtant proofs of his wiſdom and juſtice, and to defend their rights and liberties from the attacks of an inſolent foreigner. While he remained in this city, waiting for a reinforcement of troops that were on their march to join him from different parts of the country, he received another inſulting meſſage from William, demanding that he would atone for his perjury by an inſtant ſurrender of the crown he had uſurped. Harold, however, retorted his arrogance by an embaſſy of a ſimilar nature, to which William made no reply.

The Engliſh monarch having aſſembled his forces, now prepared to meet the foe: but, before his departure from the metropolis, his brother Gurth, a man of valour and prudence, having duly revolved every circumſtance in his own mind, began to entertain the moſt ſerious apprehenſions of the conſequences; and therefore repreſented to the king, that it would be more adviſeable to prolong the war, or at leaſt not to riſk his own life in the battle. He obſerved, that the deſperate ſituation of the Duke of Normandy rendered it neceſſary for that prince to bring matters to a ſpeedy deciſion, and to venture the fate of his enterprize on the iſſue of a ſingle engagement; but that the King of England, in his own territories, ſecure in the affection of his ſubjects, and ſupplied with every requiſite for the ſupport of a war, might be certain of enſuring ſucceſs by means leſs deſperate and dangerous: that the Norman troops, having every incentive to urge them to vigorous exertions, not only from the ſanguine hopes of conqueſt with which their leaders had inſpired them, but from being deprived of every reſource in caſe of a defeat, might juſtly be expected to fight to the laſt extremity; and as they were all choſen men, ſelected from the braveſt and moſt experienced warriors of the continent, they muſt neceſſarily be conſidered as objects of formidable apprehenſion, whoſe efforts were not to be deſpiſed: that if their firſt fire, which is ever the moſt to be dreaded, was ſuffered to evaporate for want of action; if they were haraſſed by continual ſkirmiſhes, daily expoſed to the danger of ambuſcades in a foreign country, where the difficulty of procuring proviſion would form an important obſtacle to their progreſs, which would be farther impeded by bad weather and deep roads during the winter, which was now approaching; ſuch a complication of diſcouraging circumſtances would effectually diſarm them of their vigour, and make them fall an eaſy prey into the hands of their enemies: that, by deferring a general engagement, the Engliſh would become ſenſible of the danger with which they were threatened by the rapacity of their ferocious invaders, who came to deprive them of their effects and liberties, and to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of their country, and would conſequently haſten to his aſſiſtance from all parts of the kingdom, and by a conſiderable augmentation of numbers render his army invincible: that, at all events, if he was reſolved to hazard a battle, he ſhould not endanger his own ſafety; as, if he fell, the liberty and independence of the kingdom muſt inevitably periſh with him: and that, having been once compelled to take a ſolemn oath, ſanctioned by the preſence of the holy reliques, to ſupport the pretenſions of the Duke of Normandy, it were better that the command of the army ſhould be entruſted to another, that the ſoldiers, not being awed by ſuperſtitious fears, might take the moſt effectual meaſures for enſuring the victory.

Theſe remonſtrances, though founded in prudence, were rejected by Harold: who replied, that as he had been fortunate enough to acquire the eſteem of his ſubjects, he ſhould be careful not to riſk the loſs of it by an inglorious forbearance to expoſe himſelf to danger; that, as Fortune had already favoured his arms, he ſaw no reaſon to dread a diſcontinuation of her ſmiles, nor could he believe that the Normans were more formidable than the Norwegians, whom he had ſo lately overcome; that, as an action muſt ſooner or later take place, no time could be more propitious than the preſent, when his ſoldiers were elated with their paſt ſucceſs; and that, for his own part, he was determined, by his conduct, to prove himſelf worthy the crown he wore.

Being thus reſolved to engage the enemy in perſon, he left London, and marched towards Haſtings, where the Normans were encamped: while William, perceiving his intention, advanced to a ſmall diſtance from the poſt he had hitherto occupied, and took

took poſſeſſion of an advantageous ſituation, where there was ſufficient room to draw up his army in order of battle.

At this juncture, the Duke of Normandy appears to have abated ſomewhat of his former arrogance and pride: probably he felt the importance of the ſtake he was about to hazard, and reflected on the fatal conſequences of a defeat. It is to be hoped, alſo, that the injuſtice of his pretenſions excited ſome degree of remorſe. Whatever were his motives, it is affirmed that, previous to the engagement, he ſent a monk to the Engliſh camp, to ſubmit the four following propoſitions to Harold: To reſign the crown, in compliance with the oath he had taken; to do him homage for the kingdom of England, on which condition he would immediately withdraw his troops, and return to Normandy; to ſubmit their diſputes to the deciſion of the Pope; or to decide the quarrel by ſingle combat. To theſe propoſals Harold juſtly replied, that he was not ſo devoid of ſenſe as to admit the Pope as an arbiter, when that prelate had publicly declared himſelf a party concerned: that he diſdained to hold as a vaſſal that kingdom which the people had given him a right to govern as an independent monarch: nor would he conſent to hazard his crown on the iſſue of a ſingle combat, ſince William had no equivalent to ſtake; and ſince, if he ſhould obtain the victory, he could reap no ſolid advantage, as the Norman army would remain to aſſert thoſe claims which their leader had advanced: that, for theſe powerful reaſons, he ſhould leave all their differences to be decided by the God of battles.

The Engliſh and Normans now prepared themſelves with alacrity for this important deciſion: but, on the night before the battle, the two camps exhibited very different ſcenes. The Engliſh paſſed the time in mirth and feſtivity; and the Normans in ſilence and prayer. Employments ſo diametrically oppoſite, at a conjuncture ſo ſerious, afford ample ſubject for reflection. That a blind and implicit confidence of ſucceſs ſhould inſpire the mind with ſentiments of joy, and even produce the moſt unguarded and ill-timed effuſions of mirth, is eaſy to be conceived: but that men, who are embarked in a cauſe wholly unſupported by juſtice, in the very act of invading the rights and liberties of their fellow-creatures, and on the point of devoting thouſands of them to deſtruction by the commiſſion of deliberate murder; that men, thus circumſtanced, ſhould dare to approach the Throne of Peace, and ſupplicate that Deity whoſe moſt ſacred precepts they are about to violate, exhibits a woeful inſtance of human depravity and preſumption!

Early in the morning of the 14th of October, in the year 1066, the Engliſh and Norman armies appeared in the field prepared for combat. The Duke of Normandy, having aſſembled his principal officers, harangued them after the manner of the Roman generals. He obſerved to them, that the moment was now approaching which they had ſo long and ſo earneſtly wiſhed for; on their ſwords the whole fortune of the war depended, and that day muſt decide the conteſt: that the brilliant prize of victory, and the ſhame and inevitable deſtruction that muſt follow a defeat, afforded motives equally powerful for a vigorous exertion of valour: that, if their veteran and warlike bands could once pierce the ranks of raw and inexperienced troops which now offered themſelves a willing prey to their ſwords, they would conquer a kingdom at a blow, and be entitled to it's poſſeſſions as the recompence of their ſucceſsful courage: that, on the other hand, if they neglected to exert their wonted proweſs, and ſuffered the luſtre of their glory to be tarniſhed by an ignominious flight, they would be haraſſed by the purſuit of an enraged enemy, and intercepted in their retreat by the ſea; ſo that an inglorious death would be the certain puniſhment of imprudent cowardice: that, by collecting an army not leſs diſtinguiſhed for it's numbers than bravery, he had taken every poſſible precaution for the enſurance of conqueſt: that the criminal conduct of the Engliſh general afforded him juſt grounds for expecting the protection of the Almighty, in whoſe hands alone the fate of battles lay: and that a perjured uſurper, ſtigmatized by the miniſters of religion, excommunicated by the ſovereign pontiff, and upbraided by a guilty conſcience, would tremble at their appearance, and by his fear betray an expectation to incur that fate which the complication of his crimes had ſo juſtly deſerved.

After this curious harangue, the concluſion of which diſplays the ſingular talent of the duke to make his religion coincide with his intereſt, as well as his propenſity to ſacrifice truth to the purpoſe of the moment, William drew up his army in three lines. The firſt, commanded by Montgomery, conſiſted of archers and ſlingers; the ſecond, led by Martel, was compoſed of his beſt troops, heavy armed, and ranged in cloſe order; his cavalry, commanded by himſelf, formed the third line, and were ſo diſpoſed as to extend beyond the infantry, and flank either wing of the army.

The Engliſh forces, which wholly conſiſted of infantry, armed with ſwords, ſpears, and battle-axes, had taken poſſeſſion of a riſing ground, their flanks being ſecured by ſome trenches which Harold had cauſed to be made, as, being deſtitute of cavalry, it was his intention to ſtand on the defenſive. The Kentiſhmen were placed in the van, a poſt which they had ever claimed as their due from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Saxon Heptarchy; the royal ſtandard was guarded by the Londoners; and the king, accompanied by his two valiant brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, diſmounting, placed himſelf at the head of the main body, equally expoſed to danger with the meaneſt of his ſoldiers.

When the two armies were thus drawn up, William ordered the ſignal of battle to be given; and the Normans advancing towards the enemy, as they ſang the celebrated ſong of Roland, began the attack by diſcharging a prodigious flight of arrows on the Engliſh troops. Their firſt onſet was deſperate; but the ſteady valour of the Engliſh rendered it ineffectual. After a furious conteſt, ſuſtained with equal vigour and advantage on both ſides, the ardour of the Normans began viſibly to relax, and

confuſion was ſpreading among the ranks; when William, who found himſelf on the brink of deſtruction, haſtened with a choſen band to the relief of his diſmayed forces, and by his preſence urged them to freſh exertions. The attack was then repeated with additional vigour; but the Engliſh ſuſtained it with ſuch coolneſs and intrepidity as entirely defeated every attempt to penetrate their phalanx. In ſhort, the battle raged with uncommon fury from ſeven in the morning till the approach of evening, before any viſible advantage was gained on either ſide, notwithſtanding the continual efforts and undaunted bravery of both leaders, who exhibited repeated proofs of military ſkill, and animated their troops to extraordinary exertions of courage by their preſence, admonition, and example. At length, William had recourſe to a ſtratagem which his troops had been accuſtomed to employ in their continental wars. He ordered a retreat to be ſounded; and his ſoldiers accordingly retired with every appearance of fear and confuſion: while the Engliſh, believing their flight to be the effect of diſmay, determined to purſue the imaginary advantage; and, forſaking their ranks, followed the Normans into the plain with equal impetuoſity and diſorder. The duke, finding the artifice had ſucceeded, gave orders that the infantry ſhould cloſe their ranks, and face about on their purſuers, and the cavalry make an attack on their wings. His commands being inſtantly obeyed, the Engliſh were repulſed with great ſlaughter, and driven back to the hill; where, being rallied by the aſtoniſhing valour and activity of Harold, they were able, notwithſtanding their loſs, to maintain their poſt, and repulſe the enemy in their turn.

The approach of night, and the reſolute reſiſtance of the Engliſh, began to make the Duke of Normandy deſpair of ſucceſs; and, had Harold choſen to retire, the opportunity was favourable; and he might probably have effected a retreat, and preſerved the greateſt part of his army: but, diſdaining to leave his adverſary in poſſeſſion of the field of battle, he reſolved to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity.

William, unwilling to leave the battle undecided, determined to make one deſperate effort to diſlodge the Engliſh from their poſt: he accordingly ordered his heavy armed infantry to attack them, while the archers from behind galled them with their arrows. In this aſſault, Harold was unfortunately killed by an arrow, which entering the eye, penetrated his brain: and to this fortuitous occurrence, more than to the bravery of his troops, or his own conduct, was William indebted for this important victory. The ſoldiers, deprived of their gallant leader, and his two valiant brothers, who were ſlain by his ſide, were ſtruck with conſternation and terror, and immediately fled with the utmoſt precipitation: while the Norman cavalry purſued them with conſiderable ſlaughter, refuſing to give quarter to troops who were now no longer in a condition to oppoſe them. A great part of the Engliſh army, however, favoured by the darkneſs of the night, were preſerved by the conduct of Morcar and Edwin, who had ſupported their monarch with infinite courage and reſolution during the whole of the battle; till, forſaken by their diſpirited ſoldiers, they had been compelled to yield to the fortune of the day.

In this well-conteſted engagement, which decided the fate of England, the Normans loſt near fifteen thouſand men; and a ſtill greater number periſhed on the ſide of the vanquiſhed. William himſelf had three horſes killed under him; and diſplayed a degree of valour and intrepidity which, in a better cauſe, muſt have enſured him commendation. Having attained the accompliſhment of his wiſhes, he did not ſuffer his army to retire from the field of battle till they had returned thanks to Heaven for their victory with the utmoſt ſolemnity. The ſucceeding morning his ſoldiers were employed in burying their dead; while the neighbouring peaſants were allowed to perform the ſame ſad office to their mangled countrymen. The body of Harold, defaced with wounds, was diſcovered with difficulty, and brought to William, who ordered it to be reſtored without a ranſom, together with thoſe of his brothers Gurth and Leofwin, to their mother Githa, by whom it was interred, with due honours, in the Abbey of Waltham, which Harold himſelf had founded.

Thus periſhed Harold, in defence of his own rights, and thoſe of his ſubjects, againſt the lawleſs ambition of a foreign uſurper. Though he prepared his way to the throne by unjuſtifiable attempts to acquire popularity, yet he certainly enjoyed it by the beſt of all poſſible titles—the unanimous ſuffrages of the people; and the wiſdom and equity of his adminiſtration, during his ſhort reign of nine months and nine days, proved him truly worthy of the elevated ſtation to which he had attained. Harold, doubtleſs, poſſeſſed many virtues: though reſolute and undaunted in the hour of danger, he was liberal, affable, and humane.

This monarch was twice married. By his firſt wife, whoſe name is unknown, he had three ſons, Edmund, Goodwin, and Magnus, who retired into Ireland after the death of their father. By his ſecond wife, Edgiva, ſiſter of Morcar and Edwin, he had a ſon named Wolf, who was afterwards knighted by William Rufus; and two daughters, the eldeſt of whom, Gunilda, being deprived of her ſight, retired to a nunnery, where ſhe remained till her death: the youngeſt was married to Waldemar, King of Ruſſia; by whom ſhe had a daughter, who was wife to Waldemar, King of Denmark.

The death of Harold put an end to the dominion of the Anglo-Saxons in England, which had been continued for more than ſix hundred years ſince the acceſſion of Hengiſt, the firſt monarch of Kent.

During the greateſt part of the long period of ſix centuries and a half which the Second Book of our Hiſtory contains, Peace, the genial nurſe of arts and ſciences, having forſaken this devoted iſland, reſigned it to the dark dominion of Ignorance and Superſtition. We have already ſhewn that, while the kingdom was in poſſeſſion of the Romans, the

progreſs of the arts became rapid and extenſive; but the termination of the Roman power effected an univerſal change, and the rapidity of their declenſion equalled the celerity of their advancement. Had they been expelled the iſland, as they had formerly been from the walls of Sparta, by the ſpirit and reſolution of the inhabitants, a revival of that virtue might have been expected which they had ſo eſſentially contributed to deprave; but their departure was unfortunately owing to the approach of a new enemy. The arrival of the Saxons compleated what the abdication of the Romans, and the ſubſequent depredations of the Scots and Picts, had begun: by affording a leſs pleaſing employment to the Britons, it deprived the moſt experienced artiſts both of comfort and ſubſiſtence, and finally compelled them to retire to the continent.

In the courſe of thoſe wars which immediately preceded the eſtabliſhment of the Heptarchy, city was taken after city, and conſigned to deſtruction, while almoſt every ſumptuous monument of Roman art was ruined or defaced. Gildas, a Britiſh hiſtorian, who beheld theſe dreary ſcenes of barbarous deſolation, has painted them in very ſtrong colours. "A "fire was kindled," ſays that writer, in his Hiſtory of Britain, "by the ſacrilegious hands of the Saxons, "which ſpread it's deſtructive flames from city to "city, and did not ceaſe to burn till the whole ſurface of the iſland, from ſea to ſea, was conſumed "by it's voracious tongue. The walls of all the "military colonies were levelled to the ground by "battering rams, and their inhabitants ſlain by the "point of the ſword: and, dreadful to relate! no"thing was to be ſeen in the ſtreets but ſhattered "fragments of ruined towers, walls, and temples, "fallen from their lofty ſeats, beſprinkled with hu"man blood, and mixed with mangled carcaſes!"

This ſpirit of cruelty, which induced the Saxons to prefer the deſtruction of edifices, equally magnificent and convenient, to the preſervation of them for their own uſe, was partly owing to their native ferocity, and partly to the obſtinate reſiſtance which they experienced from the Britons in the courſe of their conqueſts. When the accompliſhment of their object had cauſed the rage of war to ceaſe; when, by the extirpation of their ancient inhabitants, the moſt fertile provinces of Britain were reduced to own the laws of the Saxons; that fierce people were but little removed from a ſtate of barbariſm, wholly ignorant, not only of the ornamental, but of the neceſſary arts, and even deſtitute of the moſt deſirable accommodations. They were rude in manners, ignorant, and uncultivated; untamed to ſubmiſſion; and equally averſe to the ſalutary reſtraints of law, and the ſubordination requiſite to be preſerved in a civil government. They were faithleſs, perfidious, ſanguine, and inhuman; groſsly addicted to intemperance, and fond of riot and diſorder.

The art of agriculture, to which the fertility of the ſoil was peculiarly favourable, was wholly neglected by men who had been uſed to ſubſiſt on plunder and the ſpoils of war; and England, which under the government of the Romans had been one of the firſt granaries of Europe, and afforded prodigious quantities of corn for exportation, was ſo ill cultivated by the Anglo-Saxons, that in the moſt favourable ſeaſons it yielded but a ſcanty proviſion for it's inhabitants; and at other times it diſplayed a moſt deplorable ſcene of univerſal ſcarcity and diſtreſs.

The uſeful and neceſſary art of architecture ſuffered no leſs than that of agriculture by the departure of the Romans, and conſequent ſubjection of the kingdom to it's Saxon invaders, who by the wanton demolition of ſo many magnificent ſtructures evinced a diſpoſition inimical to thoſe arts by which they had been erected. In fact, the Anglo-Saxons, like all the other nations of Germany, had been accuſtomed to live in miſerable huts, compoſed of wood or earth, and covered with ſtraw or the branches of trees; and therefore poſſeſſed but a very imperfect knowledge of architecture, which acquired but little improvement for more than two centuries after their arrival. During that period, maſonry was quite unknown in this iſland; and even the walls of cathedral churches were built with wood. The firſt cathedral of York was compoſed of wood and reeds; and a church of ſtone, in thoſe times, was eſteemed a kind of prodigy that merited a place in hiſtory. Accordingly, Bede, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſays—"Paulinus, "the firſt Biſhop of York, built a church of ſtone "in the city of Lincoln, whoſe walls are ſtill ſtand"ing, though the roof is fallen to decay; and ſome "healing miracles are wrought in it every year for "the benefit of thoſe who have the faith to ſeek "them."

Towards the concluſion of the ſeventh century, maſonry was reſtored; and ſome other arts immediately connected with it were introduced into England by two dignified eccleſiaſtics, who had acquired ſome taſte for them during their reſidence at the court of Rome. Theſe were the celebrated Wilfrid, Biſhop of York, who was afterwards promoted to the ſee of Hexham; and Benedict Biſcop, founder of the abbey of Weremouth.

Wilfrid, a man of an active and ingenious diſpoſition, was himſelf a great builder; and, according to his biographer Eddius, cauſed ſeveral ſtructures to be erected, after his own plans, at York, Rippon, and Hexham, which excited the admiration of the age in which he lived.

His friend and contemporary, Biſcop, poſſeſſed as ſtrong an attachment to the arts, and made ſeveral journies to Rome for the purpoſe of collecting books, pictures, ſtatues, and other curioſities; and with a view of perſuading artificers of various kinds, both in Italy and France, to quit the continent, and ſettle in England. Having obtained a conſiderable grant of land from Egfrid, King of Northumberland, near the mouth of the River Were, he there founded a monaſtery, in the year 674.

"About a year after the foundation of this mo"naſtery was laid," ſays Bede, "Benedict repaired "to France; where he collected a number of ma"ſons, whom he brought over to England, that "they might build the church belonging to his "monaſtery of ſtone, after the Roman manner, "which

" which he greatly admired. His love to the " Apoſtle Peter, to whom it was his intention to " dedicate his church, made him urge theſe work- " men to ſuch extraordinary exertions of labour, " that the celebration of maſs was performed in it " within a year after it's firſt foundation. When " the work was in a ſtate of advancement, he ſent " emiſſaries into France, to endeavour to procure " ſome glaſs-makers, a ſpecies of artificers then " wholly unknown in England, for the purpoſe of " glazing the windows of the church and monaſtery. " Theſe emiſſaries being ſucceſsful, procured ſeve- " ral, who not only performed the work required " by Benedict, but inſtructed the Engliſh in the " art of making glaſs for windows, lamps, drinking- " veſſels, and other uſes."

From this account, of undoubted authenticity, it appears that the art of glaſs-making, equally remarkable for it's elegance and utility, was firſt introduced into this kingdom more than eleven hundred years ago. Before that period, all the windows of houſes, as well as churches, were filled either with pieces of linen-cloth, or lattices of wood. But neither this art, nor that of maſonry, appear to have flouriſhed in any conſiderable degree till ſeveral centuries after their firſt introduction; for when Alfred, at the latter end of the ninth century, adopted the reſolution of rebuilding thoſe cities, churches, and convents, which the Danes had demoliſhed, he was compelled to bring the greateſt part of his artificers from the continent: nor were the buildings of Alfred ſo much diſtinguiſhed for their grandeur as utility; ſince it is evident that, long after his time, almoſt all the houſes in England were meanly built, conſtructed of wood, and roofed with thatch.

Edgar the Peaceable, who flouriſhed after the middle of the tenth century, obſerved that, at his acceſſion to the throne, all the convents in the kingdom were in a ſtate of decay, conſiſting merely of rotten boards. In ſhort, the Anglo-Saxon nobility ſeem to have poſſeſſed but little taſte for magnificence, particularly in their houſes, which were in general equally deſtitute of beauty and void of convenience. This, indeed, might in ſome meaſure be owing to the precarious and unſettled ſtate of the country, which was continually haraſſed by the deſtructive depredations of the Danes, who in the courſe of their incurſions reduced every edifice to aſhes.

Since the progreſs of the Anglo-Saxons in thoſe uſeful arts which tend to promote the convenience and comforts of life was ſlow and inconſiderable, it is not to be ſuppoſed that they poſſeſſed much knowledge of what are generally termed the Fine Arts, as a deſire for objects of utility always precedes an ardour for the attainment of luxuries. In ſhort, though the attempts of the illuſtrious Alfred to promote civilization, and refine the ferocious manners of his ſubjects, ſucceeded in a certain degree, they were not productive of any durable advantage; for the ſubſequent ravages of the Danes totally deſtroyed their happy effects, and again plunged the Saxons into that ſtate of ignorance and ſtupidity from which by his benevolent exertions they had ſo lately emerged.

Poetry, indeed, ſeems to have been an object of admiration in thoſe rude times; though it may appear ſtrange that a people who could refuſe cultivation to their lands, would beſtow it on their poetical talents. The fact, however, is incontrovertible, that not only the Celtic tribes, who poſſeſſed the ſouthern regions of Europe, and from whom the ancient Britons were deſcended, but all thoſe nations of Germany and Scandinavia from whom both the Daniſh and Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of England derived their origin, were profeſſed votaries of the Muſes. The fire of poetry, unchilled by the wintry horrors of the polar world, roſe ſuperior to the rigours of climate, and glowed with equal intenſeneſs under the arctic circle as beneath the equator. This poetic ardour has been attributed, by different authors, to different cauſes: but we are inclined to coincide with the opinion of Monſieur Pelloutier; who, in his Hiſtory of the Celts, aſcribes it to the general parent of invention, Neceſſity. The inhabitants of a country where the uſe of letters is unknown, can have no poſſible mode of engaging the public to attend to the ſalutary leſſons of Experience, or the pleaſing effuſions of Genius, except by decorating them with all the graces which language can beſtow, that they may delight the ear by the harmony of according ſounds. By this inducement alone could a man be impelled to burden his memory with compoſitions of any conſiderable length: and by this ſingle attraction could he incite that attention, neceſſary to promote a general circulation of the precepts he wiſhed to inculcate; to render them the amuſement of narrative old age; to impreſs them on the minds of youth; and, in ſhort, to tranſmit them to poſterity. This is confirmed by Olaus Wormius, a celebrated Daniſh antiquarian, who flouriſhed in the laſt century. " All " the ancient inhabitants of the North," ſays that learned author, " compoſed accounts of all occur- " rences, foreign or domeſtic, that were worthy of " commemoration, in verſe and rhyme, that they " might be inſtilled with greater facility into the " minds of men, might make more laſting im- " preſſions on their memories, and be more effec- " tually handed down to poſterity."

Never did poetry, or it's profeſſors, receive more honour and excite greater admiration than during the middle ages. The moſt powerful monarchs did not think it derogatory to their dignity to cultivate the favour of the Muſes; and were not more eager to graſp the laurel, as the recompence of martial atchievements, than to obtain the bay as the reward of poetic excellence. Alfred, as we have before obſerved, was the firſt poet of the age: nor did he diſgrace his talents by exerting them on ſubjects unworthy their attention; but nobly devoted them, as he did his life, to the ſervice of his people, to enlighten their minds, and civilize their manners. Aldhelm, a prince of the royal family of Weſſex, and Biſhop of Shereburn, was alſo diſtinguiſhed as a poet of infinite merit; and his poems continued to be read by the Engliſh, ſeveral centuries after his death, with

with applauſe and admiration. Canute was likewiſe eſteemed for his poetical abilities. All our Anglo-Saxon monarchs afforded ſingular protection to poets; they not only received them in their courts with friendſhip and hoſpitality, but beſtowed on them the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours, and loaded them with magnificent preſents.

The poetic genius of the provincial Britons was much depreſſed during their long ſubjection to the Romans; but revived on their departure, and ſhone forth with unrivalled luſtre while they were defending their liberties againſt the encroachments of the Saxons The bards then raiſed their voices; and rouzed their countrymen to courageous exertions in defence of their country, their rights, their families, and their religion, by ſtrains the moſt harmonious and animating. It was in the early part of this period, in the ſixth century, that Thalieſſin, the prince of bards, Ancurin, Llywarch-Hen, Cian, Talhiarn, and all the moſt celebrated of the Welſh poets, flouriſhed.

The arrival of the Saxons in Britain proved equally fatal to the ſacred as to the civil intereſts of the natives, and cauſed as great a revolution in the religion as in the government of the iſland. As they were all heathens, wherever their arms prevailed, they attempted the total extirpation of Chriſtianity, to facilitate the introduction of their own impious and abſurd ſuperſtitions: till the light of the Goſpel had, by degrees, diſpelled the miſt of ignorance in which their minds were enveloped; and, by effecting their converſion, eſtabliſhed the univerſality of the Chriſtian religion throughout the kingdom.

The religious principles of the Saxons, Danes, and other northern nations, are repreſented as perfectly rational, till the invention of extravagant fables had gradually corrupted their original purity. They acknowledged the exiſtence of one ſupreme Deity, "the Author of every thing that exiſteth; "the eternal, the ancient, the living, and awful "Being; the Searcher into concealed things; the "Being that never changeth, who liveth and go-"verneth during all ages, directeth every thing "which is high, and every thing which is low." Of this glorious Being they deemed it impious to form any viſible repreſentation, or to admit the poſſibility of confining him within the walls of temples. Theſe eſſential parts of their religion had, however, been groſsly corrupted, previous to the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes in Britain, by the admiſſion of a plurality of gods, and the introduction of numerous images.

The immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, were believed in and taught by the Saxon and Daniſh prieſts, who rejected the Druidical doctrine of tranſmigration. The ſeat of rewards they denominated *Valhalla*, where heroes were ſuppoſed to paſs the day in martial ſports, and the night in feaſting on the fleſh of the boar, and drinking copious draughts of mead and beer out of the ſculls of their enemies, whom they had ſlain in battle, preſented by virgins of diſtinguiſhed beauty, who were deſtined to be their cup-bearers. The place of puniſhment they called *Niflheim*, or the Abode of Evil, where Hela dwelt, whoſe palace was *Anguiſh*; her table, *Famine*; her attendants, *Expectation* and *Delay*; *Precipice*, the threſhold of her door; and *Leanneſs*, her bed.

In Valhalla, all brave warriors and good men—and in Niflheim, all cowards and bad men—were to reſide to the end of this world; when they believed that the heavens and the earth, and even the gods themſelves, were to be conſumed by fire: after which a new and more glorious world was to ariſe out of the aſhes of the former; the juſt and brave were to gain admiſſion into *Gimle*, a palace built of burniſhed gold, far more ſplendid than Valhalla; while cowards, murderers, falſe-ſwearers, and adulterers, were to be impriſoned in *Naſtrande*, a place compoſed of the carcaſes of ſerpents, more gloomy than Niflheim.

The precepts of morality which the Saxon and Daniſh prieſts chiefly endeavoured to inculcate were the three following: To worſhip the gods; to do no wrong; and to fight bravely in battle. But their moral knowledge was by no means confined to theſe three points, as many other eſſential virtues were occaſionally recommended: and, indeed, a more rational collection of moral and prudential maxims is not eaſily to be met with, in compoſitions merely human, than that which is to be ſeen in the *Hovamaal*, or Sublime Diſcourſe, aſcribed to Odin, the chief deity of the Pagan Danes and Saxons.

Odin is ſuppoſed to be the name given to the True God by the firſt eaſtern colonies that peopled Germany, and which was preſerved by their poſterity for ſeveral centuries: but, at length, the victorious leader of a new army of adventurers from the eaſt over-ran the north of Europe; and, having eſtabliſhed an extenſive empire, aſſumed the name of Odin, and laid claim to the honours which had been formerly paid only to the Supreme Being. From that time, this ſelf-created deity, under the name of Odin, or Wodin, became the chief object of the idolatrous worſhip of the Saxons and Danes, not only in Britain, but in many other nations. As he had been a brave and ſucceſsful warrior, they adored him as the god of war, who could beſtow victory, and revive the courage of their troops in the hour of danger. Having made ſome attempts to civilize the countries he had conquered, and to introduce certain arts till then unknown, he was likewiſe worſhipped as the god of arts and artiſts. In ſhort, the deluded votaries of Odin impiouſly aſcribed to him all the attributes of the true God, and conſequently paid him all poſſible honours. To him they raiſed magnificent temples, offered numerous ſacrifices, and conſecrated the fourth day of the week, which was called Wodin's-Day, and ſtill continues, with little variation, to be diſtinguiſhed by the ſame appellation.

Frea, or Frigga, the wife of Odin, ſtood next on the liſt of their deities. As Odin was ſuppoſed to be the father, ſo was Frea eſteemed the mother, of the gods. In times of the remoteſt antiquity, *Frea* was the ſame with *Herthus*, or Earth, who was worſhipped with ſuch a warmth of devotion by the

Angli, and other German nations. But when the conqueror of the north had uſurped the honours which were only due to the true Odin, his wife Frea laid a claim to thoſe which had been formerly paid to Earth. She was worſhipped as the Venus of the Greeks and Romans, the goddeſs of love and pleaſure, who beſtowed on her votaries a profuſion of delights; and, in particular, happy marriages, and propitious labours. To this deity was conſecrated the ſixth day of the week, which from thence ſtill retains the name of Friday.

Thor, the eldeſt and moſt celebrated of the ſons of Odin and Frea, was, next to his parents, eſteemed the greateſt deity of the Heathen Saxons and Danes. They believed that his dominion extended over all the regions of the air, which formed his immenſe palace, that conſiſted of five hundred and forty halls. To him they ſuppoſed that the ſole management of the thunder and lightning was entruſted, as well as the direction of the winds, ſtorms, and meteors: accordingly they addreſſed their ſupplications to him, when they were anxious to procure favourable gales, refreſhing rains, and productive ſeaſons. To Thor the fifth day of the week was conſecrated, and from thence called Thor's-Day, or Thurſday.

Beſides theſe chief divinities, the Saxons and Danes had ſeveral deities of an inferior claſs, to all of whom they paid ſome kind of religious homage. Among theſe were Balder, the god of light, the ſecond ſon of Odin and Frea; Niord, the god of waters; Tyr, the god of champions; Brage, the god of poets and orators; and Heimdal, the door-keeper of the gods, and guardian of the rainbow. They alſo acknowledged the influence of a malevolent and powerful ſpirit, named *Loke*, by ſome deemed a god; by others, an enemy both to gods and men; by all, an object of ſuperſtitious terror. They had likewiſe two deities called Tuyſco and Seater, who gave their names to Tueſday and Saturday: beſides eleven daughters of Frea and Odin, who were all goddeſſes. In ſhort, the Danes and Saxons, and all the northern nations, believed that the ſun, moon, and ſtars; the air, earth, and ſea; the rivers, woods, mountains, &c. were all inhabited, and placed under the immediate ſway of certain Genii; who, being endued with the power of diſpenſing favours or inflicting evils on mankind, were therefore entitled to ſome degree of veneration.

Theſe deities were worſhipped by prayer, ſupplication, and ſacrifice: and in times of famine, or other national calamities, or on the eve of ſome dangerous war, the Saxons and Danes offered human victims to their gods; which were generally choſen from among criminals, captives, or ſlaves, but on urgent occaſions they made no ſcruple to ſacrifice perſons of the higheſt dignity.

When the northern nations began to erect temples to their gods, they embelliſhed them with the ſtatues or images of their reſpective deities. That of Odin was crowned and arrayed in compleat armour, with a drawn ſword in his hand; the image of Frea repreſented an hermaphrodrite, with a bow in one hand and a ſword in the other; that of Thor had a crown of ſtars, and was armed with a ponderous club; and thoſe of the other deities had emblems adapted to their different attributes. Of theſe temples, adorned with idols, many were to be ſeen, in various parts of England, before the converſion of the Saxons to Chriſtianity.

Though the cruel and ridiculous ſuperſtition of the Heathen Danes and Saxons, in many particulars, bore a ſtriking reſemblance to the Druidiſm of the ancient Britons, yet they eſſentially differed in ſeveral reſpects. The influence and authority of the Daniſh and Saxon prieſts, eſpecially in civil affairs, were by no means ſo extenſive as thoſe of the Druids; neither did they experience ſuch profound veneration: their doctrines were materially different in many points; as were alſo the objects, times, and rites, of their worſhip.

In the period that intervened between the arrival and converſion of the Saxons, the Chriſtian religion was profeſſed by all the other inhabitants of the iſland, except the northern Picts, who were alſo converted, by the celebrated St. Columba, in the year 565. But ſuch were the anarchy and confuſion which prevailed in thoſe calamitous times, that the clergy, having no leiſure to tranſmit to poſterity accounts of religious tranſactions, the Church Hiſtory of that period is extremely imperfect.

Previous to the arrival of the Saxons, Germanus, Biſhop of Auxerre, had made two voyages to Britain, for the purpoſe of extirpating the Pelagian hereſy; and after his departure, the church was governed with conſummate prudence by ſome of his diſciples, who effectually preſerved it from that dangerous infection. Among theſe, Dubritius and Iltutus were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their learning, zeal, and piety.

Dubritius was firſt made Biſhop of Landaff, and afterwards promoted to the archbiſhopric of Caerleon. To him was entruſted the direction of two conſiderable ſchools, which had been founded by Germanus, for the education of ſuch as were deſtined to the ſervice of the church, in order to prevent a continuation of that ignorance which he had remarked in the Britiſh clergy during his reſidence among them.

Iltutus was alſo appointed to preſide over a celebrated ſeminary of learning, at a place which, from him, is ſtill called *Lantuet*, or the Church of Iltutus, in Glamorganſhire.

That theſe academies were of infinite utility cannot be doubted, ſince they produced many illuſtrious men, who attained to the higheſt dignities of the church, and evinced their piety and prudence in times of calamity and danger.

During this period, ſeveral Britiſh ſynods were convened; but little or nothing of their proceedings has been preſerved. Some of theſe appear to have been mixed aſſemblies, compoſed of the moſt conſiderable perſons both in church and ſtate; and held as well for the regulation of civil as of eccleſiaſtical affairs. In one of them, Vortigern is ſaid to have been dethroned, and Ambroſius elected King. In another, in the year 512, Dubritius was tranſlated from Landaff to Caerleon; and the biſhopric of Landaff

Landaff conferred on St. Theleau: and in a third, held in the year 516, the celebrated King Arthur was crowned; and his uncle St. David appointed Archbiſhop of Caerleon. This prelate, ſoon after his appointment, removed the ſeat of his ſee to Menevia, which from him was called *St. David's*. He convened an eccleſiaſtical ſynod, in the year 519, for extirpating the remains, and preventing the revival, of the Pelagian hereſy. Oudocius, Biſhop of Landaff, alſo held three provincial ſynods of the clergy of his dioceſe, for inflicting the cenſures of the church on certain powerful delinquents, who had incurred his indignation. But the proceedings of theſe ſynods reflect no great honour on the perſons concerned in their convention; as they prove the Britiſh princes to have been guilty of every ſpecies of perfidy, cruelty, and oppreſſion, and diſplay the willingneſs of the clergy to accept of liberal donations to the church as the moſt ſure and ſatisfactory tokens of their repentance.

Among the numerous inſtances of eccleſiaſtical authority exerciſed over the Britiſh princes in thoſe days, we find no example of a monarch being depoſed, and another raiſed to the throne, by the apoſtolical power of the clergy: on the contrary, the following incident amounts to an ample demonſtration that they did not conceive themſelves to be poſſeſſed of any ſuch extraordinary prerogative. Morcant, and his uncle Frioc, two petty princes of Wales, had taken a ſolemn oath, according to the faſhion of the times, in preſence of Oudocius and his clergy, that if either of them ſhould ever be induced to aſſaſſinate or betray the other, the offender ſhould be deprived of the privilege of purchaſing his pardon with money, be compelled to reſign the government of his dominions, and to paſs the remainder of his life in pilgrimage. Morcant ſoon violated the oath; by murdering his uncle, and then requeſting to buy off the penalty from the church of Landaff. The caſe was accordingly debated in full ſynod; and he obtained abſolution, on condition that he ſhould faſt, pray, and give alms, that his kingdom might not ſuffer by his abſence, as they poſſeſſed no power to create a new monarch. This deciſion not only implies that the power of the clergy was limited, but affords the moſt evident proof of the independence of the Britiſh clergy, who thus proceeded to exert the laſt ſtroke of ſacerdotal authority without the ſanction of Rome, or regard to any pretended ſuperiority of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, to which no right of appeal from the cenſures of our own prelates was ever reſerved.

The extreme enmity that naturally ſubſiſted between the Britons and Saxons, was probably the means of retarding the converſion of the latter: and, indeed, the Britons, according to Bede and Gildas, evinced an averſion to inſtruct their enemies in the principles and doctrine of the true faith. When that animoſity had in ſome meaſure ſubſided, and the eſtabliſhment of the Heptarchy had taken place, the introduction of Chriſtianity was greatly facilitated.

We have already ſhewn, in the hiſtory of the kingdom of Kent, that the marriage of Ethelbert with a Chriſtian princeſs firſt paved the way for the reception of the Chriſtian doctrine; and led Gregory, who then enjoyed the papal dignity, to entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes of operating the converſion of the Saxons. This idea had, indeed, occurred to him before his elevation to the pontificate; for, as he was one day paſſing through the ſlave-market of Rome, he obſerved ſome Saxon youths, whom the Roman traders had purchaſed from their avaricious parents, expoſed to public ſale. Struck with the grace of their perſons, and the bloom of their complexions, Gregory aſked from what country they came; and, being told they were Engliſh, he exclaimed—"*Non Angli ſed Angeli forent, ſi eſſent Chriſtiani!*"—"They would "not be *Engliſh*, but *angels*, if they were Chriſ- "tians." He then enquired to what province of England they belonged; and when he was informed it was Deira, a diſtrict of Northumberland—"*Deira!*" replied he; "that is well: they are "called to the mercy of God, *from his anger—De* "*Ira.*" And when, in anſwer to his farther enquiries, he was told that the province was governed by a king named *Œlla*, or *Alla*—"*Alleluiah!*" cried he: "we muſt cauſe the praiſes of God to be "ſung in their country." Pleaſed with theſe quaint alluſions, he determined to undertake a voyage to Britain, for the purpoſe of converting the inhabitants; but his deſign being oppoſed by the Romans, who were unwilling to expoſe him to the dangers of ſo perilous a journey, he was compelled to defer the execution of his pious purpoſe. On his attainment to the papacy, in the year 590, he reſolved to effect his intended plan; and accordingly diſpatched Auſtin, or Auguſtin, a monk of the convent of St. Andrew's at Rome, with forty aſſociates, to convert the Saxons of Britain to Chriſtianity. Theſe miſſionaries, terrified at the danger that might accrue from the propoſal of a new doctrine to ſo ferocious a people, of whoſe language, too, they were ignorant, were afraid to proceed; and, having ſtopped ſome time in France, ſent Auguſtin back to Rome, to repreſent to the Pope all the difficulties of the undertaking, and to requeſt his permiſſion to return. But Gregory rejected their petition; and ſent them an animating letter, exhorting them to a manly contempt of danger, and a pious perſeverance in the purpoſe they were deſtined to fulfil. He moreover recommended them to the friendſhip and protection of Brunehaut, Queen of France, and ſeveral French prelates, who afforded them a kind reception, and ſupplied them with interpreters, who greatly promoted the ſucceſs of their miſſion.

On their arrival in Kent, in the year 596, Auguſtin and his aſſociates found their apprehenſions to have been deſtitute of foundation. Ethelbert, already won by the inſinuations of his wife, was diſpoſed to receive them with kindneſs; and accordingly aſſigned them a place of reſidence in the city of Canterbury. The firſt audience he granted them was in the open air, where he thought himſelf leſs liable to be affected by the power of magic; which,

which, ſhould their arguments prove inſufficient to produce conviction, he thought they might poſſibly be induced to exert. Here Auguſtin, by his interpreters, made known to him the tenets of the Chriſtian faith, which he fervently exhorted him to embrace, and promiſed him eternal joys as the reward of his compliance. Ethelbert replied, that he could not abandon the religion of his anceſtors without due conſideration: but, as they had made ſo long a voyage for the ſole purpoſe of promoting what they believed to be his advantage and that of his people, he would ſupply them with all neceſſaries, and permit them to exert their endeavours to convert his ſubjects.

Auguſtin, encouraged by this favourable reception, immediately proceeded to preach the Goſpel to the Kentiſh Saxons; and his labours were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that the king, and great multitudes of his ſubjects, very ſoon conſented to receive baptiſm. In the commencement of his miſſion, Auguſtin had wiſely adopted a ſyſtem of lenity: he told Ethelbert that the ſervice of Chriſt muſt be entirely voluntary; and that the propagation of ſo beneficial a doctrine ſhould be wholly exempt from violence and coercion.

He now diſpatched two of his aſſociates to Rome with the news of his ſucceſs; and with a letter, wherein he propoſed ſeveral queſtions to the Pope concerning the government of the new church of Kent. Among others equally curious, which, with their anſwers, may be found in Bede and Spelman, Auguſtin propoſed the following: "Whether firſt-"couſins might be permitted to marry?" Gregory anſwered, that the Roman law had formerly accorded them that liberty; but, experience having proved that no iſſue could poſſibly proceed from ſuch marriages, he thought it proper to prohibit them. Auguſtin aſked, "Whether a pregnant woman "might be baptized?" The Pope anſwered, that he could ſee no objection to it. "How ſoon after it's "birth might the child receive baptiſm?" It was anſwered, immediately, if requiſite. The other queſtions that he put were ſo trifling and indelicate, that it would be highly improper to inſert them. They tend, however, to demonſtrate, that neither Auguſtin nor Gregory poſſeſſed that purity of thought which minds wholly diveſted of ſenſual ideas might naturally be ſuppoſed to cheriſh.

The ſovereign pontiff, rejoiced at the ſucceſs of his miſſion, ſent over Mellitus, Juſtus, Paulinus, and ſeveral others, to aſſiſt in converting the Saxons: and, the more to facilitate the reception of Chriſtianity, he ſtrictly enjoined Auguſtin not to demoliſh the heathen temples, but only to remove the idols from the altars, and to depoſit reliques in their ſtead; when, after the purification of the walls by ſprinkling them with holy-water, they might be converted into Chriſtian churches; and the people could eaſily be prevailed on to frequent thoſe places of worſhip which they had ever been accuſtomed to revere. He farther directed him to accommodate the ceremonies of the Chriſtian worſhip as much as poſſible to thoſe of the Pagan, that the converts might not be diſguſted with the change; and, in particular, to allow them, on Chriſtian feſtivals, to kill their cattle in the vicinity of the church, and there to eat them to the glory of God, as they had formerly done to the honour of the devil. Theſe political compliances evinced a perfect knowledge of the human mind, and were ſucceſsful in promoting the purpoſe they were deſigned to fulfil, though they unfortunately tended to encourage numerous deviations from the ſincerity and ſimplicity of the primitive Chriſtians, and to introduce many groſs corruptions into the Chriſtian worſhip, which the ridiculous claim to infallibility prevented ſubſequent pontiffs from either aboliſhing or correcting. Auguſtin was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was endowed by the Pope with authority over all the Britiſh churches; and, at the ſame time, received the pall from Rome, a badge of eccleſiaſtical diſtinction peculiar to metropolitans. But this authority beſtowed by Gregory was merely nominal, ſince all the endeavours of Auguſtin to render it effectual proved uſeleſs; though, where zeal coincides with intereſt, it's fervour can never be ſuſpected. In order to promote his deſign, he invited the Britiſh prelates and clergy to a conference; and two councils were accordingly held, in which he propoſed to them, that if they would acknowledge him for their metropolitan, obſerve the feſtival of Eaſter at the time preſcribed by the church of Rome, and conform with that church in the manner of adminiſtering baptiſm, he would require no farther proofs of their obedience. But the Britons, ſtrongly attached to their own ancient cuſtoms, and greatly diſguſted with the arrogance of Auguſtin, who received them with all the pomp and pride of an Eaſtern emperor, and did not even deign to riſe from his ſeat when they entered the council, ſtedfaſtly rejected his propoſals, perſiſting in their refuſal to conform with the Romiſh church, or to offer any other obedience to the Biſhop of Rome than that which the meek and charitable ſpirit of their religion induced one Chriſtian to pay to another: at the ſame time they expreſsly declared, that the government and ſupremacy of their church was, under God, veſted in the Biſhop of Caerleon. This meek apoſtle, incenſed at their firmneſs, menaced them with the wrath of Heaven and the hoſtilities of the Saxons. How far the former part of his threat might be put in execution, it is no eaſy matter to determine; but there is too much reaſon to believe that Auguſtin bore an active part in the diſputes which ſoon after prevailed, and encouraged their inveterate enemies to attack the diſobedient Britons, cauſing the flames of war, fanned by the breath of eccleſiaſtical vengeance, to rage with ungovernable fury.

Auguſtin, having failed in his attempts to extend his authority, applied himſelf to enlarge and regulate the church of England. He conſecrated his fellow-miſſionaries, Juſtus and Melitus; the firſt of whom was ordained Biſhop of Rocheſter; the ſecond, Biſhop of London; and Laurentius he appointed his ſucceſſor in the ſee of Canterbury. Theſe conſecrations were performed in the year 604; and Auguſtin died ſoon after, not having been able to extend

extend the profeſſion of Chriſtianity beyond the circumſcribed bounds of the ſmall kingdom of Kent.

Laurentius made ſeveral ineffectual efforts to ſubject the Britiſh church to the power of Rome: nor was this the only mortification he was doomed to incur; for Eadbald, who ſucceeded his father Ethelbert in the kingdom of Kent, had contracted an inceſtuous marriage with his mother-in-law, and had relapſed with all his ſubjects into Paganiſm. Thus were the pious endeavours of the miſſionaries entirely fruſtrated; and in a conſultation held between Laurentius, Juſtus, and Mellitus, it was determined that they ſhould quit the kingdom, ſooner than ſubmit to become objects of ſcorn and deriſion to infidels, who treated their doctrine with contempt. In conſequence of this determination, Juſtus and Mellitus actually retired into France: but Laurentius, before he ſhould entirely abandon his dignity, reſolved to make one effort to reclaim Eadbald. Having paſſed a whole night in his cathedral of Canterbury, he repaired to the king in the morning, and throwing off his veſtments, ſhewed his back and ſhoulders mangled and bloody from the ſtripes which he had received. Eadbald, with expreſſions of ſurprize and indignation, haſtily demanded who had dared to treat in that unworthy manner a perſon of his dignity and profeſſion; when Laurentius replied, that he had received that chaſtiſement from St. Peter, the prince of the apoſtles, who had appeared to him in the night; and, after reproving him for harbouring an intention of deſerting his flock in the midſt of their diſtreſs, had inflicted on him thoſe viſible marks of his diſpleaſure. Eadbald, either ſtruck with remorſe for his criminal conduct, or moved by the exhortations of Laurentius, the ſincerity of whoſe zeal it was no longer poſſible to doubt, divorced his wife, returned to the path he had forſaken, encouraged Laurentius to reſume the duties of his office, and to engage his brethren to come back to England. Juſtus and Mellitus accordingly returned, about a year after their departure, when the former was reſtored to the ſee of Rocheſter; but the Eaſt Saxons continuing in their apoſtacy, Mellitus could not recover his biſhopric of London. Laurentius, however, dying in the year 619, that prelate was advanced to the ſee of Canterbury, which he enjoyed about ſix years; when he died, and was ſucceeded by Juſtus, Biſhop of Rocheſter, in 624.

It was about this time that Paulinus converted the court of Northumberland; and laboured to propagate the Goſpel with ſuch ſucceſs, that he is ſaid to have baptized in the River Swale no leſs than twelve thouſand of the inhabitants of Deira and Bernicia in one day.

By the influence of Edwin, Paulinus was likewiſe enabled to effect the converſion of Earpwold, King of Eaſt Anglia, and of numbers of his ſubjects, particularly thoſe who reſided in Lincolnſhire. To reward theſe important ſervices, Edwin erected a biſhop's ſee for Paulinus at York; and even obtained an archbiſhop's pall for him from Pope Honorius.

But the death of the illuſtrious Edwin, and the ſlaughter of his army in the year 633, changed the face of religious affairs, and produced a general apoſtacy of the Northumbrians, whoſe country was involved in ſuch confuſion, that Paulinus was compelled to retire into Kent, where he was appointed to the ſee of Rocheſter.

Juſtus, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, dying in the year 633, was ſucceeded by Honorius, a diſciple of St. Gregory, who was conſecrated by Paulinus at Lincoln. This prelate was the firſt in England who divided his dioceſe into pariſhes, and appointed a clergyman to reſide in each; as, before his time, the clergy took up their reſidence either in the houſes of their reſpective dioceſans, or in monaſteries, from whence they made occaſional journies for the purpoſe of preaching, and performing the other duties of their ſacred function.

The inhabitants of Northumberland were ſoon after induced to return to the profeſſion of the Chriſtian religion by the pious offices of Aidan, a Scotch miſſionary, whom Oſwald had ſent for from Scotland to convert them. Aidan was appointed the firſt Biſhop of Lindisfarne, or Holy Iſland, whither the biſhop's ſeat was removed from York. The Eaſt-Angles, who had apoſtatized at the ſame time, were likewiſe reſtored to Chriſtianity by Felix, a Burgundian prieſt, whom Sigebert had brought with him from the continent; and had appointed the firſt Biſhop of Eaſt-Anglia, having fixed his ſee at a place called Domnoc.

About this period, too, the Weſt Saxons were converted to Chriſtianity by Berinus, a miſſionary from Rome. The Mercians, though entirely ſurrounded by Chriſtian ſtates, reſiſted the force of the Goſpel till about the middle of the ſeventh century; when Piada, the ſon of Penda, the Mercian monarch, having viſited the court of Northumberland for the purpoſe of marrying Alchfleda, the daughter of Oſwi, was converted to Chriſtianity; and, on his return to his father's dominions, took with him four clergymen, named Chad, Adda, Belle, and Diuma, whoſe endeavours to propagate the Goſpel throughout Mercia were attended with infinite ſucceſs.

Hence it appears, that one part of the kingdom owed it's converſion to Scotch miſſionaries, while the other part was induced to embrace the doctrine of Chriſtianity by miſſionaries from Rome. Theſe different teachers eſtabliſhed the rites and cuſtoms of the churches to which they belonged in thoſe which they had cauſed to be raiſed by their new converts, which occaſioned many religious controverſies between the Northern and Southern churches of England, each being anxious to maintain the ſuperiority of it's own laws. The points that were debated with the greateſt virulence were, the obſervance of the feſtival of Eaſter; and the form of the eccleſiaſtical tonſure. The churches eſtabliſhed by the Roman miſſionaries kept Eaſter on the firſt Sunday after the fourteenth, and before the twenty-ſecond day of the firſt moon after the vernal equinox; and thoſe planted by the Scotch obſerved that feſtival on the firſt Sunday after the thirteenth, and before the twenty-firſt day of the ſame moon. By this

means, when the fourteenth day of that moon happened to be a Sunday, thoſe of the Scotch communion celebrated the feaſt of Eaſter on that day; whereas thoſe of the Romiſh perſuaſion did not celebrate it till the Sunday following.

The Romiſh clergy, not content with the peaceable enjoyment of their own cuſtoms, evinced a haughty and intolerant ſpirit that bore no marks of the meekneſs of Chriſtianity; and made many violent attempts to impoſe them on the Britons, Scots, and Northern Saxons, who, though leſs intolerant, were equally tenacious of their own uſages. A famous council was at length ſummoned by Oſwi, King of Northumberland, at Whitby, in Yorkſhire, in the year 664, for the final determination of this important controverſy. The principal champions on the Romiſh ſide were, Agelbert, Biſhop of Weſſex, with Agatho, James, Romanus, and Wilfred, prieſts; while Colman, Biſhop of Lindisfarne, with ſome of his clergy, undertook to ſupport the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion. The latter maintained that their mode of celebrating Eaſter was preſcribed by the beloved Diſciple St. John; while the former averred, with equal confidence, that they complied with the inſtitution of St. Peter, the prince of the Apoſtles, and the door-keeper of Heaven. This laſt circumſtance particularly attracted the notice of Oſwi; and, as no one attempted to deny that the keys of Heaven were conſigned to the cuſtody of St. Peter, that monarch expreſſed his determination not to incur the diſpleaſure of the celeſtial porter on any account, but to pay the utmoſt deference to his inſtitutions, leſt he ſhould be tempted to refuſe him admittance when he preſented himſelf at the gates of Heaven. This ſagacious declaration met with univerſal applauſe, and enſured a compleat victory to the Roman orators; which gave ſuch offence to Biſhop Colman and many of his clergy, that they reſigned their preferment, and retired to Scotland.

When trifles are thus magnified into objects of importance, thoſe things which ſhould moſt command attention, too often experience neglect. A too ſcrupulous attachment to forms, in themſelves inſignificant, diverts the mind from the more eſſential duties of religion, which ſhould alone be ſuffered to engroſs it.

After the departure of Colman, Tuda was promoted to the ſee of Lindisfarne; and at his death, which ſpeedily followed his promotion, Wilfred, who had been preceptor to Alchfred, Prince of Northumberland, and the chief ſpeaker on the victorious ſide at the late council of Whitby, was appointed to ſucceed him, and ſent to France to receive conſecration; which was accordingly beſtowed on him by Agilbertus, Archbiſhop of Paris: but Wilfred remaining too long on the continent, it was found neceſſary to give his biſhopric to Ceada, who was conſecrated by Wini, the firſt Biſhop of Wincheſter.

When Oſwi, King of Northumberland, had adopted the cuſtoms of Rome, he exerted his utmoſt endeavours to reduce all the churches of England to follow his example. For this purpoſe he joined with Egbert, King of Kent, in ſending Wighart, who was raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury, to Rome, to be conſecrated according to the Roman ritual. Wighart, on his arrival, was received by the ſovereign pontiff with every mark of reſpect; but died of the plague, which then raged at Rome, before his conſecration could take place. Upon this, Vitalian, who then enjoyed the pontificate, by an arrogant aſſumption of authority, raiſed to the vacant ſee one Theodore, a native of Tarſus, in Cilicia, a man of great reſolution, deep learning, and ſound ſenſe, whom he accordingly conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury, on the 25th of March, in the year 668. This prelate, on his arrival in England, where he experienced a favourable reception from Egbert and the other Saxon princes, reduced all religious matters to a perfect conformity to the church of Rome. He alſo terminated the diſpute between Ceada and Wilfred relative to the biſhopric of Northumberland, by tranſlating the former to the ſee of Litchfield, and eſtabliſhing the latter in that of York, to which city the biſhop's ſeat had once more been transferred from Lindisfarne.

Farther to conſolidate the union of the two churches, Theodore ſummoned an eccleſiaſtical ſynod to meet at Hertford, in the year 673; at which were preſent, Biſi, Biſhop of the Eaſt-Anglés; Lutherius, Biſhop of the Weſt-Saxons; Winfred, Biſhop of the Mercians; and Putta, Biſhop of Rocheſter; beſides the Archbiſhop himſelf, and Wilfred, Biſhop of York, who voted by proxy. Theodore, who preſided at the meeting, produced a copy of the canons which he had brought with him from Rome, and pointed out ten of them as abſolutely neceſſary to be obſerved, in order to eſtabliſh a perfect uniformity among all the Engliſh churches: they accordingly paſſed with the unanimous conſent of all the members who were preſent at the ſynod.

Beſides theſe regulations, which chiefly related to the conduct of prelates and monks, the nature of divorces, and the convention of an annual ſynod, this metropolitan introduced many other doctrines and practices hitherto unknown. The moſt important of theſe innovations was the introduction of auricular confeſſion to a prieſt as neceſſary to abſolution, in direct contradiction to the doctrine which had been invariably adhered to throughout Britain, and which expreſsly declared that confeſſion to God was ſufficient: a declaration ſtrictly conformable to all rational ideas of religion, and to the practical purity of the primitive Chriſtians.

Theodore, by a concurrence of favourable circumſtances, having obtained a tacit acknowledgement of his own metropolitical power over all the churches of England, began to diſplay it by the depoſition of Winfred, Biſhop of Mercia, in the year 676, for ſome trivial act of diſobedience to his authority, which is not mentioned by Bede, to whoſe Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory we are indebted for a very conſiderable part of our religious intelligence. Theodore gave the vacant ſee of Mercia to Sexulf, founder of the abbey of Peterborough; and about the ſame time promoted Erconwald to that of London.

Hitherto

Hitherto there had been but one biſhopric in each of the ſix kingdoms of the Heptarchy which had embraced the Chriſtian religion, except in that of Kent, which had two. Some of the biſhoprics were very extenſive, particularly that of York, which comprehended all the counties between the Humber and the Frith of Forth. Wilfred, who enjoyed that ſee, was greatly addicted to vanity and oſtentation, which induced him to live in a ſtile of magnificence that even the monarchs of thoſe times were unaccuſtomed to. Egfrid, King of Northumberland, juſtly incenſed at his preſumption, determined to humble his pride, by means which, at the ſame time, would tend to promote the good of his ſubjects. This was the diviſion of his immenſe biſhopric; for which purpoſe he obtained from Theodore the conſecration of two new biſhops, named Boſa and Eata. Wilfred, enraged at an innovation which ſo nearly affected his intereſt, repaired to court; and, having openly accuſed the king and Theodore of injuſtice, threatened to appeal from them to the Pope: a circumſtance which, from it's novelty and extravagance, appeared ſo ridiculous, that it excited the laughter of all who were preſent. But Wilfred, being fully determined to put his threat in execution, actually went to Rome, accompanied by a prodigious crowd of monks, who had eſpouſed his cauſe. After his departure, Boſa was fixed at York, and Eata at Lindisfarne: and two other biſhops, named Tunberet and Trumwin, were ſoon after conſecrated; the former of whom eſtabliſhed his ſeat at Hexham, and the latter at Abercorn, which was then ſituated in the kingdom of Northumberland.

Wilfred, on his arrival at Rome, preſented a petition to the Pope; who, pleaſed at this mark of attention and deference, decreed that he ſhould be reſtored to his ſee: but when he returned to England, and preſented the decree to Egfrid, that monarch, inſtead of complying with it's contents, committed the petitioner to priſon. Such little regard was there paid in England to the decrees of Rome at that period!

After a year's impriſonment, this buſtling prelate obtained his liberty, by the interceſſion of Œbbe, Abbeſs of Coldingham, and aunt to Egfrid, on condition that he ſhould immediately quit the kingdom of Northumberland. But ſuch was the enmity and influence of Egfrid, that he could not find refuge in any of the Chriſtian kingdoms of the Heptarchy, but was compelled to retire to Suſſex, which ſtill adhered to Paganiſm. Here he experienced a kind reception from Ethelwalch, the reigning monarch, and his queen Œbæ, who were both Chriſtians; and, encouraged by their advice and protection, he preached the Goſpel with ſuch ſucceſs throughout their dominions, that their ſubjects in a ſhort time became converts to Chriſtianity. By this means the converſion of the laſt of the ſeven Saxon kingdoms was effected, about ninety years after the arrival of Auguſtin, and towards the concluſion of the ſeventh century.

Wilfred's ſucceſs in converting the South Saxons regained him the favour and friendſhip of Theodore, by whoſe intereſt he was again reſtored to his honours: but his reſtleſs and turbulent diſpoſition once more procured his baniſhment from Northumberland; and he continued to diſturb the tranquillity of the church till his death, which happened in the year 709.

Many monaſteries were founded in all parts of England during the ſeventh century; ſome of which were deſtined for the ſeats of biſhops and their clergy, while others were deſigned for the reſidence of ſecular prieſts, who preached and adminiſtered the ſacrament over the neighbouring country; and they all ſerved as ſeminaries of learning for the inſtruction of youth. No vows of celibacy or poverty were required of their inhabitants; though, towards the end of this century, the former was ſtrongly recommended to the Engliſh monks and clergy by Theodore, in his Penitentials. As comfort and convenience had been peculiarly conſulted, both in the erection and endowment of theſe monaſteries, many perſons of rank were induced to reſide in them; and the fondneſs for a monaſtic life received an additional ſtimulus, by an impious doctrine which began to prevail about this period, viz. "That as ſoon as any one put on the habit of a "monk, the ſins of his former life were all for-"given." Encouraged by this conſolatory aſſurance, many princes and noblemen were induced to embrace a monaſtic life.

During this century, too, ſuperſtition made great progreſs in England; and was in nothing more viſible than in a ridiculous veneration for reliques, which proved a ſource of conſiderable profit to the Romiſh prieſts, as no good Chriſtian could ſtir without the relique of ſome ſaint, which was deemed abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure him from the machinations of the devil. Wonderful accounts of dreams, miracles, and viſions, were propagated by the clergy without ſhame or heſitation, and received as ſacred by the ignorant laity. Vigils, faſtings, and other mortifications, in order to procure the ſalvation of the ſoul by the ſufferings of the body, became frequent and faſhionable; and it began to be received as a truth, that a paſſport to Heaven could ſcarcely be procured without a journey to Rome.

The internal tranquillity of the church, for many years after the death of Wilfred, affords nothing worthy of remark, except the profligacy of the clergy, which appears to have been great, from a letter written by Boniface, Archbiſhop of Kent, to Cuthbert, who, on the death of Notholmus, in the year 740, had been promoted to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury; in which that prelate inveighs bitterly againſt the gaudy dreſs and intemperate lives of the Engliſh clergy, as well as the ſacrilege of the nobles in ſeizing the government of monaſteries, and compelling the monks to repair their caſtles, and to deſcend to other works of ſervility, contrary to the practice of the whole Chriſtian world. He alſo exhorts Cuthbert to prevent the nuns, and other females of England, from leaving their country to make pilgrimages to Rome, as they generally loſt their virtue on the road; and many of them had of late been reduced to a ſtate of proſtitution in divers cities

cities both of France and Italy. In conſequence of this letter, Cuthbert aſſembled a provincial ſynod at Cloveſhoos, or Clyff, in Kent, in the year 747; at which Edelbald, King of Mercia, with all the nobles of his court; the archbiſhop himſelf, with eleven biſhops of his dioceſe; together with many abbots, abbeſſes, and inferior clergy; were preſent. Some of the canons of this ſynod contain many judicious and ſalutary regulations, chiefly taken from thoſe of the Council of Mentz, tranſmitted by Boniface: but the clergy evinced an earneſt anxiety to aſſert their own independence, and to diſcourage the ignominious encroachments of Rome. One of the canons contained a wiſe direction to the biſhops; a ſtrict attention to which, at all times, and particularly in the preſent age, would be productive of the moſt beneficial conſequences to ſociety: it directed them to be careful to inveſtigate the *morals* of ſuch as preſented themſelves for admiſſion into holy orders, and not to content themſelves with a mere examination of their learning, which was but a ſecondary conſideration.

Another of theſe canons contained ſome curious directions to the common people, who did not underſtand Latin, as to their manner of joining in the public prayers and hymns, which were all written in that language: in particular, it allowed them the privilege of affixing any meaning they choſe to the words they were unable to comprehend; and to pray from their hearts for what they moſt wanted, however foreign it might be to the true ſenſe of the prayer they were reciting. To ſuch ſtrange abſurdities did the ridiculous practice of addreſſing the Deity in an unknown language give riſe!

At this council, ſome noblemen of rank, who diſapproved of the vigils and faſtings enjoined them by their confeſſors, made a propoſal to watch and faſt by ſubſtitutes, on condition of paying a ſpecified ſum to ſuch as conſented to take the penance on themſelves; but this accommodating ſyſtem did not meet with the approbation of the ſynod.

About the middle of the eighth century an important revolution took place in Italy, which procured a wonderful acquiſition of power to the church of Rome. Though the Emperors of the Eaſt, who reſided at Conſtantinople, were nominal ſovereigns of Italy, the diſtance of their ſituation rendered their authority unſtable and precarious. On the publication of the celebrated edict againſt the uſe and worſhip of images, by the Emperor Leo Iſaurus, in the year 730, the Biſhop of Rome oppoſed it's execution with the utmoſt vehemence, and incited the inhabitants of the chief cities of Italy to rebel againſt their lawful ſovereign: but Aſtulphus, King of Lombardy, ſoon puniſhed them for their diſobedience, by ravaging the greateſt part of Italy, and even menacing the church of Rome with deſtruction. In this extremity, Pope Stephen the Second applied for protection, in the year 752, to Pepin, King of France; who, eſpouſing his cauſe, marched, in the enſuing year, at the head of a powerful army, into Italy, defeated Aſtulphus, and retook all the places he had conquered. But, inſtead of reſtoring them to the Emperors of the Eaſt, their legal proprietors, he beſtowed the city and territories of Rome, Ravenna and it's extenſive dependencies, with many other cities, on the Pope; who, thus aggrandized by the fruits of plunder and depredation, was enabled to attempt an extenſion of his ſpiritual authority over the whole Chriſtian world with greater reſolution and ſucceſs.

Towards the latter end of the eighth century, Offa, King of Mercia, determined to erect the ſee of Litchfield, his capital, into an archbiſhopric, notwithſtanding the oppoſition he experienced from Lambert, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whoſe influence proved inadequate to encounter the wealth and power of Offa; which induced the Pope to favour his deſign, and to declare Hegbert, Biſhop of Litchfield, an Archbiſhop, in the year 787. This change, however, was not of long duration; for, on the death of Offa, in the year 790, his ſon Egfred reſtored things to their former ſtate.

The influence which the Pope had acquired in England by a compliance with the projects of Offa, induced him to ſend Gregory, Biſhop of Oſtia, and Theophilact, Biſhop of Todi, in quality of legates, to England, with orders to inſpect the churches, and reform their diſcipline. On the arrival of theſe prelates, a ſynod was therefore convened, at a place named Calcuith, where ſeveral new regulations propoſed by them were adopted; which are commonly called the Canons of the Council of Calcuith. Theſe canons contain a kind of ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical policy, in which may be diſcerned an attempt of the clergy to advance ſeveral new claims; in particular, a divine right to the tenth of all the poſſeſſions of the laity, and a total exemption from the juriſdiction of civil magiſtrates.

The grand controverſy reſpecting the uſe of images in churches, and the degree of homage that was due to them, which had raged with incredible violence on the continent for more than ſixty years, began to be diſcuſſed in England towards the end of this century. Two ſucceſſive Emperors of the Eaſt, Leo Iſaurus, and his ſon Conſtantine Copronimus, had exerted their utmoſt power to prevent the worſhip of images, by expelling them from their churches; while the Popes, their contemporaries, had regularly encouraged this ſpecies of idolatry with an ardour of zeal that would have done them honour in a better cauſe. In the Eaſt, the influence of the Emperors had prevailed; both the uſe and adoration of images being formally condemned by a council of three hundred and thirty-eight biſhops, which was held at Conſtantinople, in the year 754. But the authority of the Biſhops of Rome predominated in the Weſt: Italy revolted; images were preſerved, and treated with a degree of reſpect very little removed from that veneration which ſhould ſolely be confined to the Supreme Being.

When a total abolition of images had taken place in the Eaſt, the death of the Emperor Leo the Fourth produced a change in religious affairs. His widow, the Empreſs Irene, a woman not leſs celebrated for her beauty than infamous for her crimes, having aſſumed the reins of government during the minority of her ſon, formed the deſign of reſtoring images to their

their former pre-eminence; and communicated her intention to Pope Adrian, by whoſe advice a council was ſummoned to aſſemble at Conſtantinople, in the year 786: but, the meeting being prevented by a tumult, it was deferred till the following year, when it took place at Nice. This ſynod, which conſiſted of about one hundred and fifty prelates, and is commonly called the Second Council of Nice, reverſed the decrees of the late Council of Conſtantinople, and confirmed both the uſe and adoration of images, with a few frivolous diſtinctions that cannot poſſibly be denominated exceptions.

The decrees of this council were received with great applauſe at Rome; and a copy of them was ſent into France, where they did not receive ſo favourable a reception: for though the churches of France allowed the uſe, they ſtrongly prohibited the worſhip of images. Charlemagne, who then reigned in France, gave theſe decrees to a ſelect number of biſhops, who drew up an elaborate confutation of them, in four books, which were publiſhed in the king's name, and are generally called *The Caroline Books*. Charlemagne likewiſe ſent a copy of theſe canons to his friend and ally Offa, King of Mercia, to be communicated to the prelates of England; who, according to Matthew of Weſtminſter, condemned them, "as containing many things expreſsly contrary to the true Catholic faith, eſpecially the worſhip of images, which the Catholic church held in utter deteſtation and abhorrence." The Engliſh biſhops, moreover, engaged their learned countryman, Alcuinus, to write againſt the decrees of this council; and tranſmitted his book, together with their own opinion, to the King of France. Hence it is ſufficiently manifeſt, that although the churches, both of England and France, had admitted the uſe of pictures and images as ornaments and occaſional aids to memory, yet they reprobated that impious veneration which, at the end of the eighth century, was paid them, by the influence of the Pope, as well in Italy as throughout the Eaſtern Empire.

The demand for reliques had by this time become extenſive; and the fortunate diſcoveries of the clergy, and particularly of the monks, enabled them to furniſh very plentiful ſupplies. Indeed, as it was a matter of no great facility to diſtinguiſh the limb of a ſinner from that of a ſaint, there is little doubt but the market was always well ſtocked with an article that admitted of ſuch eaſy impoſitions, and afforded ſuch conſiderable profits.

During this century, ignorance and ſuperſtition ſtill continued to increaſe, both in England and in other parts of the Chriſtian world: pilgrimages to Rome became more frequent, and were attended with more baneful effects; the rage of monaſtic retirement became more prevalent, and pervaded every claſs of people, to the utter ruin of military diſcipline, and the deſtruction of every uſeful art; and the avarice and rapaciouſneſs of the clergy daily augmented with the abject ſtupidity of the laity, as appears from the thriving traffic of reliques, in which the vender muſt neceſſarily be a knave, and the purchaſer a fool. In this dark age, too, there was a great increaſe of the number of religious holidays, and of thoſe puerile and trifling ceremonies which are equally detrimental to the exertions of honeſt induſtry and the principles of rational religion.

At the beginning of the ninth century, a council was ſummoned by Athelard, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to meet at Cloveſhoos; at which that prelate produced a decree of the Pope, for the removal of laymen from the government of monaſteries, which was confirmed by the council: ſo that all monaſtic foundations were wholly conſigned to the care of eccleſiaſtics, by which a great acceſſion of wealth and authority accrued to the church.

Athelard dying in 807, was ſucceeded by Wulfred, who convened a provincial ſynod at Cealehythe, on the 27th of July, in the year 816; at which Kenulph, King of Mercia, with all his nobles, aſſiſted. At this council, the manner of conſecrating pariſh-churches, the number of which now began to increaſe throughout the kingdom, was ſettled; and ſeveral canons were likewiſe paſſed for the internal regulation of the church in certain reſpects.

Wulfred died in 880, when Theogildus was promoted to the ſee of Canterbury; who, ſurviving his predeceſſor but three months, was ſucceeded by Celnoth, in whoſe time the diſſolution of the Heptarchy took place.

The incurſions of the Danes, which happened ſoon after, threw the kingdom into the utmoſt confuſion, and involved the clergy, in particular, in the moſt deplorable calamities. In ſuch diſtreſsful times, it is natural to ſuppoſe that eccleſiaſtical laws and regulations were wholly neglected, as an attention to perſonal ſafety muſt have ſuperſeded every other conſideration. Moſt of the monaſteries were reduced to aſhes by thoſe ferocious invaders; and ſuch of their inhabitants as eſcaped from the fury of the flames were put to the ſword. This induced many of the monks to forſake a profeſſion which expoſed them to ſuch ſerious danger; while thoſe who adhered to it retired into country villages, where they performed the duties of their function. This diſperſion of the clergy was productive of an important change in their manners and way of life: when great numbers of them lived together in the ſame monaſtery, the inconveniencies inſeparable from a collegiate life deterred moſt of them from marrying; but after the deſtruction of their monaſteries, when they were compelled to mix with the people, that objection being removed, they were induced to comply with the dictates of nature, and participate in thoſe comforts of life which an union of the ſexes is alone capable of affording.

The reign of Ethelwolf, who ſucceeded his father Egbert, was peculiarly favourable to the clergy: but thoſe important donations which were ſecured to them by the charter of Wincheſter, in the year 855, have been already explained. From that time, to the reign of Alfred, nothing worthy of remark occurred in the tranſactions of the Engliſh church: but, in a body of laws enacted by that illuſtrious monarch, there were ſome which related to eccleſiaſtical regulations. The introduction to theſe laws

conſiſted of a copy of the Ten Commandments; in which the ſecond, that expreſsly prohibits the formation and worſhip of images, is omitted, and the following inſerted to compleat the number: "Make "thou no gods of gold or of ſilver;" a precept not likely to be violated by the generality of his ſubjects. From this omiſſion of the ſecond commandment, it is evident that images had now become the objects of adoration.

When Alfred had reſtored peace and proſperity to his deſolated country, he repaired the churches and monaſteries which had been ruined by the Danes, and erected many new ones; but the Engliſh having contracted an averſion to the monaſtic life, from the miſeries to which it had lately reduced it's profeſſors, he was compelled to people them by monks from the continent. The firm eſtabliſhment of peace, however, having re-eſtabliſhed confidence, by affording a fair proſpect of future tranquillity, many of the clergy, whom a regard for perſonal ſafety had induced to retire from the monaſteries, now willingly returned to their old habitations, and took with them their wives and children. By this means the convents of England, at the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century, became generally inhabited by a kind of ſecular or married monks, which gave riſe to thoſe violent contentions that deſtroyed the peace of the church during many of the ſubſequent reigns.

The tenth century, which is generally denominated "the Age of Lead," was the moſt gloomy period of the dark ages. Superſtition appears to have extended her fatal dominion over all ranks of people: and though the efforts and inſtitutions of Alfred had tended to diſpel the general darkneſs, and procure to his ſubjects a tranſitory gleam of light and knowledge, the noxious gloom returned, and ſettled over the kingdom with redoubled thickneſs. Univerſal ignorance prevailed; and the preſumption of the clergy, who were more ſtudious to propagate tales of wonder than precepts of religion, was only to be equalled by the blind credulity of the people.

There were ſeveral eccleſiaſtical ſynods held during the reign of Athelſtan; at which, however, no tranſaction occurred worthy of hiſtorical record. The conduct of the clergy in theſe unhappy times, excluſive of their readineſs to profit by the ignorance of the laity, ſeems to have been ſwayed by a ſpirit of violence and rapine, and wholly devoid of that meekneſs and humility which a ſtrict attention to the true principles of the Chriſtian religion could not have failed to inſpire. The juſtice of this accuſation is amply evinced by the following paſſage from *The Conſtitutions of Odo*, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which were publiſhed in the year 943—

"I ſtrictly command and charge," ſays that haughty primate, "that no man preſume to lay "any tax on the poſſeſſions of the clergy, who are "the ſons of God, as the ſons of God ought to "be exempt from all earthly impoſitions in every "kingdom of the globe. If any man ſhall dare "to diſobey the diſcipline of the church in this par-"ticular, he will be poſſeſſed of more wickedneſs "and preſumption than the ſoldiers who crucified "Chriſt. I command the king, the princes; and "all thoſe who are in authority, to obey, with great "humility, the archbiſhops and biſhops, for they "have the keys of the kingdom of Heaven." A more impious and arrogant rhapſody never fell from the pen of an eccleſiaſtical deſpot!

Beſides theſe Conſtitutions, which were publiſhed by the ſole authority of Odo, there were ſeveral canons enacted in a grand council both of the clergy and laity, held, by order of King Edmund, at London, in the year 944. By the firſt of theſe canons, the chaſtity of the clergy was ſtrictly enjoined; and a violation of it puniſhed by the confiſcation of their effects, and a forfeiture of the right of Chriſtian burial. This ſevere injunction was probably aimed againſt the married clergy, and deſigned as a prelude to the tyrannical efforts that were ſoon after made to diſpoſſeſs them of their monaſteries. Another canon provided for the regular payment of church dues, under the penalty of excommunication, to which ſuch as were convicted of perjury were likewiſe ſubjected.

About the middle of this century, a provincial ſynod was held at York, for the aſcertainment of fines to be paid by the clergy for a violation of the canons of the church, and other eccleſiaſtical offences. To ſecure the payment of theſe fines, every clergyman, at his admiſſion into holy orders, was compelled to find twelve bondſmen; and the profits which accrued from them were applied to the private uſe of the biſhops of the dioceſe. This attempt to reduce the diſcipline of the church to a conformity with the laws of the ſtate, by affixing a ſtated price to every crime, was probably an invention of ſome avaricious prelate, who was more anxious to acquire riches than repreſs vice, and therefore ſought to render the delinquencies of his clergy a fertile ſource of wealth to himſelf.

Edgar's extreme deference to the clergy, induced him to pay the greateſt attention to eccleſiaſtical affairs, and to convene ſeveral councils for the regulation of them; in one of which the ſixty-ſeven canons, called *The Canons of King Edgar*, were enacted. By theſe, every prieſt was ſtrictly enjoined to learn and practiſe ſome mechanic trade, and to teach it to all candidates for holy orders who might be entruſted to his care for inſtruction. They alſo commanded the clergy to be diligent in aboliſhing the worſhip of ſtones, trees, and fountains, and other heatheniſh rites; by which it appears, that the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity had not yet effected the total extirpation of Paganiſm. A penitential is annexed to the canons, which is ſuppoſed to have been compoſed by the famous St. Dunſtan. It requires penitents to be exact in their confeſſion, and not to be guilty of any omiſſions; at the ſame time particularizing every part of the body capable of committing offence: it likewiſe preſcribes to confeſſors the different kinds of penance to be impoſed in different caſes; of which the following are recommended as the moſt effectual and ſatisfactory for laymen—To deſiſt from carrying arms; to undertake long pilgrimages; never to cut the hair, pare the nails, enter a warm bath, or a ſoft bed; not to

ſtay

ſtay two nights in the ſame place; not to eat fleſh, nor drink ſtrong liquors; and, if rich, to build and endow churches. In particular caſes, long faſtings of ſeveral years are preſcribed; but they might be redeemed by money; the payment of thirty Saxon ſhillings, which in value exceeded thirty pounds of our money, being deemed equivalent to a year's faſting.

An opulent man, whoſe dependents were numerous, might diſpatch a ſeven year's faſt in a very ſhort time, by procuring eight hundred and forty men to faſt for him during three days on bread, water, and vegetables. Hence it is evident, that the diſcipline of the church had ſuffered a ſhameful relaxation ſince the Council of Cloveſhoos, in the year 747, at which this mode of faſting by proxy was particularly reprobated.

The perſecutions experienced by the married clergy, about this period, have been ſufficiently detailed in the different reigns under which they occurred; and the tranſactions of Dunſtan and his worthy aſſociates, which form ſo material a part of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the tenth century, have likewiſe been amply related. The violent and irrational zeal of thoſe imperious prelates in promoting the erection and endowment of ſo many monaſteries for the reception of a numerous claſs of people of both ſexes, who became loſt to ſociety, and dead to the purpoſe of their creation, proved highly fatal to the welfare of the nation: it tended to encourage a ſpirit of illiberal ſuperſtition; which, being diffuſed among the people, produced a littleneſs of ſoul that deterred them from all nobler purſuits, extinguiſhed the genial flame of patriotiſm, and repreſſed every generous impulſe of the human mind. It likewiſe gave very extenſive territorial poſſeſſions to people who were exempted from all contributions to the defence of the kingdom, which by that means became an eaſy prey, firſt to the ferocious Danes, and afterwards to the tyrannical Normans.

At the beginning of the eleventh century, the ſee of Canterbury was enjoyed by Œlfric, who had been tranſlated from the biſhopric of Wilton, in the year 995. He is repreſented as a man of profound erudition, and was the moſt voluminous writer of the age in which he lived. He tranſlated eighty Latin ſermons into Saxon, for the purpoſe of inſtructing the people in the true principles and precepts of the Chriſtian religion, which eſſential part of their duty the illiterate clergy had ſhamefully neglected. A paſſage in one of theſe ſermons, written on the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, and deſigned to be preached on Eaſter Sunday, affords the moſt compleat demonſtration that the church of England had not yet admitted the ſuperſtitious and incomprehenſible doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation. It is as follows—

" The body in which Chriſt ſuffered was born of " the fleſh of Mary, with blood and with bone, with " ſkin and with ſinews, with human limbs, and a " reaſonable living ſoul: but his ſpiritual body, " which we call the *houſel*, is formed of many corns, " without blood and bone, without limb, and without ſoul; and therefore nothing is to be under- " ſtood therein bodily, but ſpiritually. Whatever " the houſel may contain that can give life is ſpi- " ritual virtue, and inviſible energy. The body " of Chriſt, which ſuffered death and roſe from the " grave, ſhall never die again; but is eternal and " unpaſſable; but the houſel is temporal, not eter- " nal, corruptible and divided into ſundry parts, " chewed between the teeth, and paſſed into the " ſtomach. This myſtery is a pledge and a figure; " the body of Chriſt is truth itſelf. This pledge " we do preſerve myſtically, until we come to the " truth itſelf, and then is it terminated."

Sentiments more conformable to the doctrine of the Proteſtant church cannot be conceived; and all the ſophiſtical powers of eccleſiaſtical diſputants would be inſufficient to reconcile them with thoſe ideas of Tranſubſtantiation adopted by the papiſtical policy of the church of Rome, not to exert the faith, but to impoſe on the credulity of it's votaries.

Beſides theſe tranſlations, Œlfric compoſed a kind of monitory charge, to direct the biſhops in what manner they ſhould inſtruct their clergy, and to explain many particulars relative to the diſcipline and ceremonies of the church. Theſe injunctions being conveyed in the form of commands, are generally termed *Œlfric's Canons*, though it does not appear that they were ever confirmed by an eccleſiaſtical ſynod.

As this prelate had received his education under the famous Ethelwald, Biſhop of Wincheſter, he was a ſtaunch friend to celibacy; and, in compliance with that curious ſpirit of controverſy which had recourſe to violence when argument failed, expelled all the regular canons who refuſed to abandon their wives from his cathedral church of Canterbury, and ſupplied their places with Benedictine monks. This exertion of eccleſiaſtical tyranny received the ſanction of a charter which Œlfric had intereſt enough to procure from Ethelred the Second, and which not only confirmed the monks in all their privileges and poſſeſſions, but charitably doomed all profane perſons, who ſhould dare to diſturb them, " to be torn by the teeth of all the dogs in hell!"

Œlfric died in the year 1005; and was ſucceeded by Alphage, who was murdered by the Danes in 1013, as already mentioned in the reign of Ethelred; when Livingus, Biſhop of Wells, was promoted to the ſee of Canterbury.

In the reign of Canute, many eccleſiaſtical laws were enacted; ſome of which tended to enlarge and ſecure the protection of the church, or it's rights of ſanctuary; others enforced regulations for the trial of the clergy, when accuſed of particular crimes, with greater partiality than juſtice. One of the canons contained an earneſt recommendation of celibacy to the clergy; and as a temptation to obſerve it, declared, that an unmarried prieſt ſhould rank with a Thane. Another provided for the regular payment of all church dues; an object that ſeems never to have been forgotten in the diſcuſſions of an eccleſiaſtical ſynod. The reſt contained nothing worthy of notice. There was alſo a curious law paſſed by Canute for the prohibition of Paganiſm,

ganiſm, or " the worſhip of idols, or heathen gods " of the ſun, moon, fire, rivers, fountains, rocks, or " trees of any kind." It likewiſe forbade " the " practice of witchcraft, or committing murder " by magic or fire-brands, or any other infernal " tricks."

The reigns which intervened between the death of Canute and the acceſſion of William the Firſt, afford no materials of importance for the hiſtory of the church. Though Edward the Confeſſor was a prince of exemplary piety, yet he was deterred, by the prevalence of faction and the rage of internal commotions, from paying that attention to religious affairs which the ardour of his zeal gave juſt grounds for expecting. We have already remarked, that the laws attributed to him bear the ſtrongeſt evidence of a compoſition poſterior to the Conqueſt.

Superſtition appears to have acquired freſh vigour in England during the former part of the eleventh century. This may eaſily be accounted for from the general ignorance which prevailed throughout the kingdom, and from the conſiderable increaſe and aſtoniſhing influence of the monks. The conſequence of this degenerate ſpirit was natural. A ſcrupulous obſervance of external ceremonies was deemed an ample diſcharge of religious duty; hoards of reliques were more highly valued than precepts of morality; munificence to the clergy was more ſtrongly inculcated than charity to mankind; and a pilgrimage to Rome regarded as the *ne plus ultra* of fervent piety.

So great was the concourſe of Engliſh vagrants, during this period, who repaired to the metropolis of Bigotry, that the revenues of thoſe princes whoſe territories lay on the road from England to Rome received an important increaſe from the mere exaction of tolls. That city was alſo the grand emporium for the toys of ſuperſtition, of which the Pope and his clergy were furniſhed with inexhauſtible ſtores. The croſs was diſpoſed of by retail, at an exorbitant price, to kings, princes, and prelates, whoſe fortunes were as great as their credulity; and ſuch was the pious eagerneſs of the purchaſers, that as much of it was diſpoſed of in the courſe of two centuries as would have ſufficed to build a formidable fleet. The limbs of Apoſtles were likewiſe reſerved for perſons of opulence and diſtinction, though as many of them were conſtantly kept ready for ſale as would have amply ſupplied all the cabinets of Europe; but the venders ſeem to have acted on that wary principle of commerce which forbids to overſtock the market, leſt the value of the commodity ſhould ſuffer diminution: ſubordinate bigots were therefore compelled to be ſatisfied with the limbs of ſubordinate ſaints.

Some idea of the value of theſe articles of religious traffic may be formed from the price given by Agelnoth, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for an arm of St. Auguſtin, Biſhop of Hippo, which he purchaſed from the Pope when he was at Rome, in the year 1021. It was no leſs than one hundred talents, or ſix thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, and one talent, or ſixty pounds weight of gold.

Since biſhops, who at this period were the moſt ſtrenuous advocates for monachiſm, were able to make ſuch expenſive purchaſes, we may reaſonably conclude that, however rigid their tenets might be in point of celibacy, they did not rank poverty in the claſs of monaſtic virtues. Indeed, the treaſuries of monks appear to have been much better ſupplied than thoſe of monarchs. We are told by William of Malmſbury, that " the maſſes of gold and ſilver " which Queen Emma beſtowed upon the monaſ- " teries of Wincheſter, *with a holy prodigality*, aſto- " niſhed the minds of ſtrangers, while the ſplen- " dour of the precious ſtones dazzled their eyes." But the eccleſiaſtics were not only poſſeſſed of the greateſt part of the moveable riches of England, their territorial acquiſitions were equally conſiderable; for by the immediate grants to the church, from the commencement of the tenth to the middle of the eleventh century, we are authorized to believe that more than a third of all the lands in the kingdom were in the hands of the clergy, exempted from every impoſt, and in general from military ſervices. By this means the nation, deprived of it's native reſources, had long proved inadequate to any glorious exertion; and was, at length, reduced to the ignominious neceſſity of ſubmitting to the daring encroachments of a foreign uſurper.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THE



Published as the Act directs, by Harrison & Co. May 2. 1791.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

1066 TO 1216.

Acceſſion of William the Firſt—Introduction of the Feudal Laws—William the Second—The Cruſades—Henry the Firſt—Henry the Second—Murder of Thomas à Becket, Archbiſhop of Canterbury—Conqueſt of Ireland—Richard the Firſt—John—Interdict of the Kingdom—John's Reſignation of his Dominions to the Pope—Inſurrection of the Barons—Magna Charta—Death of John.

THE conſternation of the Engliſh after the defeat of their army at the battle of Haſtings is much more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. That fatal action had not only deprived them of their ſovereign, but of their principal nobility, whoſe advice and aſſiſtance were now ſo eſſentially requiſite to direct any future efforts that might be made to ſecure them from a total ſubjection to the victorious Norman. The gallant brothers of Harold were both ſlain; his ſons had fled into Ireland; and Edgar Atheling, whoſe deſcent from the line of their ancient monarchs would have ſecured him the obedience of the people, had neither ſpirit nor capacity to undertake the management of public affairs in this deſperate criſis.

Morcar, the powerful Duke of Northumberland, and his brother Edwin, Earl of Mercia, had indeed ſurvived the fate of the day, and retired to London with the ſcattered remains of the vanquiſhed army; but, unfortunately, they were not poſſeſſed of ſufficient influence and authority to enforce thoſe vigorous meaſures which were neceſſary to be adopted in the preſent ſtate of affairs: their attempts, therefore, to promote that unanimity which could alone afford the ſmalleſt proſpect of ſucceſs, were all ineffectual. They, however, convened ſeveral councils at London, in conjunction with Stigand the primate, and Aldred, Archbiſhop of York; and cauſed ſome reſolutions to be made, which at leaſt wore an appearance of reſiſtance. Edgar Atheling was declared King; and an army was ordered to be collected for the purpoſe of defending the country, and checking the progreſs of the invaders: but the adoption of vigorous plans without the power to enforce their execution, inſtead of alarming the enemy, could only tend to inſpire them with additional confidence. The people were divided, ſpiritleſs, and irreſolute: the introduction of an illiberal ſuperſtition, as we

have before had occaſion to obſerve, had enervated their minds, and rendered them wholly inapt to exertions of vigour. Their long ſubjection to the Danes had likewiſe ſerved to decreaſe, in a conſiderable degree, their national ſpirit and pride: accuſtomed to a foreign domination, their ideas of patriotiſm were languid and faint. In ſhort, their degeneracy was ſuch, that they preferred the paſſive ſloth of peaceful ſlavery to the enjoyment of liberty, which it required activity to obtain, and reſolution to preſerve.

The Duke of Normandy, aware that the final ſucceſs of his enterprize muſt greatly depend on his alertneſs to profit by the victory he had obtained, put his army in motion as ſoon as poſſible, and marched to Romney, with the view of inflicting a ſevere puniſhment on the inhabitants, who had put to death ſeveral of his ſoldiers and ſailors, whom ſtreſs of weather had compelled to retire thither for ſafety. His next object was to gain poſſeſſion of ſome important place on the coaſt, that might not only ſecure a retreat in caſe of misfortune, but afford him an opportunity of receiving occaſional ſuccours from the continent. For this purpoſe he marched to Dover, and immediately inveſted the city; which being ſtrongly fortified both by art and nature, and ſupplied with a numerous and well-provided garriſon, might have made an obſtinate, if not a ſucceſsful, defence: but the terror diffuſed over the kingdom by the unfortunate battle of Haſtings, had ſo effectually damped the ardour both of officers and men, that inſtead of attempting to repair the national diſgrace by a vigorous reſiſtance, they immediately ſurrendered the town to the Normans.

A dyſentery prevailing among the troops, William was compelled to remain at Dover eight days; during which time he cauſed many conſiderable repairs and important additions to be made to the fortifications. Having left a ſufficient garriſon in the place, he then advanced towards London; and on the road was met by a deputation from the Kentiſhmen, who offered to ſubmit to his ſway, and take the oaths of allegiance, if he would promiſe to ſecure them in the enjoyment of their privileges: a propoſal which met with the moſt chearful compliance from the duke.

His near approach to London increaſed the confuſion which already prevailed in the councils of the Engliſh; and the clergy, favouring the puſillanimous views of the people, now began to declare in his favour.

Many of the moſt dignified eccleſiaſtics were, even at this period, either Frenchmen or Normans, who were more anxious to court the protection of the Pope than to conſult the intereſt of the country to which they were indebted for the immenſe riches they poſſeſſed: and as the ſovereign pontiff, in contempt of the ſacred precepts of his Redeemer, had thought proper to ſanction the depredations of William, and to promote the extenſion of his own baneful influence by the murder of thouſands, theſe rebellious prieſts had the inſolence openly to advance *that* as a cogent and unanſwerable reaſon for general ſubmiſſion.

The repulſe of a body of Londoners, who had made a ſally on the enemy, by an advanced party of the Norman cavalry, gave new force to their inſidious arguments, by augmenting the terror of the citizens: for, as ſuperſtition unmans the mind, and renders it more expoſed to the impreſſions of fear; ſo will fear, on the other hand, by impeding the operations of judgment, and promoting a temporary ſuſpenſion of the powers of thought, render the mind more acceſſible to the attacks of ſuperſtition; and when it is once ſubjected to the influence of ſuch a faſcinating gueſt, the inſinuations of a prieſt, however groſs or abſurd, are received as the infallible dictates of the Deity.

The conflagration of Southwark, which the Normans ſet fire to and reduced to aſhes, ſerved to compleat the conſternation; which now became ſo general, that Edwin and Morcar, perceiving that no effectual reſiſtance could be made by men devoid of unanimity, and ſlaves to fear, withdrew themſelves from the city, and retired with their numerous followers to their own provinces, leaving the people univerſally diſpoſed to ſubmiſſion.

As ſoon as the Duke of Normandy had paſſed the Thames at Wallingford, and advanced as far as Berkhamſtead, Stigand, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Aldred, Archbiſhop of York, with ſome other prelates, the principal citizens of London, ſeveral of the nobility, and even Edgar Atheling himſelf, came into his camp, and ſwore fealty to him. They entreated his acceptance of a crown which they now conſidered as vacant; expreſſed an earneſt deſire of being ruled by regal power, to which they had ever been accuſtomed; and concluded by a declaration, that they knew no one more worthy than himſelf to be entruſted with the ſovereign authority.

Though William had thus attained the ſummit of his wiſhes, he evinced, with an affectation the moſt contemptible, an unwillingneſs to accept the crown, till he had taken time to deliberate on the offer: but Aimar of Aquitain, a man equally reſpected for his courage and ſagacity, repreſented the danger of delay, in ſo critical a conjuncture, in ſuch forcible terms, that he thought it prudent to lay aſide any farther appearance of ſcruples which his conduct ſo ſtrongly belied, and to comply with the requiſitions of the Engliſh.

Though the gates of London were now thrown open, and all the hoſtages delivered which he had demanded, William did not immediately repair to the metropolis; but ſent a part of his army to take poſſeſſion of it, and to erect fortreſſes for the purpoſe of keeping the inhabitants in awe, and of ſecuring his perſon and government. In the mean time, orders were iſſued to make the neceſſary preparations for the ceremony of his coronation.

Stigand, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had ſucceeded to that ſee on the expulſion of Robert the Norman, had been ſuſpended from the exerciſe of his functions by the Pope, whoſe acquieſcence in the depoſition of Robert had never been obtained: but, as the Engliſh had never acknowledged the ſupremacy of the ſovereign pontiff, the ſentence of ſuſpenſion had never taken effect, and Stigand continued

tinued to diſcharge the duties of his ſtation. William, however, whoſe obligations to the Pope were undoubtedly great, refuſed to be conſecrated by him, and inſiſted that the ceremony ſhould be performed by Aldred, Archbiſhop of York.

Accordingly, on Chriſtmas-day, in the year 1066, he repaired to Weſtminſter Abbey, accompanied by that prelate, together with the Biſhop of Coutance, and the chief nobility of England and Normandy. Aldred addreſſed the Engliſh in a ſhort ſpeech, and aſked them whether they conſented to chuſe William for their king. The ſame queſtion was put to the Normans by the Biſhop of Coutance; and, both being anſwered with loud acclamations, the archbiſhop proceeded to adminiſter to William the oath that had been always taken by the Anglo-Saxon kings at their coronation, by which he bound himſelf to protect the church and it's miniſters; to diſtribute juſtice with an impartial hand; and to enforce the due obſervation of the laws. Aldred then anointed him, ſeated him on the throne, and placed the crown on his head, while the abbey reſounded with the repeated acclamations of the whole aſſembly.

But theſe expreſſions of joy were productive of fatal conſequences: for the Norman ſoldiers, who were ſtationed without the abbey, hearing ſuch violent and reiterated ſhouts in a language which they did not underſtand, began to entertain apprehenſions for the ſafety of their prince; and, without ſtaying to inveſtigate the cauſe of their alarm, obeyed the firſt impulſe of paſſion, by aſſaulting the populace, and ſetting fire to the neighbouring houſes; which, being wholly compoſed of wood, burnt with prodigious violence.

The alarm was ſoon conveyed to the nobility who ſurrounded the duke; and both Engliſh and Normans ruſhed out of the abbey, to ſecure themſelves from the danger which threatened them. In ſhort, the tumult occaſioned by this ſtrange miſapprehenſion was ſo great, that it ſtruck terror into the new ſovereign, who could with difficulty appeaſe it: and, though it was merely fortuitous, it tended to augment the jealouſy and animoſity which prevailed between the two nations, and which continued to increaſe during the whole of William's reign.

Thus, by a combination of fortunate events, did William, Duke of Normandy, in the ſhort ſpace of three months, gain poſſeſſion of a kingdom which had formerly coſt ſo much time, and ſo vaſt an effuſion of blood, both to the Romans and Saxons, who in bravery and military diſcipline were certainly not inferior to the Normans, to reduce to a ſtate of ſubjection. Though he had obtained the crown, and was maſter of the metropolis, ſtill, had the Engliſh been inclined to reſiſtance, had they choſen a ſpirited leader, and acted with vigour and unanimity, they might have compelled him to relinquiſh his new-acquired power. Had they collected an army in any of the diſtant provinces, they would have reduced him to a dilemma that muſt probably have terminated in a total diſappointment of his ambitious ſchemes: for he could not poſſibly have removed the garriſon of Dover, the preſervation of that important fortreſs being indiſpenſably requiſite either for ſecuring a retreat, or the reception of ſuccours; nor could he have retired with his troops from London without hazarding the loſs of that city, which would have proved equally detrimental to his intereſt; and by remaining inactive, the Engliſh would have had time to recover from their conſternation, and to adopt meaſures which, in all human probability, muſt have enſured them ſucceſs. But the good fortune of William prevailed over every apparent obſtacle; for the news of his coronation was no ſooner diffuſed over the country, than his authority was univerſally acknowledged; and not a ſingle attempt was made to diſpute his claims to the crown, though few, if any, of his ſubjects, could diſcover on what they were founded.



Published as the Act directs by Harrison & Co. September 20 1788.

WILLIAM THE FIRST.

WILLIAM, being thus poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty, by accepting the crown as a free gift of the people, which implied a tacit acknowledgment of their right of election, and ſhews that he did not hold it as acquired by conqueſt, retired to Barking, in Eſſex; for he was ſtill inclined to ſuſpect the fidelity of the Londoners, and the fortreſſes which he had ordered to be erected for his ſecurity were not yet compleated.

At that place he received the ſubmiſſions of all the nobility who had not been preſent at his coronation. Earl Coxo, a man renowned for his valour; Edric, ſirnamed the Foreſter, grand nephew to Edric Streon, who was ſo diſtinguiſhed for his perfidy during the reigns of Ethelred the Second and Edmund Ironſide; even Edwin, and Morcar, accompanied by many other of the principal nobility, came and ſwore fealty to him, and were received into favour, and confirmed in the poſſeſſion of all their honours and eſtates.

By this means was William releaſed from all fears of farther oppoſition; and, by a ſucceſſion of occurrences, as fortunate as unexpected, obtained the entire poſſeſſion of a country which, by a due exertion of it's powers, might have reſiſted his utmoſt efforts, and converted his glory into ignominy and diſgrace.

The ſeizure of Harold's treaſure, which he found at Wincheſter, was the firſt act of his ſovereignty. By this important acquiſition, added to the rich preſents which he received from many of his opulent ſubjects, who were anxious to acquire the favour of their new ſovereign, he was enabled to diſtribute conſiderable ſums among his troops, which induced them to wait patiently for thoſe more ſolid rewards which he had promiſed them previous to their embarkation.

The eccleſiaſtics, both in England and on the continent, had rendered him eſſential ſervice in the proſecution of his favourite object; and he, therefore, did not fail to preſent them with ſuch tokens of his gratitude as he knew would be moſt worthy their acceptance.

The ſtandard of Harold was ſent to the Pope, accompanied by many valuable preſents; not only as a juſt acknowledgment for paſt obligation, but as the beſt means of ſecuring his future protection. All the monaſteries and churches in France, wherein prayers had been offered up for his ſucceſs, were now amply repaid for their pious ſupplications. The Engliſh monks were promiſed countenance and ſupport: and, farther to eſtabliſh the fame of his ſanctity, William built a new convent near Haſtings, which he named Battle Abbey, and to which he granted an exemption from all epiſcopal juriſdiction. At this convent, which was deſigned to commemorate his victory, prayers were continually ſaid for his own ſoul and for that of Harold; thus ſeeking to veil his vanity beneath the ſpecious maſk of devotion.

He introduced into England that rigid execution of juſtice which had diſtinguiſhed his government in Normandy. He enjoined his officers to be circumſpect in their conduct to the Engliſh, to treat them with humanity, and reſpect them as fellow-ſubjects. The moſt ſtrict orders were iſſued to his army, to prevent the ſoldiers from violating the chaſtity of the women, and committing other outrages which the inſolence of conqueſt is too apt to produce: and he publiſhed an edict to confirm all the privileges of the people, and to fulfil the promiſes which he had made at his coronation.

He appeared ſolicitous to unite the Engliſh and Normans by intermarriages and alliances; and all his new ſubjects, who had occaſion to approach his perſon, were received with affability and regard. He diſplayed an appearance of unlimited confidence;

dence; and even confirmed Edgar Atheling, the lawful heir to the crown, in the poſſeſſion of the earldom of Oxford, which had been conferred on him by Harold; affecting, at the ſame time, to treat him with the greateſt kindneſs as the nephew of Edward the Confeſſor, whom he conſidered as his friend and benefactor.

He granted a new charter to the city of London, ſecured all the ancient privileges and immunities of the citizens, and expreſſed his intention of preſerving the Saxon laws and conſtitution, which indeed he could not ſubvert without a violation of his coronation-oath. The better to reconcile the Engliſh to his authority, William made a progreſs into the provinces of Mercia and Weſſex; and by his majeſtic deportment, and the ſplendour of a brilliant court, not only confirmed thoſe ideas of his importance which the people had already conceived from his military fame, but acquired a conſiderable portion of their eſteem by an artful diſplay of his lenity and juſtice.

Yet, amidſt this appearance of clemency, he had confiſcated the eſtates, not only of Harold and his brothers, but of all thoſe noblemen who had periſhed at the battle of Haſtings in defence of their country. This act of violence and injuſtice he attempted to juſtify, by repreſenting Harold as an uſurper; a ſubterfuge too flimſy to impoſe on ignorance itſelf, and too contemptible for a monarch to employ: but fraud and rapine can only be ſupported by falſehood.

Beneath the aſſumed confidence of William, too, lurked ſuſpicion and miſtruſt, which induced him to take every poſſible precaution for ſecuring by force the power he had originally obtained by violence. Though he had confirmed the privileges of the citizens of London, he deprived them of their arms; and treated in a ſimilar manner the inhabitants of all thoſe populous places which he thought likely to make a formidable reſiſtance in caſe of a revolt. He alſo built a fortreſs at London; and cauſed citadels to be erected at Norwich, Wincheſter, Hereford, and other cities rendered important by their ſituation; all of which he garriſoned with Normans, in whom alone he could place the ſmalleſt reliance. The forfeited eſtates he beſtowed on his moſt diſtinguiſhed officers; and eſtabliſhed funds for the payment of his troops.

By theſe various proceedings, he attempted to reconcile the civil adminiſtration of a legal ſovereign with the military inſtitutions of an arbitrary tyrant. His violent meaſures, however, appear to have been conducted with ſuch conſummate prudence as fully to have anſwered their intended purpoſe: for, in leſs than three months after his coronation, he found his authority ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, and ſuch an appearance of peace and good order throughout the kingdom, that he thought he might ſafely reviſit his native country, to dazzle, by a pompous diſplay of his magnificence, the eyes of his ancient ſubjects, and to receive their congratulations on the ſucceſs of his enterprize. He therefore appointed his uterine brother Odo, Biſhop of Baieux, and his chief favourite, William Fitz-Oſborne, to be regents of England during his abſence: and, to prevent any danger of moleſtation in the exerciſe of their authority, he determined to take with him all the principal nobility of England; who, while they ſerved to add to the ſplendour of his court by their preſence and magnificent retinues, were in fact hoſtages for the fidelity of the nation.

Thus attended, he embarked at Pevenſey, in Suſſex, about the end of March, in the year 1067; and ſoon after arrived in Normandy with a numerous fleet, and a ſplendid train of followers; among whom were Edgar Atheling; Stigand, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; the Earls Edwin and Morcar; Waltheof, the ſon of the brave Earl Siward; and many others, diſtinguiſhed for the extent of their poſſeſſions, the greatneſs of their families, or for their dignities either eccleſiaſtical or civil.

During his ſtay in Normandy, he was viſited at the Abbey of Feſcamp, where he reſided for ſome time, by Rodulph, uncle to the King of France, and by many powerful princes and nobles; who, having contributed to his expedition, were anxious to congratulate him on it's ſucceſs. His Engliſh courtiers, willing to do honour to their new ſovereign, ſtrove to outvie each other in the ſplendour of their dreſs and the magnificence of their equipages; and, by an oſtentatious diſplay of their riches, excited the aſtoniſhment of the foreigners.

William of Poictiers, a Norman hiſtorian, who was preſent, ſpeaks in terms of admiration of the grace of their perſons, the quantity and exquiſite workmanſhip of their gold and ſilver plate, and the coſtlineſs of their embroideries, an art in which the Engliſh had long excelled. But, though an appearance of joy and feſtivity was univerſally prevalent, the Normans could not refrain from diſplaying their inſolence and pride; which muſt have ſenſibly mortified the Engliſh nobles, who could only conſider themſelves as honourable captives, led about to grace the triumph of an inſolent conqueror.

While William was thus gratifying his vanity in Normandy, a ſpirit of revolt began to ſhew itſelf in England: murmurs and diſcontents were heard on every ſide; conſpiracies were formed; in ſome places hoſtilities had actually commenced; and every thing ſeemed to threaten a revolution as rapid and violent as that which had ſeated William on the Engliſh throne.

This ſudden change was owing to the tyranny and oppreſſion of the regents, who encouraged every ſpecies of diſorder; while the chief officers of the Norman army, unreſtrained by the preſence of their ſovereign, abuſed their power, and treated the Engliſh with the utmoſt indignity. The commiſſion of ſimilar exceſſes, without the leaſt provocation to ſanction them, and not only tolerated, but encouraged, by the regents; one of whom, being brother to the king, may naturally be ſuppoſed to have been well acquainted with his ſentiments, and not to have acted in direct oppoſition to his orders; ſeems to juſtify the idea that this extraordinary conduct was purſued in conſequence of ſome private inſtructions given by William, previous to

his departure for the continent. It will appear ſtrange, indeed, that a monarch ſhould endeavour to excite a rebellion in his own dominions; but, if we conſider the meaſures which William had been compelled to adopt in order to pave his way to the throne; the promiſes of future rewards and territorial eſtabliſhments which he was obliged to make to his numerous followers, to induce them to engage in ſo hazardous an enterprize; and the impoſſibility of fulfilling thoſe promiſes without committing depredations on the property of the Engliſh, and thereby making more enemies than his ſafety would admit of before his government was firmly eſtabliſhed; we ſhall be induced to ſuppoſe—nor can the ſuppoſition be deemed an injuſtice to a monarch whoſe chief deities were Intereſt and Ambition—that he wiſhed to provoke his ſubjects to an inſurrection, which from the precautions he had previouſly taken could be attended with no great danger, that he might be furniſhed with a ſpecious pretext for confiſcating their eſtates, to gratify the rapacity of his Norman adherents. His departure from the kingdom ſo ſoon after his acceſſion, and at a time when his preſence was by no means requiſite in Normandy, ſtrengthens this conjecture; nor is there a ſingle circumſtance in any part of his conduct which can poſſibly tend to invalidate it.

Odo and Fitz-Oſborne embraced every opportunity of encroaching on the rights of the Engliſh, whoſe injuries were highly aggravated by the inſults they ſuſtained in their fruitleſs attempts to procure redreſs. The inhabitants of Kent, who had been the firſt to ſubmit to the dominion of William, were the firſt who attempted to throw off the yoke. Finding all their complaints and remonſtrances ineffectual, they formed a confederacy with Euſtace, Count of Boulogne, who had alſo been diſguſted by the Normans; and that nobleman agreed to land a body of troops in the vicinity of Dover, while Hugh de Montford, the governor of the caſtle, was abſent with a part of the garriſon. An attack was accordingly made on that important fortreſs: but the Normans, apprized of their deſign, gave them ſo warm a reception, that they were compelled to deſiſt from their enterprize, and retire with great precipitation; while the garriſon, obſerving their confuſion, made a ſally on the troops of Euſtace, which were totally defeated, and his nephew made priſoner.

Edric the Foreſter, whoſe poſſeſſions lay on the banks of the Severn, being provoked at the depredations of Richard Fitz-Scrope and other Norman captains, who were quartered in that diſtrict, reſolved to repel force by force; and accordingly, having formed an alliance with Blethyn and Rywalhan, two Welſh princes, advanced into Herefordſhire, and laying waſte the country, returned with a conſiderable booty.

Beſides this inſtance of revolt, inſurrections were raiſed in other parts of the country, which Odo and the Earl of Hereford could with difficulty ſuppreſs. In ſhort, the diſaffection became general throughout the kingdom; and the Engliſh began to lament that puſillanimous conduct which had rendered them ſuch an eaſy prey to the conqueror, and ſubjected them to thoſe injuries and inſults which are ever to be expected by a nation that ſuffers itſelf to be reduced to that abject ſtate of degradation. The rage of the people was inflamed to ſuch a height, that Earl Coxo, an Engliſh nobleman of great power, having been requeſted to head them in an inſurrection, and ſteadily perſiſting in a refuſal to violate his fidelity to William, was ſlain by his own vaſſals.

The king being informed of theſe dangerous commotions, haſtened his departure from Normandy; and, having left the government of that dutchy to his queen Matilda, and his eldeſt ſon Robert, he embarked at Dieppe on the ſixth of December, and on the following day landed at Winchelſea; from whence he proceeded to London, where he arrived in time to prevent the execution of a plan which the Engliſh had formed to deliver themſelves from the oppreſſive rapaciouſneſs of their Norman tyrants.

We are told by William Gemiticenſis, that they had entered into a conſpiracy to perpetrate in one day a general maſſacre of the Normans, ſimilar to that which had been formerly put in execution on the Danes. The day appointed for this dreadful purpoſe was Aſh-Wedneſday, when the Normans always attended divine ſervice barefoot and unarmed: but William's arrival fruſtrated their ſchemes; and the principal conſpirators, finding themſelves diſcovered, retired with precipitation to the north, where they fortified the caſtle of Durham, and ſet the power of the king at defiance.

From this time, William began to regard his Engliſh ſubjects as inveterate and implacable enemies; and from thence was confirmed in his reſolution to ſtrip them of their legal poſſeſſions, and to reduce them to a ſtate of the moſt abject ſlavery. But projects, thus fraught with tyranny, policy forbade him to promulgate; he therefore determined to practiſe the arts of diſſimulation, and to preſerve an appearance of juſtice, though his conduct was to be guided by a violation of it's principles. He commanded a reſtoration of all thoſe eſtates of which the legal proprietors had, during his abſence, been diſpoſſeſſed by the violent proceedings of his officers, ſanctioned by the encouragement of the regents.

To ſecure the friendſhip and attachment of Edwin, Earl of Mercia, who was now the moſt powerful and popular nobleman in the kingdom, and therefore the moſt formidable object of apprehenſion to the king, he promiſed him his own daughter in marriage. But, as if the natural violence and ſeverity of his temper had ſuffered by theſe acts of political equity, he reſolved to counterbalance them by one of a very different complexion. This was the renewal of the odious tax of Danegeld, which had been aboliſhed by Edward the Confeſſor: a ſtep equally oppreſſive and imprudent, and which was productive of murmurs and diſcontents throughout the whole kingdom; which induced Aldred to ſupplicate the king to repeal it, as the only means of avoiding thoſe fatal conſequences which an impoſt ſo exorbitant would not fail to produce. But the freedom of this remonſtrance incurring the diſpleaſure

pleaſure of William, who could not brook controul, inſtead of complying with the ſalutary advice it contained, he ordered that unpopular tax to be levied with extraordinary rigour.

The effects of theſe tyrannical proceedings were ſoon viſible. The people of Exeter, at the inſtigation of Githa, mother to King Harold, who reſided in that city, refuſed to admit a Norman garriſon; and, being joined by the neighbouring inhabitants of Devonſhire and Cornwall, began to repair their walls; to lay in proviſions; and, in ſhort, to make every preparation for a vigorous reſiſtance.

Though the winter was far advanced, the king haſtened with his forces to ſuppreſs the revolt: and, on his approach, he was met at ſome diſtance from the city by the magiſtrates; who, ſenſible of the inequality of the conteſt, had perſuaded the people to ſubmit, and to deliver hoſtages for their obedience. But a ſudden mutiny of the populace broke this agreement, and the gates of the town were ſhut againſt William; who appearing before the walls, ordered the eyes of one of the hoſtages to be put out in view of the rebels, as a token of the ſeverity they might expect if they perſiſted in their revolt. This act of barbarity renewed the terror of the inhabitants, who ſent another deputation to the king, which being favourably received, the town was ſurrendered at diſcretion; and the conqueror evinced his clemency by pardoning the rebels, and ſetting guards at all the gates to protect the city from plunder. Githa found means to eſcape, with all her treaſures, into Flanders.

The inſurgents of Cornwall followed the example of thoſe at Exeter, and experienced a ſimilar treatment; and, for the more effectual prevention of future inſurrections, the king built a citadel at Exeter, which he entruſted to the command of Baldwin, ſon to Earl Gilbert, on whom he likewiſe beſtowed the government of the county.

Having thus quelled the revolt, he returned to Wincheſter; where he was joined by his conſort Matilda, who now viſited England for the firſt time. By William's orders, the ceremony of her coronation was performed by Aldred. Soon after, ſhe was delivered of her fourth ſon, who was named Henry. Her three elder ſons, Robert, Richard, and William, ſtill remained in Normandy.

The claims of William's Norman dependents now began to grow importunate; and his love of money rendering him unwilling to ſatisfy them with thoſe ſums which the impoſition of the Danegeld had enabled him to raiſe, he had recourſe to the eſtabliſhment of an inquiſition the moſt oppreſſive and unjuſt that the head of a tyrant had ever conceived. According to William of Poictiers, he ſent commiſſaries into all the provinces of England, to take an exact account of thoſe proprietors of lands who had fought under the banners of Harold at the battle of Haſtings; and their inveſtigation being compleated, and the report delivered to William, he confiſcated all their eſtates, and beſtowed them on his officers and adherents.

The inſolence of the Normans, thus enriched at the expence of the Engliſh, became inſupportable to the natives; who, whenever they could find them either ſeparate or aſſembled in ſmall bodies, ſecretly attacked them, and ſought to procure a trifling gratification of their vengeance by the deſtruction of their enemies. But a revolt, which wore a more ſerious aſpect, and threatened to be attended with more important conſequences, now attracted the public attention to the north.

The two brothers, Edwin and Morcar, were by far the moſt potent of all the Engliſh noblemen who had ſurvived the battle of Haſtings, as near a third part of the kingdom was under the immediate command of themſelves and their friends. The ſtrong attachment they had evinced to their late monarch had, moreover, rendered them the idol of the people; the affability of their manners had ſecured them the affection of their dependents; and their munificence to the church had acquired them the eſteem of the clergy.

William, aware of theſe circumſtances, had ſpared no pains to attach them to his intereſt; but when Edwin claimed the performance of his promiſe to give him his ſiſter in marriage, the king refuſed to accompliſh it. This refuſal probably proceeded from a change in his plan of adminiſtration: having taken every requiſite precaution to maintain his authority by force, he might think the aſſiſtance of a ſingle family, however powerful, not worth the trouble of purchaſing. This diſappointment, added to many other motives for diſguſt, induced that nobleman and his brother to encourage the prevailing diſaffection, and by a general effort to attempt the recovery of their ancient liberties. But, before they openly declared themſelves, they thought it neceſſary to make application for foreign ſuccours, which were accordingly promiſed them by their nephew Blethyn, Prince of North Wales; by Malcolm, King of Scotland; and Swein, King of Denmark.

William, who knew the importance of celerity in quelling an inſurrection, and whoſe troops were always in readineſs, advanced by forced marches to the north. On his road, he gave orders to fortify the caſtle of Warwick, the government of which he conferred on Henry de Beaumont; and that of Nottingham, which he entruſted to the command of William Peverell, another Norman officer, on whoſe fidelity he could rely.

He reached York before the inſurgents were prepared for reſiſtance, and before the arrival of thoſe foreign ſuccours for which they had ſtipulated, except a ſmall reinforcement from Wales: the two earls, therefore, found themſelves reduced to the diſagreeable neceſſity of having recourſe for ſafety to the clemency of William, whoſe prudence forbade him to reject their proffered ſubmiſſion. Archil, a powerful nobleman in thoſe parts, followed their example, and delivered his ſon as a pledge of his future fidelity.

The people of York, thus forſaken by their leaders, ſought to avert his revenge, by ſending a deputation of their citizens to give him hoſtages, and to preſent him with the keys of the town, in which he cauſed a ſtrong citadel to be erected, and

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left a Norman garriſon for it's defence. His next care was to diſpatch Egelwin, Biſhop of Durham, to effect an accommodation with Malcolm, King of Scotland, who was actually on his march to join Edwin and Morcar, when he received the propoſals for a treaty of peace, to which he inſtantly acceded; and ſent ambaſſadors to William to do homage for Cumberland, which he held as a fief of the Engliſh crown. For the farther ſecurity of his government, and the prevention of future revolts, the king built caſtles at Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge.

The political clemency of William to the chiefs of the inſurgents might have been productive of happy effects, had he made the ſame lenient policy the general rule of his conduct; but the treatment experienced by the leaders was very different from that which fell to the portion of their followers. The king obſerved with religious ſcrupuloſity the terms which he had granted to the former, and for the preſent allowed them to keep poſſeſſion of their honours and eſtates; but the rigours of his confiſcations were extended, with unrelenting ſeverity, over the latter, whoſe lands were diſtributed to his foreign adventurers. Theſe, diſperſed throughout the country, and enjoying the excluſive poſſeſſion of the military power, effectually deprived Edwin and Morcar, whom he had pretended to ſpare, of all ſupport, and left them expoſed to certain deſtruction whenever his intereſt or inclination ſhould prompt him to inflict it.

The final ſubjection of the Engliſh to a ſtate of ſlavery the moſt abject now appeared inevitable. Inſtead of an equitable ſovereign, whoſe eſteem they had hoped to acquire by ſubmiſſion, they were now ſenſible that they had tamely ſurrendered their liberties to a lawleſs tyrant, whoſe higheſt delight conſiſted in the gratification of avarice and revenge. Though the ſeverities inflicted on the followers of Harold, at the acceſſion of William, muſt have been conſidered as acts of the moſt flagrant injuſtice, being impoſed on men to whoſe allegiance the Duke of Normandy could have no poſſible pretenſions, and who only fought in defence of the eſtabliſhed government, and of a monarch whom themſelves had ſeated on the throne; yet were the urgent neceſſities of the prince allowed to operate as a palliation, or rather as an excuſe, for theſe rigorous proceedings; and they who had eſcaped the preſent ruin, were inclined to indulge a hope that they ſhould be thenceforth allowed to enjoy their poſſeſſions and dignities exempt from moleſtation. But the ſubſequent ruin of ſo many other families deſtroyed the flattering illuſion, by convincing them that the intention of William was to place his ſole reliance for ſupport on the affection of his Norman adherents: and the inevitable reſult of this deſtructive plan of adminiſtration preſented itſelf to their minds in all the terrors of truth, fraught with confiſcations and attainders, and pregnant with acts of tyranny and oppreſſion. They obſerved that no Engliſhman enjoyed the leaſt ſhare of his confidence, nor was entruſted with any command or authority; and that the inſolence and rapaciouſneſs of the foreigners, which the utmoſt rigour of military diſcipline would have proved inadequate to reſtrain within due bounds, were not only tolerated, but encouraged.

The Engliſh had been expoſed to contempt by their ready ſubmiſſion on the firſt invaſion of the kingdom: the ſubſequent proofs of their animoſity and reſentment had rendered them objects of hatred; and they were now deprived of every expedient by which they might hope to acquire either the affection or eſteem of their ſovereign. Impreſſed with a juſt ſenſe of their diſmal ſituation, many of them fled into foreign countries to avoid the dangers which ſurrounded them, determined either to paſs their lives abroad exempt from reſtraint and oppreſſion, or to wait till a favourable opportunity ſhould occur for aſſiſting their countrymen in the recovery of their native rights.

Edgar Atheling himſelf, miſtruſting the inſidious careſſes of William, retired into Scotland, with Earl Coſpatric, a powerful Northumbrian, and many other noblemen: he alſo took with him his two ſiſters, Margaret and Chriſtina. They met with a favourable reception from Malcolm, who ſoon after eſpouſed Margaret, the elder ſiſter; and partly with a view of ſtrengthening his kingdom by the acceſſion of ſo many ſtrangers, and partly in the hope of employing them to repreſs the growing power of William, he beſtowed ſignal marks of his favour on all the Engliſh fugitives; many of whom were induced to ſettle in Scotland, and laid the foundation of ſeveral great families, who make a conſpicuous figure in the annals of that country.

The oppreſſion experienced by the Engliſh proved a ſource of uneaſineſs even to the foreigners, as they found themſelves wholly ſurrounded by enraged enemies, who embraced every opportunity of revenge, and menaced them with ſtill more fatal effects of the public reſentment. This induced ſeveral of them to regret that peace and ſecurity which they had forfeited by abandoning their native country; and Hugh de Grentmeſnil, and Humphry de Teliol, though high in the favour of the king, who had entruſted them with important commands, requeſted their diſmiſſion from the ſervice: ſome others alſo followed their example. William, incenſed at their conduct, puniſhed their deſertion by the confiſcation of all their poſſeſſions in England. But the rewards which his followers in general obtained, could not fail to allure many new adventurers into his ſervice; and the indignation of the oppreſſed Engliſh only ſerved to excite the vigilance of the king and thoſe martial chiefs, whom it induced to be always prepared to ſuppreſs every domeſtic commotion, or foreign invaſion, before it's maturity could render it formidable.

They were ſoon furniſhed with an opportunity to diſplay their proweſs and military ſkill. Godwin, Edmond, and Magnus, three ſons of the late King Harold, who had fled to Ireland after the fatal battle of Haſtings, where they had met with a favourable reception from Dermot, prince of that country, now projected an invaſion of England; and having found means to collect a body of forces, and a fleet of ſixty

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ſhips, reſolved to make an attempt to retrieve the ruined fortune of their families. They landed in Devonſhire, about the beginning of the year 1069; but being oppoſed by Briaux, ſon of Eudo, Count of Bretagne, at the head of ſome foreign troops, they were defeated, and obliged to re-embark by night, and return to Ireland, with the loſs of ſeventeen hundred men.

The efforts of the Normans were now directed to the north, where a general confuſion prevailed. William had detached Robert de Comyn with ſeven hundred men to take poſſeſſion of Durham, to the government of which he had been previouſly appointed; and that officer, neglecting the caution he had received from Biſhop Egelwin, who adviſed him to be upon his guard againſt the animoſity of the inhabitants, ſuffered his troops to range about the city in ſmall parties, committing every ſpecies of rapine, and even allowed them to extend their depredations into the adjacent country. The Northumbrians, juſtly enraged at theſe acts of unprovoked violence, aſſembled in great numbers; and, taking the city by ſurprize, ſlew all the Normans they could meet with: and then proceeding to the biſhop's caſtle, where the governor reſided, they experienced ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance that, being unable to force the gates, they were induced to ſet fire to it; and Robert de Comyn, with all his attendants, periſhed in the flames.

The inhabitants of York, animated by the ſucceſs of this expedition, took up arms, ſlew Robert Fitz-Richard, their governor, and laid ſiege to the caſtle, which was defended by William Mallet, on whom the command had now devolved. Soon after the commencement of the ſiege, a Daniſh army, commanded by Oſberne, brother to Sweyn, King of Denmark, accompanied by his two nephews, Harold and Canute, landed from a fleet of three hundred ſail; and, after committing ravages on the country, formed a junction with the Engliſh who were beſieging the caſtle of York: theſe were alſo joined by Edgar Atheling from Scotland, who brought with him Coſpatric, Waltheof, Siward, Bearne, Merleſwain, Adelin, and other leaders, who eaſily perſuaded the diſcontented inhabitants of Yorkſhire and Northumberland to ſtrengthen their army. The caſtle was long defended with great bravery by the Normans, who were in daily expectation of being relieved by their ſovereign, whom they had made acquainted with the danger of their ſituation: but an accident haſtened their fate. The governor, having thought it neceſſary to ſet fire to ſome houſes which lay contiguous to the caſtle, and were of great uſe to the beſiegers, the wind being high, the flames ſpread to the neighbouring ſtreets, burnt the cathedral, and reduced the whole city to aſhes. The enraged inhabitants, aſſiſted by the Danes, immediately attacked the caſtle with ſuch fury, that it was taken by aſſault; and the whole garriſon, conſiſting of three thouſand men, were put to the ſword, except the governor and his family, whoſe lives they ſpared.

This ſucceſs encouraged the people in many other parts of England to take up arms, and revenge the inſults they had received from the Normans. Hereward, a nobleman in Eaſt-Anglia, celebrated for his valour, having lately returned from the continent, found his poſſeſſions diſtributed to foreigners, upon which he immediately collected his vaſſals and dependents; and, having expelled the intruders from their habitations, he retired into the Iſle of Ely, and made incurſions into the neighbouring country.

In the counties of Somerſet and Dorſet the Engliſh revolted, and attacked Montacute, the Norman governor; while the inhabitants of Cornwall and Devonſhire laid ſiege to Exeter, which ſtill remained faithful to William. Edric the Foreſter, aſſiſted by the Welſh, inveſted Shrewſbury; and attacked the troops of Earl Brient and Fitz-Oſborne, who commanded in that country. A general ſpirit of liberty ſeems to have prevailed at this period, and to have inſpired the Engliſh with the reſolution of making one great effort for the eſtabliſhment of their ancient rights, by the total extirpation of their oppreſſors.

When William, who had been employed in ſuppreſſing the inſurrections in the ſouth, firſt received intelligence of thoſe violent tranſactions which had occurred in the north, he uttered the moſt bitter imprecations of vengeance againſt the Northumbrians, and ſwore that he would extirpate them from the face of the earth. To put his menaces in execution, he advanced with his army into Yorkſhire; but found the Danes had taken poſſeſſion of an important poſt, ſituated between the Rivers Ouſe and Trent, from whence he perceived it would be a very difficult matter to diſlodge them: and as the attempt muſt inevitably have been attended with infinite danger, and if it failed muſt have proved fatal, he wiſely determined to have recourſe to a more eaſy expedient. He entered into a ſecret negotiation with the Daniſh commander; and prevailed on him, by means of a conſiderable bribe, and the permiſſion to plunder the ſea-coaſt, to withdraw his army, and to return to Denmark in the ſpring. The king then inveſted York; and, having made ſome progreſs in the ſiege, ordered an aſſault to be given: but, though the attack was furious, the place was ſo well defended by the Engliſh, who were commanded by the valiant Waltheof, that the Normans were repulſed with great ſlaughter. Such was the conduct and vigilance of this intrepid governor, that William began to deſpair of reducing the place; when famine compelled Waltheof to capitulate. The king, who could eſteem valour even in an enemy, not only accorded him honourable terms, but received him into favour, and beſtowed on him his own niece, Judith, in marriage. Having thus gained poſſeſſion of York, he remained there till the beginning of the enſuing year.

At the commencement of the year 1070, William marched northward with his army, reſolved to execute his menaces againſt the Northumbrians, and to incapacitate them from giving riſe to any future inſurrections. This was a taſk congenial to his ſoul, and was performed with a ſeverity that afforded him the higheſt ſatisfaction. All that fertile tract

of land which for the extent of ſixty miles lies between the Humber and the Tees, was entirely deſolated; every houſe, church, and monaſtery, reduced to aſhes, and the wretched inhabitants put to the ſword. In the ſame cruel manner did this ſanguinary tyrant proceed as far as Hexham, marking his progreſs with indiſcriminate deſtruction. All the implements of huſbandry were deſtroyed; the cattle ſeized and driven away by theſe mercileſs ravagers; and the few who eſcaped from the ſword by retiring to the neighbouring woods, periſhed by famine. No leſs than one hundred thouſand perſons are computed to have fallen victims to the ferocity of the Normans in this memorable expedition, in which the whole country from York to Durham was changed into one continued ſcene of dreary deſolation, and for ſome ſucceeding years remained without a houſe or inhabitant.

Edgar Atheling and his followers, ſeeing all their hopes of ſucceſsful reſiſtance totally deſtroyed, thought it time to eſcape from the fury of this enraged monſter; and accordingly retired to Scotland: but Coſpatric had recourſe to his clemency; and, paying a ſum of money as an atonement for his offence, was received into favour, and even inveſted with the earldom of Northumberland. All the Engliſh inſurgents in other parts of the country, except Hereward, who ſtill kept in his faſtneſſes, returned to their obedience, and left the Normans undiſputed maſters of the kingdom.

Malcolm, King of Scotland, who had intended to ſupport the cauſe of Edgar Atheling, and to ſtrengthen the revolt, had been too dilatory in his motions to afford the requiſite aſſiſtance. At length, however, he marched from his principality of Cumberland into the north; and, having plundered the country, returned to Scotland with his booty, and a conſiderable number of priſoners.

William, now finding himſelf abſolute maſter of England, determined to throw off the maſk of juſtice which he had hitherto occaſionally worn; and to gratify the natural ſeverity of his temper, by proceeding to extremities againſt his vanquiſhed ſubjects, in order to reduce them to ſuch a ſtate as would totally relieve him from all fears of moleſtation, or future diſturbance to his government. The numerous inſurrections and conſpiracies which had recently occurred in various parts of the kingdom, had involved the greateſt number of the landed proprietors in the guilt of treaſon, and had conſequently ſubjected them to thoſe forfeitures and attainders which were ſo favourable to the promotion of William's darling plan, and which were therefore enforced with the utmoſt rigour and violence. His tyranny, indeed, did not always extend to the infliction of a capital puniſhment; it was ſometimes contented with a deprivation of the means of ſubſiſtence, and the confiſcation of eſtates, which were beſtowed on foreigners with unbounded profuſion. As he had openly avowed his intention of effecting the ruin of all the Engliſh nobility and gentry, it will be eaſily conceived that the accuſations preferred againſt the objects of his revenge were not inveſtigated with too rigid a ſcrupuloſity. In fact, it would have been uſeleſs to affect an appearance of equity in the proſecution of his tyrannical ſchemes: vague ſuſpicions, therefore, were ſubſtituted for convincing proofs; and rank, opulence, and power, were conſidered as crimes of the higheſt magnitude. Thus the policy of the king, coinciding with the rapacity of foreign adventurers, operated almoſt a total revolution in the landed property of England. By this means, all the ancient and honourable families were deprived of their hereditary poſſeſſions, and reduced to beggary. Their caſtles and manors were beſtowed on Normans of the meaneſt birth and loweſt ſtations; and they had the additional mortification of finding themſelves wholly excluded from every path that could lead to wealth, honour, or preferment.

Farther to confirm his authority, and to retain that military power which had enabled him to ſubdue the kingdom, William extended the feudal ſyſtem of government, which had been long eſtabliſhed in France and Normandy, over his Britiſh dominions. The feudal laws, indeed, were not altogether unknown in the times of the Anglo-Saxons, every proprietor of land being ſubjected not only to the *trinoda neceſſitas*, but to the *heriot*, which had been impoſed by Canute the Great, and conſiſted in an obligation, at the death of an earl or thane, to deliver his horſe and arms to the king, accompanied by a certain ſum of money, proportioned to his rank and fortune. It cannot be denied that theſe were feudal preſtations; but William made ſuch conſiderable additions to them, that it may juſtly be ſaid that to him was owing the confirmation, if not the introduction, of the feudal laws.

The ſovereign of a feudal ſtate was ſuppoſed to be the proprietor of all the lands in his dominions; part of which he retained in his own poſſeſſion, for the maintenance of his family and the ſupport of his dignity; and the remainder he diſtributed to his ſubjects, as fees for certain ſtipulated ſervices to be performed by them, or on ſuch other conditions as he choſe to require, and they to accept. On ſimilar terms did William diſtribute the lands of England, which he had obtained by violence from their legal poſſeſſors, to the moſt conſiderable of his Norman adventurers. To Hugh de Abrencis, the ſon of his ſiſter, he granted the whole county of Cheſter; to Robert, Count of Mortaigne, and Odo, Biſhop of Bayeux, his two uterine brothers, he gave to the firſt nine hundred and ſeventy-three manors and lordſhips, and to the laſt, four hundred and thirty-nine; to Alain Fergeant, Duke of Bretagne, and Earl of Richmond, four hundred and forty-two; to William de Warrene, two hundred and ninety-eight, beſides twenty-eight towns or hamlets in Yorkſhire; to Geoffrey, Biſhop of Coutance, two hundred and eighty; to Roger Bigod, one hundred and twenty-three; to Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham, one hundred and ſeven; to Richard de Clare, one hundred and ſeventy-one; to William de Percy, one hundred and nineteen; to Todenei, eighty-one; to Robert, Earl of Eu, one hundred and nineteen; to Roger Mortimer, one hundred and ninety manors, beſides ſeveral hamlets; to

Robert

Robert de Stafford, one hundred and thirty; to Walter de Eurus, Earl of Saliſbury, forty-ſix; to Geoffrey de Mandeville, one hundred and eighteen; to Hugh de Beauchamp, forty-ſeven; to Baldwin de Riglvers, one hundred and ſixty-four; to Henry de Ferrers, two hundred and twenty-two; and to Norman D'Arcy, thirty-three.

Beſides theſe liberal grants, he beſtowed on Roger de Montgomery, firſt, the towns of Arundel and Chicheſter; and afterwards, the county of Salop. Hereford was given to William Fitz-Oſborne; and the caſtle of Tutbury to Henry de Ferrieres: and all the other chieftains were rewarded according to the importance of their ſervices, or the degree of favour they enjoyed.

All the lands thus diſtributed by William, were ſubject to a variety of obligations, of two kinds, viz. perſonal and military ſervices; and certain payments, or preſtations, which conſtituted a conſiderable part of the royal revenue. The ſervices conſiſted in homage and fealty; in perſonal attendance on the king in his court, at the grand feſtivals of Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide, and at other times in his parliament, whenever regularly ſummoned; and in military ſervice, either in the field, or in the defence of his caſtles, for a fixed time, with a ſtipulated number of followers, according to the extent of their eſtates.

The pecuniary preſtations were chiefly theſe: reſerved rents, wardſhips, marriages, reliefs, ſcutages, and aids.

Reſerved rents were certain annual payments, generally inconſiderable, exacted from the vaſſals of the crown, to remind them that the property, or *dominium directum* of their lands, were veſted in the ſovereign. Theſe were collected by the ſheriffs of the counties in which the lands were ſituated.

When any vaſſal of the crown died, and left his heir a minor, and conſequently incapable of performing thoſe perſonal ſervices to his ſovereign to which he was bound by his tenure, the king took poſſeſſion of his eſtate, that he might ſupport the heir, and provide another perſon to perform his ſervices. This right of *Wardſhip* was productive of great profits to the king, who ſometimes employed it as the means of enriching his favourites, by tranſferring to them the guardianſhip of ſome of his moſt opulent wards.

The king's female wards were reſtrained from marrying without the conſent of their royal guardian, that they might not beſtow an eſtate derived from the crown on a perſon who was diſagreeable to the ſovereign. This was a cruel and ignominious ſervitude, by which heireſſes of the firſt families, and moſt opulent fortunes, were either expoſed to ſale, or compelled to purchaſe from the king the liberty of beſtowing themſelves in marriage on the object of their affections. No leſs than ten thouſand marks, equal in value to one hundred thouſand pounds of our preſent money, were paid to the king for the wardſhip and marriage of a ſingle heireſs. This oppreſſive ſervitude was afterwards extended to male heirs.

Beſides the guardianſhip of heirs, the king always obtained from them a ſum of money when they came of age, and were admitted to the poſſeſſion of their eſtates: he alſo received the ſame from ſuch heirs as were of age at the death of the vaſſal from whom they inherited. This laſt was called *Relief*, becauſe it relieved their lands from the poſſeſſion of their ſovereign, to whom they were ſuppoſed to devolve on the death of every proprietor. Reliefs were at firſt arbitrary and uncertain, and conſequently afforded frequent ſubject for oppreſſion; but they were afterwards fixed at the rate of one hundred ſhillings for a knight's fee, one hundred marks for a baron, and one hundred pounds for an earldom, which was ſuppoſed to amount to about the fourth part of the annual value of each. Hence are derived our preſent copyhold tenures, the only reliques of feudal ſlavery that now remain in England.

Scutage, or ſhield-money, was another payment, to which all the military vaſſals of the crown were ſubjected. It was a pecuniary fine, paid in lieu of actual ſervice in the field by thoſe who were either unable or unwilling to perform it in perſon, or to provide a ſubſtitute. The rate of this commutation was not fixed, but varied occaſionally from twenty ſhillings to three marks for every knight's fee. This alſo gave riſe to frequent oppreſſion, as kings would ſometimes engage, or pretend to engage, in expeditions to diſtant parts, or at times when they knew it would be inconvenient for their vaſſals to attend, merely for the purpoſe of demanding ſcutage.

Beſides theſe payments, there were certain pecuniary *Aids*, exacted, on particular occaſions, from the immediate vaſſals of the crown, who were ſuppoſed to poſſeſs much affection for their ſovereign, and to entertain a true ſenſe of gratitude for the favours they had received from him. The purpoſes for which theſe aids were demanded by the king were, to make his eldeſt ſon a knight; to marry his eldeſt daughter; and to ranſom his perſon when he was taken priſoner in battle. The quantum of theſe aids was alſo unſettled, though it appears to have been generally one mark, or one pound, for every knight's fee.

That all theſe different ſervices and impoſts, ſo pregnant with oppreſſion and ignominious ſlavery, were firſt imported into England by William, is a fact too firmly eſtabliſhed to admit of a doubt. To add ſtill farther to the ſtrength and ſecurity of his kingdom, that politic prince ſubjected the lands of the ſpiritual barons, ſuch as Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors, to the ſame military ſervices as thoſe of his temporal vaſſals. The wiſdom of this meaſure will be evident, when we conſider the extent of their poſſeſſions; for on the famous ſurvey of England, recorded in Doom's-Day-Book, it appeared, that of ſixty thouſand two hundred and fifteen knight's fees which the kingdom was found to contain, no leſs a number than twenty-eight thouſand one hundred and fifteen belonged to the church.

In the general diſtribution of lands, William did not neglect the intereſt of the crown, as he reſerved for himſelf fourteen hundred and twenty-two manors,

nors, beſides a proportionable number of foreſts, parks, chaces, farms, and houſes, in various parts of the kingdom.

The great barons, or chief tenants, of which the kingdom contained about ſeven hundred, who held immediately of the crown, retained that part of their lands which lay contiguous to their caſtles in their own poſſeſſion; and granted the reſt to other foreigners, who were denominated knights, or vaſſals, who paid their lord the ſame ſervices and preſtations which he himſelf owed to his ſovereign. In ſhort, a feudal baron was a ſubordinate monarch, and his barony a ſubordinate kingdom. Even the vaſſals of barons ſometimes granted ſubinfeudations, but always on a ſimilar plan; ſo that the oppreſſive impoſitions of the feudal ſyſtem deſcended from the firſt ſubject in the realm to the meaneſt poſſeſſor of land by military tenure. It is true, indeed, that ſome of thoſe landholders, who were called *ſocmen*, becauſe, as ſome ſuppoſe, they followed the *ſoc* or plough, were exempted from ſeveral of the feudal ſervitudes; ſuch as perſonal attendance, wardſhip, marriages, &c. But this was owing to their inſignificancy, and to the contempt beſtowed on them by their ſovereign and his imperious barons, who refuſed them admittance to their courts and company. Yet many of theſe ſocmen were not leſs ſlaves than the military vaſſals of the king and his chief tenants; indeed, they were ſubjected to a baſer and more laborious ſpecies of ſervitude; as they were not only compelled, on various occaſions, to furniſh a certain number of men, horſes, and carriages, but likewiſe to plough and ſow the lands of their lords. Thus William may be ſaid to have rendered the feudal laws univerſal in England, and by that means to have extinguiſhed every remaining mark of civil liberty.

The introduction of the feudal ſyſtem alſo produced many important changes in the adminiſtration of juſtice. Every baron had a court, in which he himſelf preſided, to ſettle all controverſies that aroſe between his own immediate vaſſals; to compel the payment of debts, and the performance of contracts; to redreſs wrongs, and to puniſh crimes. The power of the baron even extended to the infliction of capital puniſhments. The military vaſſals of the barons had alſo ſimilar courts within their reſpective manors, endowed with the ſame privileges, except that of life and death.

There was likewiſe the County-court, the ſame as in the Saxon times, to judge between the ſubjects of different baronies. This was a court of great power and dignity, in which the earl preſided with the biſhop of the dioceſe; and where all the freeholders of the county, and even the moſt powerful barons, were obliged to attend, and to aſſiſt in the adminiſtration of juſtice. But, during the reign of William, the authority of this court ſuffered conſiderable diminution, by the encouragement of appeals to the ſupreme court, which tended to augment the power and influence of the ſovereign.

The higheſt court was that of the king, called *Curia*, or *Aula Regis*, becauſe it was always held in the great hall of the king's palace, wherever he happened to reſide. He there heard cauſes, and pronounced judgment; and, though he was aſſiſted by the advice of the other members, it will eaſily be conceived that his word was law. In his abſence, the chief juſticiary preſided, who was the firſt magiſtrate in the ſtate, and regent of the kingdom when the ſovereign was abroad. The other chief officers of the crown, the Conſtable, Seneſchal, Mareſchal, Chamberlain, Treaſurer, and Chancellor, were members, together with ſuch feudal barons as choſe to attend; and the barons of the Exchequer, who were at firſt feudal barons, appointed by the King. The Chancellor's office was to keep the great ſeal, which he affixed to all charters; a cuſtom that was introduced by the Normans. This court, which was ſometimes called the King's Court, ſometimes the Court of Exchequer, judged in all cauſes, civil and criminal; and comprehended the whole buſineſs which is now divided between four courts; the Chancery, the King's Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer.

By theſe various innovations, and conſequent the accumulation of power to the ſovereign, the Norman dominion appeared to have acquired a ſolidity which bade defiance to the moſt deſperate efforts of it's enemies. The ſubjection of the eccleſiaſtical revenues to the rigours of the feudal law, though the leaſt oppreſſive of William's new regulations, excited greater clamours than all his other arbitrary proceedings. The Pope and the clergy, whoſe tenets, at this period, were favourable to ſlavery, and who would rather have encouraged than repreſſed any other encroachment which did not immediately interfere with their own intereſt, inveighed againſt this, as an exertion of inſupportable tyranny. But William's abſolute command over his army ſo effectually ſecured his authority, and ſhielded him from every hoſtile attempt, that even the formidable ſhafts of Superſtition fell powerleſs at his feet.

Still to obviate any poſſible effects of eccleſiaſtical reſentment within his dominions, he reſolved to expel all the Engliſh from the dignities they enjoyed in the church, and to ſupply their places with foreigners. Many of the Engliſh ſees were indeed already poſſeſſed by Normans, who had owed their promotion to the partiality of Edward the Confeſſor: but ſtill many of the prelates were natives; and among them was Stigand, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; who, by his vigour and addreſs, the greatneſs and power of his connections, the extent of his poſſeſſions, as well as by the dignity of his office, and conſequent influence over the Engliſh, had become an object of jealous apprehenſion to William. He had, however, been careful to conceal his ſuſpicions of that prelate; and had even treated him with ſignal marks of eſteem and affection, being determined not to betray his tyrannical deſigns till a favourable opportunity ſhould occur for rendering them effective.

His recent ſucceſs in the adoption of violent meaſures now led him to believe that the time was arrived when any inſtance of oppreſſion, however ſtrong, would be unable to excite the leaſt popular commotion: but he wiſely reſolved to ſanction his proceedings

proceedings by a colour of juſtice, and to promote his own purpoſe, by paying court to the Pope.

We have ſhewn in the preceding Book, that the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of Rome, and the authority annexed to it, had always been ſtrenuouſly reſiſted by the Engliſh Church. This ridiculous doctrine had, however, diffuſed itſelf over the ſouthern parts of Europe; and Pope Alexander, who had aſſiſted William in his invaſion, expected the French and Normans would introduce it in England, and by that means deſtroy the ſpiritual as well as civil liberties of the natives. When William, therefore, was firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, he ſent Hermanfrede, Biſhop of Sion, as his legate, into England, who was the firſt that had appeared in that character in any part of the Britiſh dominions; and the favourable reception he experienced from the king amounted to an acknowledgment of the papal ſupremacy. In return, the legate condeſcended to become the inſtrument of William's tyranny, by aſſiſting him in the degradation of the Engliſh prelates, which he knew muſt tend to confirm the authority of that court from whence he derived his commiſſion.

For this purpoſe he ſummoned a council of the prelates and abbots to meet at Wincheſter on the octaves of Eaſter, in the year 1070; and being aſſiſted by two cardinals, Peter and John, he cited Stigand, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to appear, and anſwer for his conduct.

The primate was accuſed of three crimes: the holding of the ſee of Wincheſter together with that of Canterbury; the officiating in the pall of Robert, his predeceſſor; and the having received his own pall from Benedict the Ninth, who had uſurped the papacy, and had afterwards been depoſed for ſimony. It would be ſuperfluous to expatiate on the futility of theſe accuſations, which were mere pretences to operate the ruin of Stigand, who was accordingly proſecuted with unremitting ſeverity. The legate, by virtue of his office, degraded him from his dignity; and the king confiſcated his eſtate, and caſt him into priſon, where he continued during the remainder of his life, in poverty and want.

The other Engliſh prelates experienced a ſimilar fate. Agilmare Biſhop of Norwich, and Agilric Biſhop of Chicheſter, were depoſed and impriſoned; and many powerful abbots were treated with the ſame rigour. The biſhops of Lincoln and Durham fled the kingdom, and retired into Scotland; and Wulſtan, Biſhop of Worceſter, a man of a tranquil diſpoſition, was the only Engliſh prelate that eſcaped this general proſcription, and was ſuffered to retain his dignity. Aldred, Archbiſhop of York, who had placed the crown on the head of William, had lately died of grief and vexation; and, with his parting breath, had beſtowed a malediction on the King for the breach of his coronation-oath, and for thoſe acts of tyranny and oppreſſion which daily marked his conduct to the Engliſh.

The vacant ſees were immediately conferred on foreigners. Lanfranc, a Milaneſe, and Abbot of Caen in Normandy, a man diſtinguiſhed for his learning and piety, was appointed to ſucceed Stigand in the primacy; Thomas, Canon of Bayeux, was promoted to the archbiſhoprick of York; while Walkelin, Walkerine, Herefact, Stigand, Peter, Herman, and Remigius, all of them Normans, were placed in the ſees of Wincheſter, Durham, Norwich, Chicheſter, Lichfield, Saliſbury, and Lincoln.

The promotion of theſe foreigners proved highly favourable to the extenſion of the papal authority; which being favoured by the ſentiments of the monarch, as well as by the monaſtic eſtabliſhments which had been formerly inſtituted by ſome of the Saxon kings, ſoon attained to the ſame height in England which it had previouſly reached in France and Italy.

The prevalence of this ſuperſtitious ſpirit became dangerous to ſubſequent monarchs, though the arbitrary power of William prevented him from experiencing any immediate inconveniences from it. His ſpiritual, as well as his lay ſubjects, were kept in the ſtricteſt ſubjection; his will was abſolute, and he would ſuffer no one to diſpute it. He forbade his ſubjects to acknowledge any one as Pope whom he himſelf had not previouſly received as ſuch. He ordered all eccleſiaſtical canons to be preſented for his approbation before they were promulgated. Even the bulls or letters from the Pope could not be legally produced till they had received the ſame ſanction: and none of his miniſters or barons could, on any pretence, be ſubjected to ſpiritual cenſures, till he had ſanctioned their excommunication by his conſent.

But, unfortunately for the Engliſh, every new acquiſition of power to the King was attended with new inſtances of oppreſſion to the people, whom William ſeemed determined to reduce to a ſtate of paſſive ſubjection, aggravated by a conſtant repetition of inſults. He even projected the abolition of the Engliſh language; and, to promote the French tongue, ordered that it ſhould be taught in all ſchools throughout the kingdom: a practice which continued to prevail till the reign of Edward the Third. The pleadings in the ſupreme court of judicature were in French: indeed, the Norman juſticiary, who occaſionally preſided there, underſtood no other language. Law-deeds were drawn in French; the laws were compoſed in that idiom; it was the only tongue ſpoken at court; and ſoon became the language of all faſhionable company. From this, and from the extenſive foreign dominions which were ſo long annexed to the crown of England, and produced a continual intercourſe between the inhabitants of the two countries, proceeded that mixture of French which is ſtill to be found in the Engliſh language.

To afford ſome trifling alleviation, however, to the miſeries which the Engliſh experienced, the King, at this period, is ſaid to have been moved, by the remonſtrances of ſome of his prelates, to comply with their earneſt requeſt to reſtore a part of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor; which afforded the people great ſatisfaction, as a memorial of their ancient government, though the conceſſion by no means tended to reſcue them from the rigours of feudal ſlavery.

The two powerful earls, Edwin and Morcar, now found themſelves in a diſagreeable ſituation. Though they had refuſed to join in the general revolt of their countrymen, and had ſteadily preſerved their allegiance in the midſt of internal commotions, their loyalty had not been able to acquire them the confidence of their ſovereign, nor to exempt them from that indiſcriminate contempt in which all the Engliſh were held by his Norman favourites. Their opulence and rank, too, were ſubjects of envy and hatred, which could not fail to expoſe them to the dangerous malevolence of the courtiers.

Thus ſituated, retaining only the ſhadow of dignity, and in daily fear for their perſonal ſafety, they determined to make an effort to reſcue their country from ſervitude; and, if they failed, to ſhare the fate of their countrymen. Edwin retired to his eſtate in the north, with the view of exciting an inſurrection: while Morcar repaired to the Iſle of Ely, to join the brave Hereward de Wake; who, ſince his return to England, had not ceaſed to harraſs the Normans, and ſecured by the inacceſſible ſituation of the place, which was ſurrounded with a moraſs, ſtill defended himſelf againſt the troops of William.

The Biſhops of Durham and Hereford, with many other perſons of diſtinction whom the deſpotic diſpoſition of the King had diſguſted, joined the inſurgents: and Hereward, juſtly apprehenſive of a ſpeedy attack, took every defenſive precaution which military ſagacity could ſuggeſt. The only paſſage into the iſland was ſo ſtrongly fortified, as to be able to reſiſt any attempts that might be made on it; and he had taken care to ſupply himſelf with a ſtore of proviſions ſufficient for a ſiege of conſiderable length.

The King, who was well acquainted with the courage and conduct of Hereward, gave orders to his troops to march with the utmoſt expedition, in the hope of taking him by ſurprize; but he found that experienced warrior ſo well prepared to receive him, that he was compelled to convert the ſiege into a blockade, as the only probable means of ſucceeding in his enterprize. But this was a tedious mode of proceeding that ill ſuited with the impetuoſity of William; and, at this juncture, was productive of additional anxiety, as he had juſt received intelligence of an irruption into the northern parts of the kingdom by Malcolm, King of Scotland.

At length, however, a ſcheme was ſuggeſted to him, which effected the accompliſhment of his wiſhes. The monaſtery of Ely poſſeſſed ſeveral manors without the limits of the iſle, from whence it derived the greateſt part of it's revenues: theſe the King was adviſed to ſeize, and diſtribute among his courtiers; an alienation that excited a prodigious clamour among the monks, who were importunate in their requiſitions to Thurſtan, their abbot, to make an immediate peace with the King, that they might procure the reſtoration of their lands. The abbot, to comply with their requeſt, found means to diſpatch a private emiſſary to William, with an offer of putting him in poſſeſſion of the iſle; and, moreover, to pay him ſeven hundred marks, if he would previouſly reſtore the manors which he had ſeized. The king chearfully accepted this advantageous propoſal; and the monks accordingly performed their promiſe, by admitting his troops into the iſland, though hiſtorians have neglected to inform us by what means they accompliſhed ſo arduous an undertaking.

Hereward, finding himſelf betrayed, cut his way through the enemy ſword in hand; and ſtill continued his hoſtilities againſt the Normans by ſea: till, at laſt, William, charmed with his bravery—the only good quality (a virtue it cannot be called) which he appears to have been capable of reſpecting—received him into favour, and reſtored him to his eſtate.

Earl Morcar, and the Biſhop of Durham, were thrown into priſon; where the latter ſoon after died. Edwin, attempting to make his eſcape into Scotland, the common aſylum of Engliſh fugitives in thoſe diſtreſsful times, was betrayed by three brothers, in whoſe friendſhip he had placed the firmeſt reliance; and, after a brave defence, was ſlain by a party of Normans, with about twenty of his followers. The death of this gallant and beautiful youth proved a ſource of affliction to the Engliſh, whoſe affection he had acquired; and even the relentleſs William could not refrain from tears, though long inured to ſcenes of blood, when his head was preſented to him by his perfidious aſſaſſins, who claimed the reward of their treachery, which was juſtly beſtowed, in a ſentence of perpetual baniſhment.

The extenſive poſſeſſions of Edwin and Morcar were immediately confiſcated: even the monks of Ely, to whom his ſucceſs was entirely owing, experienced the effects of his rapacious diſpoſition; for when they came to pay the ſtipulated ſum of ſeven hundred marks, a trifling deficiency appearing—hiſtorians ſay, only a groat—William fined them three hundred more; to raiſe which, according to Tyrrel, they were under the neceſſity of ſelling their plate, and ſtripping their images of their coſtly ornaments. Still farther to gratify his inſatiate avarice, and that of his followers, having received intelligence that many of the Engliſh had concealed their money and moſt valuable effects in different monaſteries, he ordered a general ſearch, and ſeized and confiſcated all that could be found. Of the priſoners which he had taken in the Iſle of Ely, he ordered the hands of many of them to be cut off, and their eyes to be put out, and then diſperſed them in that miſerable condition throughout the country, to deter others from incurring a ſimilar puniſhment by a ſimilar conduct.

While William was thus employed in the gratification of his two favourite paſſions, Avarice and Revenge, Malcolm was committing depredations in the north.

Coſpatric, Governor of Northumberland, finding himſelf too weak to oppoſe the progreſs of the Scottiſh monarch, ſought to create a diverſion, by making an irruption into his Engliſh territories; and accordingly entering the province of Cumberland, ravaged the whole country.

William,

William, having ſuppreſſed all the inſurrections in England, determined to chaſtiſe Malcolm; and for that purpoſe marched with his army into Scotland, whither that monarch had by this time retired with a prodigious booty. On his arrival, he found Malcolm in poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt, from whence an attempt to diſlodge him would have been attended with the moſt imminent danger. William, therefore, pitched his camp in the vicinity; and the two armies lay oppoſite to each other for ſeveral days, each fearful to commence an engagement which muſt probably have proved fatal to one or the other. At length a negotiation was ſet on foot, which terminated in a peace, by which Malcolm conſented to renew his homage to William for his Engliſh poſſeſſions; and the king agreed to receive Edgar Atheling into favour, to allow him a competent ſubſiſtence, and permit him to live in England unmoleſted.

On his return from Scotland, William deprived Coſpatric of the government of Northumberland, under pretence that he had maintained a correſpondence with the enemy, and beſtowed it on Waltheof, who now enjoyed a great portion of his confidence and favour. Coſpatric retired to Scotland, where Malcolm conferred on him the earldom of Dunbar.

William, having eſtabliſhed the tranquillity of England, had now leiſure to attend to the ſtate of his foreign dominions. Hebert, Count of Maine, a province of France, had at his death bequeathed his dominions to the Duke of Normandy, ſome years previous to his invaſion of England; but the inhabitants, diſſatisfied with the Norman government, and inſtigated by Fulk, Count of Anjou, who had ſome pretenſions to the ſucceſſion, now roſe in rebellion, and expelled all the magiſtrates whom William had appointed to govern them. To ſuppreſs this revolt, the king determined to make a voyage to the continent; but, being unwilling to remove all his foreign troops from this iſland, leſt an inſurrection ſhould take place during his abſence, he took with him a conſiderable army, chiefly compoſed of Engliſh; whoſe exertions to retrieve the national reputation for valour, which had lately ſuffered degradation by their ready ſubmiſſion to the Normans, and if poſſible to acquire the confidence and eſteem of their ferocious monarch, ſpeedily enabled him to reduce the inſurgents to obedience, and to compel the Count of Anjou to relinquiſh his pretenſions. William, however, paſſed the whole of the year 1073, and the greateſt part of the ſucceeding year, on the continent, to regulate his domeſtic affairs, and to enjoy the ſociety of his ancient ſubjects.

This long abſence gave riſe to a conſpiracy in England, which was formed by thoſe very foreigners who had experienced the exceſs of his liberality, and who were the excluſive objects of his friendſhip and eſteem. The Norman barons, in the true ſpirit of feudal tyranny, though anxious to impoſe the yoke of ſervitude on their inferiors, were ever impatient to bear it themſelves. Turbulent and imperious, they diſdained ſubmiſſion; and were anxious to eſtabliſh their independency, not with the benignant intention of diffuſing the ſweets of liberty, but the more effectually to ſecure the unreſtrained exerciſe of their own arbitrary power.

Roger, Earl of Hereford, the ſon and heir of William's great favourite, Fitz-Oſborne, having promiſed his ſiſter in marriage to Ralph de Guàder, Earl of Norfolk, had thought it neceſſary to make application to the king for his conſent; which, for reaſons not mentioned by hiſtorians, was refuſed: but the two earls, notwithſtanding, perſiſted in their purpoſe; and, being determined to ſolemnize the marriage, invited their friends to attend the celebration. Diſguſted by William's refuſal, and dreading the effects of that reſentment which they were ſenſible their diſobedience would not fail to excite in the breaſt of their ſovereign, they formed the project of an inſurrection; and amidſt the chearfulneſs of the nuptial banquet, while the company was heated with wine, they opened the deſign to their gueſts. They repreſented the king as an imperious tyrant, whoſe deſpotic conduct had become inſupportable: they inveighed againſt his oppreſſion to the Engliſh, whoſe misfortunes on this occaſion they feigned to commiſerate; and ſeverely reprobated thoſe arbitrary meaſures which evinced a diſpoſition to involve the victors in the ſame fate with the vanquiſhed. Even the illegitimacy of his birth was rendered a ſubject for abuſe; and the indignity of ſubmitting to a baſtard was enforced with all the virulence and rancour that hatred and revenge could inſpire.

Theſe preliminary reflections were followed by a propoſal to dethrone the king, which they maintained might be eaſily effected by the aſſiſtance of the Danes, the Welſh, and diſcontented Engliſh. The project was accordingly adopted; and the whole company immediately entered into a ſolemn engagement to promote it's accompliſhment. Even Earl Waltheof, who was preſent, after ſome heſitation, concurred in the general plan. This nobleman, the only one of the Engliſh who poſſeſſed the ſmalleſt portion of the royal confidence, beſides the dignities we have already remarked, had been promoted to the earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon: but, being endued with extenſive generoſity, and an ardent love of his country, it is highly probable that this profuſion of honours was inſufficient to chaſe from his mind thoſe unpleaſing ideas which the general oppreſſion of the Engliſh could not fail to inſpire. When an opportunity, therefore, occurred to procure the retrieval of their liberty, he obeyed the firſt impulſe of patriotiſm, and gladly embraced it, while his judgment was obſcured by the fumes of liquor, and while the eager perſuaſions of the company prevented him from reflecting on it's temerity. But when he recovered the free uſe of his faculties, he eaſily foreſaw that the revolt of a few diſcontented barons would be wholly inadequate to ſhake the eſtabliſhed power of William; or if, from any unexpected combination of fortunate circumſtances, their efforts ſhould be crowned with ſucceſs, that his countrymen, far from obtaining the leaſt alleviation of their ſlavery, would inevitably

experience

experience an augmentation of misery from the disjointed government of a herd of factious and ambitious nobles, whose union and discord would prove equally productive of wretchedness to their unhappy subjects: for all the inconveniences of a monarchy, the most absolute and despotic, are trivial and unimportant, when compared to the violence and oppression which must infallibly result from that monster in political theory—a Feudal Aristocracy.

Tormented with these reflections, he sought to procure relief by disburdening his mind to the partner of his bed, of whose fidelity he entertained not the least suspicion: but the faithless Judith, whose affections were secretly fixed on another, rejoiced in an opportunity to promote the destruction of her easy and credulous husband. She immediately sent a trusty messenger to Normandy, to reveal the conspiracy to her uncle; and was careful to aggravate every circumstance of guilt which she thought could tend to heighten his resentment against Waltheof, and render him deaf to any application for pardon or mitigation of punishment.

In the interim, the earl, still dubious in what manner to proceed, revealed the important secret to Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, under the seal of confession; and, having a firm reliance on his judgment and integrity, entreated his advice. The prelate persuaded him that it was more meritorious to violate a promise which led to the commission of a crime, than to perform it; that his duty to his sovereign, and a just regard for his own safety, required that he should reveal his guilt without farther delay, as the only atonement that would be accepted, or that could merit forgiveness.

Convinced by these arguments, Waltheof repaired to Normandy, and met with a reception apparently favourable; but the account previously transmitted by Judith had made too strong an impression on the mind of William to be easily obliterated, and effectually destroyed the merit of her husband's repentance.

The other conspirators were no sooner apprized of Waltheof's departure, than they concluded their designs were betrayed; and rashly flew to arms, before their plot had attained to maturity, and before the arrival of the Danes, on whose assistance they chiefly relied for success. The Earl of Hereford made an attempt to pass the Severn; but, being opposed by some troops that had been raised by Walter de Lacy, a powerful baron in those parts, in conjunction with the Bishop of Worcester and the Abbot of Evesham, his progress was checked, and he was prevented from executing his design, which was to advance into the heart of the kingdom.

Ralph de Guader, having advanced into the vicinity of Cambridge, was met and defeated at Fagadun by Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, assisted by Richard de Bienfaite, and William de Warrenne, the justiciary. The prisoners taken in this action had their right foot cut off, as a punishment for their treason. The Earl of Norfolk himself made his escape to the castle of Norwich, which was immediately invested; but he found means to retire from thence to Denmark; and his lady soon after surrendered the castle, and consented to join her husband, and remain in perpetual exile. From Denmark, the earl repaired to Britanny, where he possessed a large estate and extensive jurisdictions.

The Danish fleet now appeared off the English coast, with the view of disembarking an army to assist the conspirators; but, finding the insurrection totally quelled, the Danes immediately returned to their own harbours, without even attempting to make a descent.

William, on his arrival in England, about the end of the summer, found the revolt entirely suppressed, and that nothing remained but the punishment of the insurgents; a task which he undertook with his accustomed chearfulness, and performed with his usual severity. Many of them were hanged, some suffered a deprivation of their sight, and others were punished by the loss of their hands. The Earl of Hereford, who as the author of the conspiracy undoubtedly merited a more severe punishment than the unfortunate instruments of his ambition, being a Norman, and the son of a favourite, was only condemned to a confiscation of his estate, and imprisonment during pleasure. The king seemed even inclined to remit the latter part of the sentence, till the earl, by a repetition of insolence, provoked him to render his confinement perpetual.

The unhappy Waltheof, who had indisputably the strongest claims to mercy, did not experience a similar indulgence. Though his consent to the revolt had been obtained under circumstances which afforded every palliation to his guilt, and had been amply atoned for by an early repentance and timely discovery; yet, being an Englishman, possessed of wealth, power, and dignity, the rapacious courtiers could not fail to regard him with an eye of jealousy, and therefore, in conjunction with his unnatural wife, they urged William, who was never known to evince a reluctance in the infliction of revenge, to hasten his destruction. He was accordingly tried; and, being convicted of treason, was ordered to be privately beheaded without the walls of Winchester. His body was thrown into a ditch, from whence it was afterwards removed to the chapter-house of Gwyland, where it was interred with due honours.

With this accomplished nobleman perished the hopes of the English, who looked on him as their last resource. The popularity which Waltheof had justly acquired by a display of exemplary virtues, rendered his memory greatly lamented by his countrymen, who believed that miracles were performed at his tomb, as a testimony of his innocence and sanctity.

The infamous Judith, soon after, incurring the king's displeasure, became an object of universal abhorrence, and passed the remnant of her life in misery and remorse.

William having compleated the measure of his vengeance in England, was now anxious to punish Ralph de Guader, who had taken refuge on his paternal estates in Britanny. Thither the king determined to pursue him; and the earl having retired to the city of Dol, William laid siege to it, and solemnly

ſolemnly ſwore that he would not deſiſt till he had reduced the town, and gained poſſeſſion of his enemy. But he was compelled to violate his oath; for the King of France, together with Hoel, Count of Bretagne, having ſent a formidable body of troops to the aſſiſtance of Ralph, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and relinquiſh his enterprize.

A peace was ſoon after concluded between all the contending parties; and was cemented by the marriage of the Princeſs Conſtance, William's eldeſt daughter, with Alain Fergeant, ſon to the Count of Bretagne, which was celebrated at Caen with great magnificence.

About this period, William received a letter from the ſovereign pontiff, to demand the payment of Peter's Pence. Pope Alexander the Second having died in the year 1073, was ſucceeded by the famous Hildebrand, Archdeacon of Rome, who aſſumed the name of Gregory the Seventh, and became the moſt turbulent and aſpiring pontiff that had ever enjoyed the papal dignity. Not content with the arbitrary exerciſe of his ſpiritual authority, this ambitious prelate laid claim to univerſal dominion; nor ſuffered his enterprizing genius to be reſtrained by fear, decency, or moderation. His impious zeal having engendered more inſurrections, and cauſed greater effuſion of blood, than the ambition of the moſt ſanguinary tyrants, after daring to iſſue ſentences of excommunication againſt almoſt every crowned head on the continent, Gregory extended his claims to England.

He wrote a letter to William, in which he required that monarch to do homage for the kingdom of England to the ſee of Rome, and inſiſted on the immediate payment of all the arrears of Peter's Pence, which, in imitation of his predeceſſors, he termed a tribute. William rejected his demand of homage with becoming indignation; and only promiſed to remit him the money as a free gift, in which light it had ever been conſidered. Still farther to mortify the pride of Gregory, and aſſert his own independence, he prohibited the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other Engliſh prelates, to quit the kingdom, though the Pope had repeatedly commanded their attendance at Rome, where he had ſummoned a general council to meet, for the purpoſe of ſanctioning the meaſures he had adopted for the oppreſſion of his enemies.

The general reſtoration of tranquillity now afforded William juſt hopes of enjoying a long interval of repoſe: but his expectations met with a ſudden diſappointment, by the appearance of domeſtic commotions.

Robert, his eldeſt ſon, ſurnamed Gambaron, or Courthoſe, from his ſhort legs, was a prince who inherited the courage of his father, without his diſſimulation. Being impatient of controul, he was prompted to aſpire to an early independence; and ſeveral circumſtances had concurred to favour his deſign.

When William received the ſubmiſſions of the province of Maine, he had promiſed the inhabitants that he would appoint Robert to govern them; and, previous to his firſt embarkation for England, while he was ſoliciting ſuccours from the French, he had expreſsly declared, that if his deſigns upon this country met with ſucceſs, that prince ſhould ſucceed him in the dutchy of Normandy. This artful declaration was intended to quiet the jealouſy of his neighbours, who were fearful that he would acquire too great an extent of territory: but when Robert, after the acceſſion of his father to the throne of England, had demanded the performance of his promiſe, William anſwered, that the numerous inſurrections among his ſubjects, and the threatened invaſion of the Scots and Danes, rendered his power in England ſo precarious and uncertain, that prudence forbade him to part with his hereditary dominions, to which he might perhaps at length be compelled to retire. This evaſive anſwer ſerved his purpoſe for a time; but all thoſe pretended obſtacles being now removed, he was compelled to lay aſide his diſſimulation, and to confeſs to his ſon, that it was his determination not to reſign any part of his territories during his life. This explicit avowal increaſed the diſcontent of Robert, who made no attempt to conceal his diſpleaſure; and was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having inſtigated the King of France, and the Count of Bretagne, to that oppoſition to his father which had formerly compelled him to raiſe the ſiege of Dol with ſuch precipitation.

Robert even entertained a violent jealouſy of his two brothers, William Rufus and Henry, whoſe ſubmiſſive conduct had acquired the affection of their father.

During the prevalence of this animoſity, it is not wonderful that a trifling incident ſhould cauſe a ſerious rupture. William and his three ſons had paſſed ſome time at the caſtle of L'Aigle; where the princes, being one day engaged in ſport together, William and Henry threw ſome water on Robert, who had juſt left them, and was paſſing under the window of their apartment. This innocent frolic would have paſſed unnoticed, but for the ſuggeſtions of Alberic de Grentmeſnil, ſon of that Hugh de Grentmeſnil, who had been deprived by William of his honours and eſtates for leaving England at a time of public danger.

This young nobleman, who had not forgotten William's ſeverity to his father, had been very ſtudious to promote diſcord in the royal family. It unfortunately happened that he was with Robert at this time; and, in proſecution of the plan he had adopted, he perſuaded that prince that his brothers meant to inſult him, and that therefore he ſhould demand immediate ſatisfaction for ſo groſs a deviation from reſpect.

Robert, naturally paſſionate, fired at the idea; and, inſtantly drawing his ſword, ran up ſtairs to take revenge on his brothers. The whole caſtle immediately became a ſcene of tumult and confuſion, which even the king himſelf found ſome difficulty to appeaſe. His attempts, however, to allay the indignation of Robert, were fruitleſs. Complaining of his father's partiality, and diſappointed in his hopes of revenge for the imaginary inſult he had ſuſtained, he privately withdrew from court that very evening; and, attended by ſeveral of the

young nobility who were attached to his fortunes, repaired to Rouen, with an intention of ſeizing the citadel of that place. But his deſign being fruſtrated by the caution and vigilance of the governor, Roger de Ivry, he fled to Hugh de Neuſchatel, a powerful Norman baron, who afforded him and his company protection in his caſtles.

This was the ſignal for war, which now began to rage with great violence. The young nobility of Normandy and Maine, together with thoſe of Anjou and Bretagne, in general declared for the prince, who was privately ſupplied with money by his mother Matilda, and thereby enabled to ſupport an unnatural conteſt, which during three years convulſed the hereditary dominions of William, and totally deſtroyed his domeſtic repoſe.

Philip, King of France, who envied his power and glory, ſpared no pains to foment the diviſion, and to enlarge the breach which ſubſiſted between father and ſon.

The king, finding his authority in Normandy conſiderably diminiſhed by the attachment of the Norman nobility to his ſon, was at length compelled to have recourſe to England, where his tyranny had eſtabliſhed his power on a more ſolid baſis, and where the doctrine of paſſive obedience had been more ſucceſsfully inculcated. An Engliſh army was accordingly tranſported to the continent; and Robert, unable to withſtand ſo formidable a reinforcement, was compelled to leave his father in poſſeſſion of Normandy, and to retire to the caſtle of Gerberoy, in the Beauvoiſis, a retreat which Philip had ſecured for him. Here he was joined by a great number of French noblemen, who repaired thither with their vaſſals to ſignalize their courage under the command of a prince who was eſteemed one of the beſt ſoldiers of his time. From thence they ravaged all the Vexin Normand and the Pays de Caux.

William, to put a ſtop to theſe incurſions, purſued his ſon, and laid cloſe ſiege to the caſtle, which was defended with great valour. Before the walls of Gerberoy there paſſed many rencounters, which more reſembled the atchievements of chivalry than the operations of regular troops. In one of the numerous ſallies which were made during the ſiege, Robert, perceiving an officer in the Engliſh army who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his vigorous exertions, rode up to him, and making a furious thruſt with his lance, wounded and diſmounted him at the firſt onſet. As he fell, he called out for aſſiſtance; and his voice immediately diſcovered him to be the king. Robert, ſtruck with horror at the crime he was about to accompliſh, ſprung from his horſe; and, falling on his knees, moſt earneſtly entreated his father's forgiveneſs.

William, ſtung with ſhame and indignation, did not anſwer the virtuous effuſions of filial reſpect with a return of equal tenderneſs; but, mounting his ſon's horſe, departed for his camp, beſtowing a malediction, where a heart leſs ferocious muſt have pronounced a pardon. He ſoon after raiſed the ſiege, and returned to Rouen; where, by the importunities of the queen, and the interpoſition of his nobles, he was prevailed upon to liſten to a reconciliation with Robert: but he did not think it prudent to leave him in Normandy after his own departure from that country; and therefore took him with him to England, under the ſpecious pretence of entruſting him with the command of an army, which he ſent to repel the incurſions of the Scots, who had invaded England.

During William's reſidence on the continent, Malcolm, King of Scotland, had entered the northern provinces of the kingdom, where he committed depredations, and retired to his own territories with a conſiderable booty, and many priſoners. Having experienced little oppoſition, the Scots were tempted to renew their ravages the enſuing year; particularly, as the whole county of Northumberland was involved in the utmoſt confuſion, by the recent murder of Walcher, Biſhop of Durham.

This prelate, after the execution of Waltheof, had purchaſed the earldom of Northumberland from the king; but, his indolence rendering him unfit for the diſcharge of thoſe duties which were annexed to his office, he ſuffered his people to oppreſs the inhabitants. He was chiefly governed by Liothwin, his chaplain, and Gillebert, one of his chief officers, who were guilty of every enormity; and, among other outrages, had inhumanly murdered one Leulf, an Engliſh nobleman, who was univerſally beloved. An action ſo atrocious could not fail to incur the indignation of Walcher; but ſuch was the influence which thoſe unprincipled villains preſerved over his mind, that they prevailed on him to ſcreen them from juſtice, and prevent a proſecution, by the offer of a pecuniary ſatisfaction to the friends of the deceaſed. But when Walcher, accompanied by the aſſaſſins, repaired to the county-court, which was held at Gateſhead, to make the propoſal, the people, incenſed at his conduct, fell upon them, and ſlew the biſhop, with his two favourites, and about a hundred of his followers.

William, who returned from Normandy in the autumn of the year 1080, ſent an army into the north, under the joint command of his ſon Robert and his brother Odo, Biſhop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, to chaſtiſe the Northumbrians, who after the death of Walcher had proceeded to an inſurrection; but, before they arrived, the inſurgents were diſperſed, and thoſe who had been principally concerned in the murder had fled for refuge to the continent. He proceeded, notwithſtanding, to lay waſte the country, ſtripped the cathedral of Durham of all it's rich ornaments, and left a ſtrong garriſon in the caſtle.

It was immediately after theſe commotions that Malcolm entered Northumberland; and Robert was ſent at the head of a powerful army to repel his incurſions, and to retaliate by making an inroad into his territories: but Malcolm, not thinking it prudent to wait his approach, retired into Scotland with the plunder he had made; and the prince, having advanced beyond the boundaries, marched back to the River Tyne, on the banks of which, near Monkceſter, he erected a fortreſs, which he called *New Caſtle*; from whence the preſent town of Newcaſtle

Newcaſtle upon Tyne derived it's name and origin.

It was about this period that William, deſirous of procuring the moſt exact information of the value of the royal demeſnes, as well as of thoſe lands which were held by his tenants *in capite*, determined to take a general ſurvey of the kingdom. For this purpoſe he appointed commiſſioners, who entered every particular in their regiſters by the verdict of juries, who were ſworn in every county. The object of their inveſtigation was to determine the extent of lands in each diſtrict, to ſpecify their value, proprietors, and tenures; the quantity of arable, paſture, wood, and meadow land, which each contained; and, in ſome counties, the number of tenants, cottagers, and ſlaves of all denominations; and even of horſes, cattle, ſwine, ſheep, and hives of bees. It is to be obſerved, that the counties of Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Northumberland, were not comprehended in this ſurvey.

This laborious taſk was compleated in ſix years; and the regiſter, being formed into two volumes, was denominated Dooms-Day-Book, and lodged in the Exchequer, where it is ſtill preſerved.

The praiſes beſtowed on William, by ſome modern hiſtorians, for this extenſive and important undertaking, would lead us to believe that he was induced to it by motives deſerving of commendation: but it is evident that his ſole object was the oppreſſion of his ſubjects, and the gratification of his own avarice; as the exact knowledge of their property enabled him to form an adequate idea of the impoſts they could bear, which he did not fail to render as burdenſome as poſſible, and to collect with a ſeverity that excluded any poſſibility of evaſion.

Beſides the numerous taxes impoſed on the people, they were ſaddled with the whole maintenance of the army, to which the king did not contribute a ſingle farthing, though his coffers were ſo plentifully ſupplied.

We have already ſhewn that, in the general diſtribution of land, William had not been forgetful of his own intereſt; and, if we may credit Ordericus Vitalis, an ancient hiſtorian, his fixed annual income, excluſive of eſcheats, fines, and other valuable caſualties, amounted to near four hundred thouſand pounds, or one thouſand and ſixty pounds ten ſhillings and one penny-halfpenny per diem. When we conſider that a pound in thoſe times contained three times the weight of ſilver that it does at preſent, and would purchaſe near ten times more of the neceſſaries of life, we ſhall find that this revenue of William's was almoſt incredibly great, as it would be equal to at leaſt nine or ten millions at preſent: and as he had no fleet to ſupport, and his army was maintained by his ſubjects, his opulence muſt have exceeded that of any monarch in any age or nation.

If there be reaſon to ſuſpect that the hiſtorian has been guilty of a miſtake, we muſt certainly impute it to wilful exaggeration; for, as he lived ſo near the time in which he wrote, being born in the year 1075, he muſt certainly have been perfect maſter of his ſubject: but William's known avarice, from the gratification of which no principles of moral rectitude were ſufficient to reſtrain him, affords a ſemblance of probability to the account of Ordericus Vitalis, and leads us to believe that, if he has really not paid that ſtrict attention to truth which ſhould be the invariable guide of an hiſtorian, a ſuſpicion we are far from entertaining, his deviations at leaſt have not been conſiderable.

William, as well as all the Normans and ancient Saxons, was extremely addicted to the pleaſures of the chace; and, to enjoy it in greater perfection, he reſolved to make a new foreſt near Wincheſter, the uſual place of his reſidence. For this purpoſe he laid waſte the country in Hampſhire for an extent of thirty miles, expelling the inhabitants from their houſes, which he deſtroyed, ſeizing their property, demoliſhing all the villages and plantations, not ſparing even the churches and monaſteries, and making no reparation to the ſufferers for the loſſes they ſuſtained.

In the time of the Saxons, all noblemen, without diſtinction, enjoyed the privilege of hunting in thoſe counties and foreſts where game was plentiful: but William enacted new laws, by which his ſubjects were reſtricted from hunting in any of his foreſts; and the penalties annexed to the violation of them were ſuch as evinced the ſavage cruelty of his mind. The killing of a deer, hare, or wild boar, ſubjected the delinquent to the loſs of his eyes; and that at a time when the murder of a man might be atoned for by a moderate pecuniary fine. The depopulation of the country did not excite the indignation of the people in a greater degree than theſe tyrannic infringements on their privileges rouſed the reſentment of the nobility, both Normans and Engliſh, who regarded this abolition of their principal diverſion as an intolerable grievance: but their murmurs could have little effect on a monarch whoſe vices and amuſements were equally deſtructive to the peace and welfare of his ſubjects.

About this time, Odo, Biſhop of Bayeux, the King's uterine brother, who had been created Earl of Kent, and had enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of power ſince his arrival in England, being in poſſeſſion of immenſe riches, which he had apparently amaſſed for purpoſes of ambition, caſt his eyes on the papacy. To promote the ſucceſs of his ſchemes, he had purchaſed a magnificent palace at Rome, where he intended to reſide till the death of Gregory, the reigning Pope, that he might be ready to enſure the ſucceſſion, which he had not the ſmalleſt doubt that he ſhould obtain by his money and intrigues.

His meaſures had been planned with the utmoſt ſecrecy: and he had perſuaded Hugh Earl of Cheſter, with many other conſiderable barons, to ſhare his fortunes, with a promiſe to reward their attachment by important eſtabliſhments on his attainment to the papal dignity.

The project being ripe for execution, they repaired to the Iſle of Wight, where a veſſel was prepared for their reception; but William having gained intelligence of their deſign, and being unwilling to allow the exportation of ſo much treaſure from

from his dominions, ordered them to be arreſted juſt as they were going to embark. The officers who were entruſted with the commiſſion being afraid to execute it, from reſpect to thoſe immunities which the eccleſiaſtics at this period aſſumed, the King was obliged to ſeize his brother with his own hands. Odo inſiſting that, as a prelate, he was exempt from all temporal juriſdiction, and that the Pope was alone competent to judge him: William replied, that he did not arreſt him as Biſhop of Bayeux, but as Earl of Kent; in which capacity he ſhould compel him to give an account of his adminiſtration. The King now confiſcated his eſtates, and ſent him to Normandy, where he was confined in the caſtle of Rouen; and, notwithſtanding the efforts of Gregory, who ſpared neither threats nor entreaties to procure his releaſe, he remained there till the death of William.

In the year 1083, the king made a voyage to Normandy, to pay a viſit to his Queen Matilda, who was ſeized with a lingering diſorder, which brought her to the grave on the 2d of November. She is repreſented as a princeſs of amiable manners, ſtrict virtue, and deep learning; and, notwithſtanding the ferocious diſpoſition of her huſband, ſhe had lived with him, in the utmoſt harmony, for three and thirty years. It is ſaid that William entertained the higheſt eſteem for her, and was greatly afflicted at her death. His return to England was haſtened by the intelligence he received of an intended invaſion of the iſland by Canute the Fourth, King of Denmark, who was making immenſe preparations for that purpoſe. The Dane was inſtigated to this attempt by the Engliſh refugees, who had retired to his dominions, and had perſuaded him that William had rendered himſelf ſo odious to his ſubjects, that they would willingly embrace any opportunity to ſhake off the Norman yoke. The preſent conjuncture appeared favourable, and inſpired Canute with the idea of obtaining the crown of England, to which he had ſome very diſtant pretenſions.

William being apprized of his deſign, collected a powerful army on the continent; which was compoſed not only of Normans, but of adventurers from all the neighbouring countries: and, tranſporting them to England, quartered them on the inhabitants of the maritime provinces; where they continued for ſeveral months, committing numerous acts of inſolence and oppreſſion.

At length William was relieved from his apprehenſions by the agreeable news that Canute, diſcouraged by a continued ſucceſſion of contrary winds, and ſome violent diſſenſions among his nobles, had relinquiſhed his deſign. The King, therefore, diſmiſſed his mercenary troops, to the great joy of his ſubjects: but he omitted to reſtore a conſiderable ſum of money which he had levied to defray the expences of the war, by impoſing a ſevere tax of ſix ſhillings on every hide of land; which was three times as much as the ordinary Danegeld.

A coolneſs had long ſubſiſted between the kings of England and France, which was about this period converted into an open rupture, by the incurſions of ſome powerful French barons who reſided on the borders of Normandy, into the territories of William. Though the factious and independent ſpirit of the feudal chiefs would frequently lead them to commit outrages that were not ſanctioned by the permiſſion of their monarch, yet William was induced to believe that they were encouraged to inſult him by the countenance and protection of Philip. Theſe depredations increaſed to a conſiderable height. Hubert de Beaumont, in particular, one of the moſt potent noblemen of thoſe days, had put ſeveral Norman barons to death, and enriched himſelf with their ſpoils. William, therefore, thought it neceſſary to viſit his continental dominions, that he might check the progreſs of this daring invader, and take revenge for the injuries which his ſubjects had ſuſtained. But, previous to his departure, he ſummoned all his prelates, nobles, and knights, to meet him at Saliſbury on the firſt of Auguſt; when he compelled them to renew their oaths of fealty, and to grant him extraordinary aids to a conſiderable amount. From thence he proceeded to the Iſle of Wight, and embarked for Normandy, taking with him Edgar Atheling; who being greatly beloved by the Engliſh, was ſtill an object of William's jealouſy. That unfortunate prince, juſtly diſguſted with his precarious and dependent ſituation, and aware of the danger to be apprehended from the King's ſuſpicious temper, aſked his permiſſion to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; to which William gladly aſſented.

The King's diſpleaſure with the French monarch was augmented by the account he received of ſome idle railleries with which Philip had indulged himſelf at his expence. William, who was become extremely corpulent, had been confined for ſome weeks to his bed by ſickneſs; upon which Philip expreſſed a hope that his brother of England would be ſoon delivered of his great belly, and enabled to quit his chamber. This ſarcaſm being reported to the king, threw him into a violent paſſion, and made him ſwear "by the ſplendour and reſurrection "of God," his uſual oath, that, the firſt time he ſhould go abroad, he would light up ſo many torches at Notre-Dame, to celebrate his recovery, as would give but little ſatisfaction to Philip: alluding to the uſual practice, at that time, of women after childbirth; who, when they were churched, always preſented a certain number of lighted candles. Nor did he fail to put this menace in execution; for, immediately on his recovery, he entered L'Iſle de France, at the head of a powerful army, at a time when the harveſt was ripe for gathering, and laid waſte the whole country with fire and ſword. He laid ſiege to Mante; and, having taken it by aſſault, firſt plundered the town, and then reduced it to aſhes, with all the churches and monaſteries it contained.

But the deſtructive progreſs of theſe hoſtilities was impeded by an accident, which ſoon after put an end to William's exiſtence. His horſe ſuddenly ſtarting, threw him on the pommel of the ſaddle, by which he received a dangerous bruiſe; and being extremely heated at the time, and likewiſe in a bad habit of body,

body, he began to be apprehenſive of the conſequences; and ordered himſelf to be conveyed in a litter to the abbey of St. Gervais, at Rouen. Finding his illneſs encreaſe, and his ſpeedy diſſolution inevitable, he now began to reflect on his paſt life, and to deſcend from the monarch to the man. He reviewed thoſe numerous acts of violence and oppreſſion which he had committed, undiſguiſed by the flattering gratifications they had procured to his avarice; he beheld his many deeds of horrid cruelty, unaccompanied by thoſe pleaſing proſpects of revenge which had impelled the commiſſion of them; he ſaw the injuſtice of his uſurpation, and the vaſt effuſion of blood which it had produced, exempt from thoſe agreeable conſequences which had ſo highly flattered his ambition. The natural reſult of theſe calm and unbiaſſed reflections was remorſe, deep, violent, and terrible!—that remorſe which, happily, no aſſumed fortitude of mind, no vain pomp of human grandeur, can avert. He endeavoured to atone for his crimes by extraordinary munificence to the church, and liberal gifts to the clergy, the uſual expiations of thoſe ſuperſtitious times; but he never thought of reſtoring to their legal proprietors thoſe numerous eſtates which he had unjuſtly appropriated to his own uſe; nor to his oppreſſed ſubjects that liberty and happineſs which he had wantonly ſacrificed to his own avarice and ambition. This neglect, however, to perform ſo eſſential an act of juſtice, might probably proceed from the weak ſtate of his mind; which, depreſſed by ſickneſs, and alarmed at the near approach of death, would naturally be open to the dictates of ſuperſtition. He was, moreover, ſurrounded by prieſts, who in that age were never ſtrenuous to enforce the doctrine of retribution, when it tended to thwart their own intereſted views; and who, in this inſtance, were doubtleſs careful to turn the remorſe of William to their own advantage.

The king gave orders to releaſe the Earls Morcar, Siward-Bearne, and Ulnoth, brother to Harold, whom he had detained priſoner ſince he had firſt received him to keep as an hoſtage for Edward the Confeſſor. But it was with great difficulty he could be perſuaded to reſtore to liberty Odo Biſhop of Baieux, againſt whom he was greatly incenſed. He at length, however, yielded to the importunities of his brother, the Count of Mortaigne, and ſigned the order for his releaſe; at the ſame time prognoſticating that his liberty would be productive of conſiderable miſchief.

He next made his will; and bequeathed Normandy and Maine to his eldeſt ſon Robert, not from any affection he bore him, but as the only means of ſecuring the tranquillity of his hereditary and favourite dominions: and to Henry he left a ſum of money, but no territorial poſſeſſions. He wrote to Lanfranc, the primate of England, to requeſt that he would crown William, and ſupport his pretenſions. Having made theſe regulations, he expired on the ninth of September, in the year 1087, in the ſixty-third year of his age, and the twenty-firſt of his reign. His body was conveyed to Caen, where it was buried, in compliance with his own requeſt, in a church which he had himſelf founded.

Though hiſtorians have eſſentially differed in their delineation of the character of William, the ſmalleſt degree of attention to his conduct, in the various tranſactions of his reign, will enable a man of the plaineſt underſtanding to form as juſt an opinion of it as the moſt refined philoſopher. It is evident that avarice and ambition were the predominating paſſions of his ſoul; and to their gratification he ſacrificed every moral and religious duty. From theſe contaminated ſources cruelty and extortion naturally ſprang; and revenge, the ſure token of a vicious mind, being added to the dark catalogue of his vices, rendered his government arbitrary, tyrannical, and oppreſſive.

Yet has William been termed, by hiſtorians of eſtabliſhed reputation, a great and a wiſe monarch. If by wiſdom is meant that political ſagacity which induced him to ſecure the fruits of his uſurpation by a regular ſyſtem of oppreſſion, we may admit the juſtice of the aſſertion; but if we adhere to the true import of the term, no man had ever more feeble pretenſions to wiſdom than William the Firſt. Were we to conſider him merely as a general, his claim to greatneſs would appear well-founded; for his native courage and military ſkill were indiſputably great: but, as a monarch, in whoſe breaſt ſelf was the prevailing principle, and in whoſe reign it would be difficult to diſcover a ſingle tranſaction in which publick good was not ſacrificed to private intereſt, we muſt refuſe him the ſmalleſt portion of praiſe, except ſuch as he may juſtly be entitled to for his temperance and chaſtity, the only virtues he poſſeſſed. In ſhort, William the Firſt muſt ever be conſidered, by the cool hiſtorian and true philoſopher, as a cruel and rapacious tyrant.

William had, by his wife Matilda, four ſons: Robert, who ſucceeded his father in Normandy; Richard, who was killed by a ſtag in the New Foreſt; William, who ſucceeded to the throne of England; and Henry. And alſo five daughters: viz. Cecilia, a nun in the monaſtery of Feſcamp, and afterwards abbeſs of the convent of the Holy Trinity at Caen, where ſhe died in the year 1087; Conſtance, who was married to Alain Fergeant, Duke of Bretagne; Agatha, contracted to Harold in her infancy, and afterwards betrothed to Alphonſo, King of Galicia, but who died before the marriage was conſummated, in her way to Spain; Alice, who died in her infancy; and Adela, married to Stephen, Count of Blois.

The revolution effected by the acceſſion of William was as compleat as any that is recorded in hiſtory, except that which followed the conqueſt of this country by the Saxons, who attempted a total extermination of the natives. Though William, by accepting the crown as a free gift of the people, reſigned all pretenſions to rule by the right of conqueſt; yet his ſubſequent conduct affords a compleat proof that he regarded his power as acquired by force of arms, and exerciſed it accordingly. He treated the Engliſh as a conquered people; and

thought no ſtate of ſubjection too bad for them. The conſequence was, before the concluſion of his reign, there was not a ſingle Engliſhman who enjoyed the rank of Earl, Baron, Biſhop, or Abbot: even the Engliſh name became a term of reproach; and ſeveral generations elapſed before one family of Saxon pedigree attained the poſſeſſion of any conſiderable honours.

William's predilection for the laws of his native country urged him to frequent violations of his coronation-oath, by the introduction of many of them into England.

We have already noticed the different courts of juſtice, and ſhewn that the County-court was the only one of the Saxon eſtabliſhment deemed worthy of preſervation, though the encouragement given to appeals from thence to the *Aula Regis* conſiderably diminiſhed it's remedial and ſalutary influence. Towards the end of this reign, too, it experienced a blow which produced almoſt a total annihilation of it's authority.

This court, in the time of the Saxons, was as much a ſpiritual as a temporal tribunal; the rights of the church were aſcertained and aſſerted at the ſame time, and by the ſame judges as the rights of the laity. For this purpoſe, the biſhop of the dioceſe, and the earl or alderman of the county, uſed to preſide in conjunction, and had cognizance of all cauſes, as well eccleſiaſtical as civil, a ſuperior deference being paid to the biſhop's opinion in ſpiritual matters, and to that of the lay-judges in temporal.

This union of power was productive of many advantages to them both. The preſence of the biſhop added weight and reverence to the earl's proceedings; and the authority of the earl was equally uſeful to the biſhop, by enforcing obedience to his decrees in ſuch refractory offenders as would otherwiſe have deſpiſed the thunder of mere eccleſiaſtical cenſures.

But William, in compliance with the arbitrary projects of the court of Rome, in the year 1085, ſeparated the eccleſiaſtical-court from the civil, by prohibiting the biſhop to preſide in the county-courts, and the clergy to attend as ſuitors, ordering all eccleſiaſtical cauſes to be tried in a court of their own, whoſe deciſions were directed to conform to the canon law. By this imprudent regulation, the county-court, being deprived of it's moſt important buſineſs, fell into diſregard: the earls diſdained to preſide, and the barons to attend. By this means, too, diviſions were fomented between the eccleſiaſtical and civil powers; and the clergy, by claiming the immediate protection of the Pope, formed a kind of *imperium in imperio*, or rather a ſeparate ſtate, under the command of a foreign monarch, which produced thoſe perpetual diſcords and miſchievous animoſities naturally to be expected from the adoption of ſo pernicious a meaſure.

In conſequence of this charter, three eccleſiaſtical-courts were immediately erected, viz. the Court of the Archdeacon, who, being diſcharged from ſitting as a judge with the hundredary in the hundred-court, was authorized to erect a court of his own, in which he had cognizance of eccleſiaſtical cauſes within his archdeaconry; the Biſhop's Court, or Conſiſtory, whoſe juriſdiction extended over the whole dioceſe; and the Archbiſhop's Court, which had cognizance not only of all cauſes within the particular dioceſe of the archbiſhop, but of all thoſe which aroſe within the different dioceſes in the province, and likewiſe received appeals from the inferior courts. From this court appeals lay to the Pope, which ſoon became frequent, and were attended with infinite trouble and expence.

Among the numerous encroachments on the liberty of the ſubject, during the reign of William the Firſt, the introduction of the *Curfew*, or *Couvrefeu*, was not the leaſt diſguſting to the Engliſh. It was a law which enacted, that at the ſounding of a bell, which was rung at eight o'clock at night, all companies ſhould diſperſe, and the fire and candles be extinguiſhed in every houſe. This, indeed, was but a law of police, which had been long in force in Normandy; and, according to the French writers, prevailed in all the cities in the north of Europe. The original intent of it was to prevent accidents from fire, which very frequently occurred in the large towns on the continent, where the houſes were all built of wood, and covered with ſtraw; from whence it was called *La Loi du Couvrefeu*. Though conſidered in this light merely, the regulations it tended to enforce might be ſalutary; yet, as the Anglo-Saxon monarchs had never deemed it neceſſary, and the Engliſh were wholly unaccuſtomed to the reſtraints it impoſed, they juſtly regarded it as uſeleſs and tyrannical: and, indeed, it is highly probable that William was induced to adopt it rather by motives founded in ſuſpicion and miſtruſt, to prevent thoſe nocturnal meetings in which the fate of kingdoms has been frequently decided, and which he feared might prove fatal to his authority, than with any views of a beneficial tendency.



Publish'd as the Act directs by Harrison & Co. October 1. 1788

WILLIAM THE SECOND,

SURNAMED RUFUS.

WILLIAM, ſurnamed Rufus, or the Red, from the colour of his hair, no ſooner obtained his nomination to the throne of England, and the letter of recommendation to Lanfranc, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, than, without ſtaying to pay the laſt marks of filial affection to his expiring parent, he haſtened to England with the utmoſt celerity, before the news of his father's death could poſſibly arrive. Pretending orders from the king, he ſecured the fortreſſes of Dover, Pevenſey, and Haſtings, which from their ſituation were of the higheſt importance: and he likewiſe obtained poſſeſſion of the royal treaſure at Wincheſter, which amounted to the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds, beſides plate and jewels to a much more conſiderable value. Part of this treaſure, in compliance with his father's will, he diſtributed among the churches and monaſteries, which effectually ſecured him the attachment of the clergy; and part he beſtowed on the ſoldiery.

Lanfranc, whoſe rank and reputation gave him great authority in the kingdom, had been entruſted with the care of his education, and had conferred on him the honour of knighthood. Thus attached to him from his infancy, he chearfully undertook to eſpouſe his cauſe, and to pay a ready obedience to the will of the late king, who was his great friend and benefactor. He accordingly proceeded to the ceremony of crowning the new monarch, which was performed at Weſtminſter, on the ſecond of September, in the year 1087, in the preſence of the Archbiſhop of York, eight other prelates, and many of the principal nobility.

At the ſame time, Robert, who was at Abbeville when he received the intelligence of his father's death, repaired to Rouen, and took poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Normandy without the ſmalleſt oppoſition. This prince inherited the courage of his father, without any of his vices; he was open, ſincere, generous, and humane: his chief faults were an extreme facility and indolence of mind.

The diſpoſition of William was eſſentially different: though equally brave, he was proud, imperious, and tyrannical; qualities ſo congenial to thoſe of his father, that the diſtinguiſhed preference he received over his brother is eaſily accounted for. At the commencement of his reign, however, he thought it prudent to diſguiſe the real ſentiments of his mind, which led him to purſue that ſyſtem of oppreſſion adopted by the late king, and to liſten to the counſels of Lanfranc, which were replete with reaſon and mildneſs.

Odo, Biſhop of Bayeux, on the acceſſion of William, repaired to England, and obtained the reſtitution of thoſe honours and eſtates of which he had been deprived in the late reign; but both he and his brother Robert, Count of Mortaigne, envying the influence and credit of Lanfranc, which his late important ſervices had greatly increaſed, adopted the reſolution of dethroning their nephew, and of raiſing the Duke of Normandy to the crown. They accordingly communicated their deſigns to ſome of the chief nobility; who, being poſſeſſed of large eſtates both in Normandy and England, conceived that a ſeparation of thoſe dominions might render their tenure uncertain and precarious, as they foreſaw the impoſſibility of long preſerving their allegiance to two different ſovereigns. An union, therefore, of the two countries, was to them a moſt deſirable object; and as Robert's right to the one was inconteſtible, and his pretenſions to the other at leaſt plauſive; theſe conſiderations, joined to the virtues of that prince, engaged them to declare in his favour. Their intrigues having met with ſuch ſucceſs,

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they ſent an account of their negotiation to Robert, whom they aſſured, that nothing but his preſence, and a formidable body of troops, were wanting to put him in poſſeſſion of that throne to which he was legally entitled by the right of primogeniture. The duke, pleaſed with the intelligence, commended their zeal, and promiſed to join them with all poſſible expedition.

The conſpirators, confiding in this aſſurance, now began to prepare for open hoſtilities, by retiring to their caſtles, and collecting their vaſſals and adherents. Bath, Berkeley, and Briſtol, were ſeized by the Biſhop of Coutance, and his nephew, Robert de Moubray. Roger Bigod headed the inſurrection in Norfolk; Hugh de Grentmeſnil ſecured all the fortified towns in Leiceſterſhire; and the county of Worceſter was occupied by Roger de Montgomery, William, Biſhop of Durham, Bernard de Newarck, Roger Lacy, and Ralph Mortimer.

The king, greatly alarmed at this formidable combination, made the moſt vigorous exertions to ſtifle the revolt in it's birth. In compliance with the advice of Lanfranc, he had recourſe to the Engliſh in this perilous ſituation, who by this time had reſigned all thoughts of recovering their ancient liberties, and who zealouſly eſpouſed his cauſe, on a promiſe of alleviating thoſe burdenſome taxes with which they were oppreſſed, and of allowing them the privilege of hunting in the royal foreſts. William ſoon found himſelf in a ſituation to take the field at the head of an army compoſed of thirty thouſand Londoners; and, being ſenſible of the dangers of delay, he marched ſuddenly into Kent, and in one campaign reduced the caſtles of Tunbridge, Pevenſey, and Rocheſter, which his uncles had ſeized.

In the laſt of theſe fortreſſes he took Odo, Biſhop of Bayeux; Euſtace, Count of Boulogne; Robert de Beleſme; and ſeveral other of the rebel chiefs. He at firſt inclined to ſacrifice their lives to his revenge and ſafety; but was prevailed on, by the Earl of Cheſter, William de Warrenne, and Robert Fitz-Hammon, who had preſerved their fidelity to him, to content himſelf with a puniſhment leſs ſevere: he therefore baniſhed them the kingdom, and confiſcated their eſtates, which were of great value.

This ſucceſs proved favourable to his negotiation with Roger, Earl of Shrewſbury, whom he found means to detach from the confederates; and, as the Norman ſuccours, which the indolence of Robert had retarded, were intercepted by the Engliſh fleet, all the other rebels were reduced to fly, or ſubmit to the conqueror. Some of them received a pardon; but the greater part were attainted, and ſome of their eſtates were beſtowed on thoſe Normans who had remained faithful to the king, and others were annexed to the royal domains.

By the ſuppreſſion of this revolt, William Rufus was firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne of England: but, far from performing his promiſes to the Engliſh, to whoſe valour and fidelity he was indebted for the enjoyment of his authority, he confirmed all the oppreſſive impoſts of his predeceſſor; and, by the violence and impetuoſity of his temper, rendered his government ſtill more intolerable. Inſtead of allowing them the privilege of hunting in the royal foreſts, he enacted a new law, by which the puniſhment of death was to be inflicted on any man who ſhould be convicted of killing a deer.

Theſe frequent violations of promiſes the moſt ſolemn excited the indignation of the primate, and induced him to remonſtrate with the king on ſo flagrant a breach of faith. But William was not of a temper to ſuffer expoſtulation; he reproved Lanfranc for his temerity, and withdrew from him his favour and confidence. That prelate, however, did not long ſurvive his diſgrace: but by his death, which on account of his diſtinguiſhed merit was greatly lamented both by the Engliſh and Normans, afforded the king an opportunity of indulging his tyrannical diſpoſition without reproof or controul. His oppreſſion was extended to every claſs of people; even the clergy were deſtined to experience it's fatal effects. William ſeized the temporalities of all the vacant biſhoprics and abbies; and even neglected to appoint ſucceſſors to thoſe dignities, that he might enjoy the profits of their revenues. At the death of Lanfranc, he kept the ſee of Canterbury vacant for five years; during which time he appropriated the temporalities to his own uſe. He obſerved the ſame conduct with that of Lincoln: he even beſtowed ſome of the church lands on his officers and favourites; and frequently gratified his own rapaciouſneſs by expoſing abbies and biſhoprics to public ſale.

Though this flagitious mode of proceeding juſtly excited the murmurs of the eccleſiaſtics, which were ſpeedily propagated throughout the kingdom, yet, the power of William had acquired ſuch ſtability from his late ſucceſſes, that no attempts were made to overturn it: and the king, far from dreading any new inſurrection, even thought himſelf at liberty to undertake the gratification of his reſentment againſt his brother Robert, whom he now reſolved to deprive of his hereditary dominions.

Normandy was at this time one continued ſcene of violence and confuſion, occaſioned by the imprudent negligence of it's ſovereign, whoſe native indolence induced him to hold the reins of government with too looſe a hand, and by that means to encourage the licentious ſpirit of his imperious barons, whoſe mutual quarrels and devaſtations proved fatal to public tranquillity. Two of theſe rebellious chiefs, Walter and Odo, were bribed by William to deliver the fortreſſes of Albemarle and St. Valori into his hands. The governors of ſeveral other ſtrong places were likewiſe corrupted; and, to augment the misfortunes of Robert, the province of Maine revolted, and attempted to ſhake off the Norman yoke, which it had ever borne with reluctance.

The Duke of Normandy, conſcious of his own inability to reduce his rebellious ſubjects to obedience, and at the ſame time to reſiſt the formidable attacks of his brother, made application for aſſiſtance to Philip, King of France, who marched with a power-

a powerful army to his relief: but William ſoon found means to detach that monarch, whoſe avarice was ſtronger than his generoſity, from the intereſt of his brother, and to engage him to obſerve the moſt perfect neutrality. The duke was alſo apprehenſive of danger from the intrigues of his brother Henry, who had furniſhed him with the ſum of three thouſand marks while he was making preparations for the invaſion of England; and had, in return for ſo ſlender a ſupply, been put in poſſeſſion of the Cotentin, which comprehended near a third of the whole dutchy of Normandy. Robert afterwards, on ſome ſuſpicion, threw him into priſon: but now, finding himſelf ſurrounded by enemies, he thought it prudent to releaſe him, and implore his aſſiſtance. Henry accordingly eſpouſed his quarrel, and contributed not a little to quell the inſurrections of his rebellious ſubjects.

That prince, having entered Rouen, diſcovered that William maintained a correſpondence with one Conan, a rich citizen of that place, who had promiſed to put him in poſſeſſion of the town. The proof of his treachery being fully eſtabliſhed, Henry carried the traitor to the ſummit of a lofty tower, and with his own hands caſt him headlong from the battlements.

Towards the commencement of the year 1091, the king appeared in Normandy, at the head of a numerous army; and the two brothers were on the point of ſettling their diſputes by the ſword, when the interpoſition of the nobility on both ſides, who were intimately connected by intereſt and alliances, effected an accommodation. The terms of this treaty were greatly in favour of William, to whom his brother ceded the territory of Eu, the towns of Fécamp, Aumale, and Cherbourg, with all the other places of which he had obtained poſſeſſion. In return for theſe important advantages, he engaged to aſſiſt Robert in the reduction of Maine, and to reſtore ſuch of the Normans as had been attainted for their adherence to the duke, to their Engliſh eſtates. There was alſo a ſtipulation that, on the demiſe either of William or Robert without iſſue, the ſurvivor ſhould inherit the whole of his dominions. This treaty was guaranteed by twelve of the moſt powerful barons on each ſide, who bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to ſee it faithfully obſerved.

Whatever reaſon the contracting parties might have to be ſatisfied with theſe arrangements, Prince Henry, their younger brother, whoſe intereſts had been totally neglected, was highly diſguſted with them. By one part of the treaty, he found himſelf in danger of loſing the Cotentin, which had been ceded to him by Robert; and by another, he was deprived of every hope of ſucceeding, either to Normandy or England, on the death of one of his brothers without heirs. As he inherited a conſiderable portion of his family ſpirit, he reſolved to aſſert his right, and defend his property; and, having collected ſome troops, he ſeized Mount St. Michael, a ſtrong fortreſs on the coaſt of Normandy, from whence he made incurſions into the neighbouring country.

Robert and William, having purſued him with their joint forces, laid ſiege to this caſtle, which was ſituated on an inacceſſible rock, waſhed by the ſea, and frequently ſurrounded by the tide. During the ſiege, William, riding out one day alone at ſome diſtance from the camp, perceived two dragoons coming from the caſtle; and, obeying the firſt impulſe of courage, he rode up to them, and attacked them with great fury: but his horſe being killed, one of them lifted up his arm in order to diſpatch him as he lay on the ground; when the king exclaimed—"Hold, ſirrah! I am the King "of England!" The ſoldier ſuſpended his blow; and raiſing him up, with expreſſions of reſpect and concern, preſented him with his own horſe. William rewarded him with a liberal preſent, and afterwards took him into his ſervice.

The ſiege, which had been converted into a blockade, advanced but ſlowly, though the garriſon experienced ſuch a ſcarcity of water as had nearly obliged them to ſubmit; which Robert being informed of, he granted Henry permiſſion to ſupply himſelf, and alſo ſent him ſome pipes of wine for his own table. This inſtance of generoſity by no means accorded with William's ideas, who expreſſed his diſapprobation of it in terms of ſeverity; but Robert juſtified his conduct, by obſerving, that the quarrel which ſubſiſted between him and his brother Henry was not of that importance as to deſtroy the bands of natural affection, and that they might both of them live to experience the want of a brother's aſſiſtance.

After a tedious ſiege, Prince Henry was at length obliged to capitulate; and, being deſpoiled of his poſſeſſions, he retired to Bretagne, where he wandered about for ſome time almoſt deſtitute of attendants, and without any means of ſubſiſtence.

During William's abſence in Normandy, Malcolm, King of Scotland, had invaded England, and ravaged the county of Northumberland. The king, therefore, having compleated his buſineſs on the continent, returned to his kingdom, with his brother Robert, whom he had perſuaded to accompany him. His troops being ſpeedily aſſembled, the command of them was given to the Duke of Normandy; who advancing againſt Malcolm, compelled him to accept of peace, and do homage to the crown of England.

But this peace was not of long duration: for the following year, the King of Scotland having paid a viſit to the Engliſh court at Glouceſter, met with ſo cool a reception, that he returned home in diſguſt; and, levying an army, again invaded England: when, after ravaging Northumberland, he laid ſiege to Alnwick; where falling into an ambuſh, with his ſon, Prince Edward, they were both ſlain, on the 13th of November, in the year 1093, by Robert Moubray, Earl of Northumberland. His widow, Queen Margaret, was ſo much afflicted at the news of her huſband's death, that ſhe expired a few days after with grief.

The ſurviving ſons of Malcolm being young, and the rules of ſucceſſion in Scotland being ſtill unſettled, the throne was uſurped by Donald, brother to the deceaſed monarch. But Duncan, the

natural ſon of Malcolm, being aſſiſted by William Rufus with ſome troops, dethroned Donald, and ſeated himſelf on the throne. This prince, however, betraying too great a partiality for the Engliſh and Normans, with whom he had paſſed the greateſt part of his life, ſoon became odious to his ſubjects; and was murdered by Malpeder, Earl of Mearns, in the caſtle of Monteith, in the year 1095. On his death, Donald again ſeized the crown; but was ſoon obliged to relinquiſh it to Prince Edgar, the ſon of Malcolm, who had retired to England on the death of his father; where his uncle, Edgar Atheling, had alſo reſided ſince his return from Paleſtine. That nobleman was now ſupplied by William with a body of troops, which enabled him to depoſe the uſurper, and place his nephew on the throne of his anceſtors.

The harmony which ſubſiſted between the king and his brother Robert did not long continue; for the latter diſcovered that William, in violation of the late treaty, maintained a treacherous correſpondence with many of his turbulent barons, in the hope of urging them to open rebellion. He therefore left England, towards the end of the year 1092, and returned to his own dominions.

The king being ſeized with a dangerous diſorder in the following Lent, was ſtruck with remorſe for his vices, and particularly expreſſed his repentance for the numerous acts of tyranny and oppreſſion which he had been guilty of to his unfortunate ſubjects; at the ſame time making many ſolemn promiſes of future amendment: but his recovery obliterated them all from his mind.

Robert, on his arrival in Normandy, found his dominions involved in confuſion from the machinations of his brother William; and, being greatly incenſed, ſent a meſſage to the king, deſiring his immediate preſence to quell the diſturbances, as he was bound to do by the terms of the late treaty. William obeyed the ſummons, but merely with a view of fomenting an inſurrection; and after his departure, he ordered an army of twenty thouſand men to be levied in England, and to be conducted to the ſea-coaſt, as if intended for immediate embarkation. Here Ralph Flambard, the king's miniſter and chief inſtrument of his extortions, exacted from the troops ten ſhillings a piece, in lieu of their ſervice, and then diſmiſſed them into their reſpective counties. The ſkilful employment of this money rendered William more eſſential ſervice than he could have expected to derive from his army: it enabled him once more to detach the King of France from the intereſts of Robert, which that monarch had again been induced to eſpouſe, and to corrupt the fidelity of the Norman barons.

Hoſtilities now openly commenced, and ſeveral towns were taken by William; but he was prevented from purſuing his advantages by the news of an inſurrection in Wales, which compelled him to return to his own kingdom. At his approach, the Welſh retired to their mountains, where they bade defiance to his attacks; which he was preparing, however, to render effectual, when his attention was called to a more formidable conſpiracy of his own barons.

Robert Moubray, Earl of Northumberland, who had obtained the victory over the Scots at Alnwick, conceiving himſelf neglected by the king, who was ever more prompt to puniſh than reward, reſolved to take an ample revenge, by removing him from the throne, and placing his couſin Stephen, Count of Aumale, in his ſtead. He had found means to engage in this conſpiracy, William Count d'Eu, Richard de Tunbridge, Roger de Lacy, and many other diſcontented noblemen; who carried on their plans with ſo much ſecrecy and prudence, that the king did not receive the ſmalleſt intimation of the plot till he had entered on the Welſh territories.

William's firſt ſtep was to march againſt Moubray, who had ſeized and fortified the caſtle of Bamburgh. This the conſpirators were aware of; and had accordingly planted an ambuſcade on his road, into which he muſt inevitably have fallen, but for Richard de Tunbridge, who, being ſtruck with remorſe, apprized him of the danger. After a ſiege of ſome days, finding all attempts to take Bamburgh by force muſt infallibly prove ineffectual, he converted the ſiege into a blockade; and, having left a part of his army to ſupport it, retired with the reſt. After the king's departure, Moubray formed a deſign for taking the town of Newcaſtle by ſurprize; but was foiled in his attempt by the vigilance of the troops, and compelled to fly for ſhelter to the monaſtery of St. Oſwin, at Tinmouth, where he and his principal officers were all taken, after a moſt deſperate reſiſtance. Morel, his kinſman and chief friend, ſtill defended Bamburgh; but Moubray appearing before the gates, told him that a longer reſiſtance would be puniſhed by the loſs of his eyes, as William had declared that he would immediately deprive him of his ſight, if he did not perſuade Morel to ſurrender the caſtle: the gates were therefore opened to the king's troops; and Moubray was thrown into priſon, where he died about thirty years after.

Morel ſaved his life by making a more ample diſcovery of the conſpiracy than had been yet obtained; by which means many, who might otherwiſe have eſcaped, were doomed to experience the ſevere effects of William's vengeance.

Robert, Earl of Shrewſbury, purchaſed his pardon with the ſum of three thouſand pounds; Roger de Lacy having effected his eſcape to the continent, his eſtates were all confiſcated, and beſtowed on his brother, who had preſerved his fidelity to the king; and Odo, Count of Champagne, was deprived both of his liberty and poſſeſſions. The Count d'Eu, having been accuſed by Geoffrey Bainard of being concerned in the plot, denied the accuſation, and offered to prove his innocence by fighting his accuſer. This curious mode of deciſion, where innocence was proved by ſtrength, and guilt aſcertained by weakneſs, had been imported from Normandy in the preceding reign, and was ſtiled *The Martial Combat*. The duel was accordingly fought at Saliſbury; and the count being vanquiſhed, was condemned to loſe his eyes, and ſuffer caſtration. His kinſman, William de Alderi, was alſo convicted at the ſame time, and ſentenced to be hanged.

But

But theſe partial commotions were ſpeedily forgotten in the univerſal tumult occaſioned by the Cruſades, or expeditions formed for the purpoſe of reſcuing the Holy Land from the hands of the Infidels, which about this time engroſſed the attention of all the European princes.

The human mind is naturally inclined to dwell, with a degree of enthuſiaſtic delight that borders on veneration, on thoſe places which are entitled to diſtinction, either as the reſidence of ſome illuſtrious character, or as the ſcene of ſome glorious tranſaction. Hence proceeded that ſuperſtitious devotion with which Chriſtians, from the earlieſt ages of the church, were accuſtomed to viſit that country which the Deity had ſelected as the inheritance of his favourite people, and in which the Son of God had accompliſhed the redemption of mankind.

The great expence, fatigue, and danger, which neceſſarily attended a pilgrimage to ſo diſtant a country, conſiderably added to the merit of the undertaking, and ſoon made it be conſidered as a ſufficient atonement for the moſt flagrant offences. An opinion which was diffuſed over Europe with an aſtoniſhing rapidity about the cloſe of the tenth and commencement of the eleventh century, and which obtained univerſal belief, made a conſiderable augmentation to the number of credulous pilgrims, and increaſed the ardour with which they undertook this uſeleſs voyage. The thouſand years mentioned by St. John, in the twentieth chapter of the Revelation, were now ſuppoſed to be accompliſhed, and the end of the world to be conſequently approaching.

We learn from many of the ancient hiſtorians, preſerved by Martin Bouquet, a Benedictine monk, in his Collection of the Hiſtorians of France, that about this period mankind were ſeized with a general conſternation, that induced great numbers to relinquiſh their poſſeſſions, and abandon their friends and families, to haſten with the utmoſt precipitation to the Holy Land, where they imagined that Chriſt would very ſoon appear to ſit in judgment on the ſins of the world.

While the Arabians continued in poſſeſſion of Paleſtine, their caliphs encouraged the reſort of pilgrims to Jeruſalem; juſtly deeming that ſpecies of commerce as highly beneficial to the country, which brought conſiderable importations of gold and ſilver, and exported nothing but uſeleſs reliques and conſecrated baubles. But the Turcomans, or Turks, a tribe of Tartars who had embraced the tenets of Mahomet, having about the middle of the eleventh century taken Syria from the Saracens, and made themſelves maſters of Jeruſalem, pilgrims were expoſed to every kind of inſult and outrage from theſe ferocious barbarians.

This revolution occurring at the very time when pilgrimages, from the cauſe above mentioned, had become more frequent, filled Europe with indignation and alarm. The religious travellers, on their return from Paleſtine, did not fail to relate the dangers they had experienced in viſiting the holy city, and to deſcribe the cruelty and vexations of the Turks, in terms of exaggeration proportioned to the magnitude of their fears.

When the minds of men were thus prepared, the miſguided zeal of a fanatical monk, who conceived the idea of leading all the forces of Chriſtendom againſt the Infidels, and of effecting their expulſion from the Holy Land, was ſufficient to enforce the adoption of that wild enterprize.

Gregory the Seventh had, indeed, formed the deſign of leading all the weſtern Chriſtians againſt the Mahometans; but the overbearing diſpoſition of that imperious prelate, which had led him to attempt the ſubjection of the European princes to his will and caprice, had created him ſuch numerous enemies, and rendered every ſcheme he propoſed ſo ſuſpicious, that he was able to make but little progreſs in the promotion of his plan, which was left to be compleated by an inferior perſonage, whoſe ſtation in life prevented him from becoming an object of jealouſy or miſtruſt.

Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens, the capital of Picardy, had made the pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, and witneſſed the dangers and inconveniences to which the pilgrims were expoſed. This inſpired him with the idea of putting the Chriſtians in poſſeſſion of Paleſtine; and, to urge them to the undertaking, he ran from province to province with a crucifix in his hand, exciting princes and people to this holy war; and, wherever he came, kindled the ſame enthuſiaſtic ardour for the expedition as glowed within his own boſom. The Council of Placentia, ſummoned at the inſtigation of Peter by Pope Martin the Second, where four thouſand eccleſiaſtics, and thirty thouſand ſeculars, were aſſembled, pronounced the ſcheme to have been ſuggeſted by the immediate inſpiration of Heaven. In a ſubſequent council, held at Clermont, in Auvergne, which was ſtill more numerous, and attended by the moſt powerful princes, nobles, and prelates, of Europe, the queſtion was no ſooner propoſed, than the whole aſſembly exclaimed with one voice—"It "is the will of God!—It is the will of God!"

The contagion was ſpeedily diffuſed over perſons of all ranks: not only the martial barons of that age, with their warlike vaſſals, whom the boldneſs of a romantic enterprize might have been apt to allure, but men in the more humble and pacific ſtations of life, eccleſiaſtics of every order, even women and children, engaged in an undertaking which was deemed ſacred and meritorious. If we may credit the concurring teſtimony of contemporary hiſtorians, as collected by Bongars, a French author of the ſixteenth century, ſix millions of perſons aſſumed the croſs, which was the badge of union affixed to the right ſhoulder by all thoſe who devoted themſelves to this holy warfare.

This frenzy, which ſuperſtitious enthuſiaſm had engendered and ſpread, was rendered durable by thoſe extenſive immunities and privileges which were accorded to the cruſaders. They were exempted from all proſecutions for debt during the time of their engagement in this ſacred ſervice; they were exempted from paying intereſt for the money which they had borrowed; they were exempted, for a ſpecific time, from the payment of all national impoſts; they might alienate their lands without

without the consent of the superior lord of whom they held; their persons and effects were taken under the immediate protection of St. Peter; and the anathemas of the church were denounced against all who should molest them, or undertake any act of hostility against them, during their absence on account of the holy war. They likewise enjoyed all the privileges of ecclesiastics; and were not compelled to plead in any civil court, but were declared subject to the spiritual jurisdiction alone. Finally, they obtained a plenary remission of all their sins, and the gates of heaven were set open to them, without requiring any other proof of their penitence than their engagement in this sacred expedition, which tended to gratify their favourite passion, the love of war.

When both the civil and ecclesiastical powers were thus ambitious to outvie each other, and to exhaust their fertile power of invention, for the purpose of devising expedients to encourage, propagate, and confirm the spirit of superstition, it is not surprizing that it should become so universal as to inflict the stigma of cowardice, and the mark of infamy, on every one who was possessed of sufficient prudence or philosophy to escape the general frenzy, and decline engaging in the holy war.

To defray the immense expences incurred by conducting armies into Asia, the princes and nobles were either compelled to burden their subjects and vassals with most oppressive exactions, or to raise the necessary sums by mortgaging their dominions and territorial possessions. We find, by the History of Languedoc, that when the Count de Foix engaged in the first crusade, he raised the money requisite for the expedition by alienating part of his territories. In like manner did Baldwin, Count of Hainaut, mortgage or sell a part of his dominions to the Bishop of Liege, about this time. The convents and other religious societies were generally the purchasers; and, as they were frequently entrusted with the contributions of such as favoured the expedition, they are said to have very often appropriated them to this purpose. But no one reaped greater advantages from the epidemic fury of crusading than the King of England; who, being devoid of religion, was not likely to be infected with any superstitious frenzy, and therefore declined all connection with those fanatical and romantic adventurers.

Robert, Duke of Normandy, whose intrepid spirit inclined him to engage in any enterprize where distinction might be gained by exertions of courage, had enlisted himself in the number of those who assumed the cross; but, being unprovided with money for putting his designs in execution, he proposed to mortgage his dominions for a certain time, (according to some authors, for three years, according to others, five) to his brother William, for the sum of ten thousand marks. The king gladly accepted his proposal, and immediately proceeded to raise the money by violent extortions on his subjects of all ranks: even the clergy were not exempted from the effects of his rapacity; and many of the convents were obliged to melt down their plate, in order to furnish their stipulated quota. Having thus obtained the necessary sum, he repaired to Normandy, where he delivered it to his brother, and took possession of the dutchy: while Robert, with this supply, equipped himself for the crusade; and was afterwards present at the reduction of Nice, Antioch, and Jerusalem, where he signalized his courage and military skill, and gained as much honour as any of the numerous heroes of the Holy Land.

The opposite characters of the two brothers are here represented in a most forcible point of view. Robert, though engaged in an expedition universally approved by his subjects, rather than enforce the exaction of an onerous impost to defray it's expences, consents to a temporary alienation of his dominions: while William, to acquire an useless extension of territory, from whence no possible good could accrue to his subjects, but merely with an exclusive view to the gratification of his own ambition, makes no scruple to impose the most oppressive tax to sanction the most rapacious extortion.

William, soon after his brother's departure, returned to England, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon Wales, in which he lost a great number of men, as was generally the case in his Welsh expeditions, where the natives, secure in their inaccessible mountains, could harrass his troops, and set his power at defiance. Wearied with so many fruitless attempts to reduce them to a state of subjection, he commanded several fortresses to be erected on the frontiers, to check their frequent incursions into the English provinces. But his presence was soon required in Normandy, whither he accordingly repaired in the month of November, in the year 1097.

His continental possessions involved him in numerous disputes with the neighbouring princes and chieftains. His ambition had led him to wish to extend their limits by the addition of the Vexin François, which he claimed from Philip, King of France. According to Mezeray, he was emboldened to advance this claim from the situation of the French monarch, who was then under sentence of excommunication; and, languishing in the arms of a concubine, had resigned the care of his dominions to his son, a boy of eighteen, who was equally destitute of friends and money. This young prince, however, defended his kingdom with such spirit and success, that William, after many ineffectual attempts, was compelled to forego his claims, and listen to terms of accommodation.

In the mean time, his attention was called to the province of Maine, which had revolted, at the instigation of Helie, Lord of La Fleche, a small town in Anjou, who had placed himself at the head of the insurgents, and long resisted all the efforts of William. The king, however, at last, took him prisoner in a rencounter; but released him, at the earnest intercession of the Count of Anjou, after he had formally disclaimed all pretensions to the province, which was restored to William.

After the reduction of Maine, William returned to England, in the year 1099; and kept the festival of

of Whitſuntide in Weſtminſter Hall, which was juſt finiſhed, and which, from the magnificence of it's ſtructure, and the extent of it's dimenſions, formed an object of univerſal admiration.

When Helie de La Fleche was releaſed from confinement, he made an offer of his ſervices to the king; who, having experienced his bravery and military talents, would probably have been glad to accept them: but the interference of Robert, Count of Melun, his chief friend and counſellor, who was inſpired with jealouſy by the ſuperior abilities of that nobleman, perſuaded him to reject them.

Helie, urged to reſentment by a refuſal which he deemed an injurious affront, reſolved to take vengeance for the inſult; and expreſſed his diſpleaſure to William, accompanied by menaces. The king, equally fierce and haughty, bade him defiance with a diſdainful air; and, to evince his contempt the more ſtrongly, ſuffered him to depart unmoleſted. The indignant baron immediately repaired to his eſtate; and, collecting his vaſſals, prepared to put his threats in execution, as ſoon as the king's abſence ſhould afford him a favourable opportunity.

Having previouſly ſecured the favour of the citizens, he appeared before the town of Mans, the capital of Le Maine, with a body of troops; and, being introduced into the city, laid ſiege to the caſtle, which being garriſoned with Normans, refuſed to ſubmit. A courier who was immediately diſpatched to the king by Robert de Beleſme, who commanded at the citadel, with the news of this tranſaction, found William hunting in the New Foreſt. He had no ſooner received the intelligence than he quitted his ſport; and, turning his horſe's head, rode immediately to the ſea-ſide near Dartmouth, declaring that he would not ſtop till he had taken ample vengeance for the offence. He found a veſſel ready to ſail; but the weather was ſo cloudy and tempeſtuous, that the ſailors thought it dangerous to put to ſea: till William, hurrying on board, ordered them to ſail without delay; telling them, that they never yet heard of a king that was drowned. He arrived next morning at Barfleur; from whence he proceeded with equal impetuoſity to Bonneville, where he joined his army, and marched to the relief of the citadel of Mans with ſuch expedition, that Helie was compelled to raiſe the ſiege, and retire to the Château de Loire. The king then inveſted Majol, a ſmall caſtle in the territories of Helie: but having received a violent contuſion from a ſtone, he withdrew his troops; and, after ravaging the country, returned to England.

William, Count of Poitiers and Duke of Guienne, inflamed with a ſpirit of emulation at the glory, and neither inſtructed nor diſcouraged by the misfortunes, which had attended the former adventurers in the cruſades, determined to aſſume the croſs; and accordingly placed himſelf at the head of an immenſe multitude, computed by Malmſbury, Huntingdon, and ſome other hiſtorians, to amount to ſixty thouſand horſe, and a much greater number of foot. According to Ordericus Vitalis, his whole army amounted to three hundred thouſand men. But as they could not be conveyed to Paleſtine without an enormous expence, which the revenues of their leader were inadequate to diſcharge, he had recourſe to the King of England, who conſented to advance him the requiſite ſum on the ſame terms as thoſe which he had impoſed on his brother Robert. The money was ſpeedily raiſed, and a fleet and army prepared in order to eſcort it, and at the ſame time take poſſeſſion of the rich provinces of Guienne and Poitou; when an accident prevented his voyage, and put an end to all his ſchemes of ambition and tyranny.

On the ſecond of Auguſt, in the year 1100, he was engaged in hunting, a favourite amuſement with the princes of thoſe times; and was attended by Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, celebrated for his ſkill in archery, who always accompanied the king in the ſports of the field. The ſcene of their diverſion was the New Foreſt; and towards evening, when the company was diſperſed in purſuit of their game, the king alighted from his horſe to ſearch for a deer that he had ſlightly wounded with an arrow; and, the ſun beaming ſtrongly in his face, he put his hands before his eyes, and ſtood in that poſture looking after the wounded deer: when, a ſtag ſtarting from a thicket, Tyrrel diſcharged an arrow at him; which, glancing either from a tree, or from the horns of the animal, ſtruck the king on the breaſt, and pierced his heart.

The innocent author of his death did not ſtay to inform any one of the accident; but, ſetting ſpurs to his horſe, galloped to the ſea-ſide, where he found a veſſel, in which he embarked for France, and joined a party of cruſaders in an expedition to Paleſtine: a penance which he impoſed on himſelf for this involuntary offence.

This is the account uſually given by hiſtorians; but it is not at all impoſſible, conſidering the little eſtimation in which William Rufus was univerſally held, that the arrow of Walter Tyrrel, who was confeſſedly a moſt ſkilful archer, exactly hit the mark at which it was inſidiouſly aimed.

The body of William was found by ſome peaſants who were paſſing through the foreſt, and was conveyed to Wincheſter, where it was privately interred, under the tower of the cathedral, without the ſmalleſt pomp or ceremony. His courtiers, not anxious to ſhew any marks of reſpect to a monarch they could never eſteem, neglected to attend his funeral; and, as his life had been paſſed without the leaſt attempt to acquire the affections of his ſubjects, it cannot be ſuppoſed that his death was capable of exciting any powerful ſenſations of regret.

The character of this monarch, as tranſmitted to us by the monkiſh hiſtorians, is that of a monſter, who ſacrificed every principle of virtue to the gratification of his favourite paſſions. We might, indeed, be inclined to ſuſpect the veracity of thoſe eccleſiaſtical writers, whoſe inveterate reſentment to ſuch as either juſtice or policy had induced to adopt a line of conduct inimical to their projects of intereſt or ambition is too frequently conſpicuous, if the tranſactions of the life of William did not give to

their aſſertions the moſt inconteſtible evidence of juſtice. He certainly poſſeſſed all the vices of his father, without either of his commendable qualities, Temperance or Chaſtity; for he was a groſs ſenſualiſt, and a profeſſed voluptuary. If his biographers may be credited, he was equally callous to every impulſe of honour, and deaf to the dictates of conſcience: he was deſtitute of faith; and treated the moſt ſacred ties of religion with deriſion and contempt. As a prince, he was arbitrary, rapacious, and tyrannical: as a brother, neither juſt, generous, nor affectionate.

William was killed in the thirteenth year of his reign, and the fortieth of his age. Having never been married, he left no legitimate iſſue.

The Tower, London Bridge, and Weſtminſter Hall, were built during this reign; in the latter part of which, Magnus, King of Norway, ſeized the Iſle of Man, and made a deſcent on that of Angleſey; but was repulſed by Hugh de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewſbury and Arundel, who loſt his life in the action. This was the laſt attempt made by any of the Northern nations on the territories of England. That turbulent people having, about this period, obtained ſome knowledge of agriculture, began to deſiſt from their piratical excurſions, in order to acquire a leſs dangerous and more certain ſubſiſtence, by a cloſe application to the pleaſing and uſeful employment of cultivating their lands.

In the year 1092, a great part of London was conſumed by fire; and, ſoon after, conſiderable damage was done to the coaſt of Kent by an extraordinary inundation of the ſea, which entirely overflowed the lands that had formerly belonged to the powerful family of Earl Godwin, from whence the place received the appellation of *Godwin's Sands*.

According to William of Malmſbury, not only the nobility, but even the clergy, during this reign, led the moſt diſſolute and debauched lives. Luſt, vanity, and intemperance, were univerſally prevalent: and Eadmer obſerves, that both the dreſs and converſation of the men bore ſuch ſtrong marks of effeminacy, that their pretenſions to manhood were only evinced by their frequent attempts on the honour and chaſtity of the female ſex.

HENRY



Publiſh'd as the Act directs by Harrison & Co. Oct.r 10. 1788.

HENRY THE FIRST.

ROBERT, whoſe title to the crown of England could ſcarcely have admitted of a diſpute, as it was founded both on the right of primogeniture, and on the contract entered into with his deceaſed brother, by which the ſurvivor was to take poſſeſſion both of England and Normandy, had not yet returned from his expedition to Paleſtine. After acquiring great honours in the holy wars by a diſplay of the moſt intrepid courage, joined to the moſt conſummate ſkill, the reduction of Jeruſalem being compleated, he determined to repair to his native dominions; but, as he paſſed through Italy, he became acquainted with Sibylla, daughter of the Count of Converſana, a lady highly diſtinguiſhed for her beauty and mental endowments. Won by her charms, he aſked her in marriage; and, his rank and reputation ſecuring him from the danger of a refuſal, the nuptials were ſpeedily accompliſhed. Seduced by enjoyments which, contraſted with the fatigues of war, were poſſeſſed of attractions too powerful to be reſiſted, Robert reſigned himſelf to pleaſure; and, by a twelvemonth's reſidence in Italy, ſuffered an opportunity to eſcape which experience proved to be irretrievable.

Unfortunately for Robert, too, his brother, Prince Henry, was in England, and was hunting in the New Foreſt at the very time when William loſt his life by the accident we have related. The moment he was informed of William's death, he rode full ſpeed to Wincheſter, in order to obtain poſſeſſion of the royal treaſure, which he knew to be eſſentially neceſſary for facilitating the accompliſhment of his views on the crown. On his arrival at the place, he found William de Breteuil, keeper of the treaſure, determined to oppoſe his pretenſions. This nobleman had no ſooner heard of his maſter's death, than he repaired to Wincheſter for the expreſs purpoſe of defending his charge againſt any illegal attempts that might be made to ſeize it; and he told the prince that the ſceptre of England, and conſequently the treaſure, belonged to his brother Robert, whom he now regarded as his lawful ſovereign; and that he was reſolved to maintain his allegiance to him, and to reſiſt all claims that tended to deprive him of his juſt rights. Henry, finding all his arguments ineffectual, determined to have recourſe to violence; and, drawing his ſword, threatened the treaſurer with inſtant death: but the arrival of the Comte de Melun, with ſeveral of the late king's attendants, who warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of Henry, put an end to the conteſt, by compelling Breteuil to reſign the keys of the treaſure, and to acquieſce in an act of violence which he had no poſſible opportunity of reſiſting with the ſmalleſt probability of ſucceſs.

The inſtant Henry had gained poſſeſſion of the money, he haſtened with it to London; and, having aſſembled ſome of the nobility and prelates, whom he had gained to his intereſt, either by preſents or promiſes, he was immediately proclaimed king, and proceeded without farther delay to the exerciſe of regal authority. The ceremony of his coronation was performed, by Maurice, Biſhop of London, on the 5th of Auguſt, in the year 1100, at Weſtminſter Abbey.

But, as Henry was poſſeſſed of ſufficient ſagacity to perceive, that a power uſurped by a flagrant violation of every principle of juſtice, could only procure ſtability from extraordinary exertions, he determined, if poſſible, to ſecure the eſteem and affection of his ſubjects. Beſides taking the uſual coronation-oath to maintain a rigid obſervance of the laws, and enforce a ſtrict and impartial execution of juſtice, he granted a charter, which was calculated

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to remove many of thoſe grievous oppreſſions under which the Engliſh had laboured during the two tyrannical reigns of his father and brother. By this important deed, he reſtored to the churches many of their former privileges and immunities, and relieved them from the hardſhips they had ſuſtained by the oppreſſive diſpoſition of his predeceſſor. He promiſed that, on the deceaſe of any biſhop or abbot, he would never appropriate the profits ariſing from the revenue of the ſee or abbey during the vacancy to his own uſe, but would cauſe them to accumulate for the benefit of the ſucceſſor; and that he would never expoſe to ſale any eccleſiaſtical benefices, nor let them to farm.

By theſe well-timed conceſſions to the church, he effectually ſecured the favour and protection of the clergy, which he knew to be of conſiderable importance; after which he proceeded to the enumeration of thoſe civil grievances which it was his intention to redreſs. He aboliſhed the exceſſive fines which had been exacted in the preceding reigns from the heir of every earl, baron, or military tenant, of the crown, on his admittance to the poſſeſſion of his lawful inheritance; commanding, that only a juſt and legal relief ſhould be required in future. He remitted the wardſhip of minors; and allowed guardians to be appointed, who ſhould be anſwerable for the truſt repoſed in them. He promiſed not to diſpoſe of any heireſs in marriage without the advice of his barons; and if any vaſſal of the crown intended to marry his daughter, ſiſter, niece, or kinſwoman, he ſhould only be compelled to aſk the king's conſent, which he engaged ſhould neither be ſold nor witheld; but that permiſſion ſhould be immediately granted, unleſs the perſon who was deſigned for her huſband ſhould happen to be his enemy. He granted his barons and military tenants the privilege of bequeathing their money and perſonal eſtates by will; and regulated the diviſion of the effects of ſuch as ſhould die inteſtate, among their wives, children, and neareſt relations. He ſuppreſſed the duty of mortgage, paid once in three years, in conſideration of the king's care to prevent the value of the coin from ſuffering diminution. He renounced the right of impoſing arbitrary taxes on all farms which the barons retained in their own hands; he made ſome vague regulations for the moderation of fines; he offered a pardon for all offences committed previous to his coronation; and remitted all debts that were due to the crown. He ordained, that all the vaſſals of the barons ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges and exemptions which he had accorded to the barons themſelves; and he finally promiſed to reſtore and confirm the laws of Edward the Confeſſor.

This is the ſubſtance of the principal articles contained in that celebrated charter, of which a copy was ſent to ſome abbey in each county, that it might be rendered more public, and it's authority be more effectually eſtabliſhed.

Farther to increaſe his popularity, he effected a reformation at court, by the expulſion of ſuch as had courted the favour of the late king in the oppreſſion of his ſubjects; and ordained, that any ſimilar inſtance of peculation ſhould for the future be regarded as a capital crime.

Ralph Flambard, his brother's chief favourite, the obſequious pandar of his guilty pleaſures, and the baſe inſtrument of his rapacious extortions, was deprived of the Biſhopric of Durham, to which he had been raiſed in the preceding reign, and doomed to the rigours of ſolitary confinement in the Tower. He publiſhed an edict, replete with ſeverity againſt delinquents in general, but more particularly againſt adulterers; and he aboliſhed the Curfew, which the Engliſh had continued to regard as a badge of intolerable ſervitude.

But theſe popular acts were followed by one which was a direct violation of his own charter, and afforded a bad proof of his intentions to obſerve it himſelf, or to enforce an obſervance of it by others. After he had depoſed Flambard, he purpoſely neglected to nominate a ſucceſſor for the ſpace of five years; and, during that time, appropriated the whole of the revenues of the biſhopric to his own private uſe.

Henry, being ſenſible of the great influence which Anſelm, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, had acquired over the minds of the people, both from his character, piety, and from the perſecutions he had experienced in the reign of William, whoſe ſyſtem of oppreſſion he had vigorouſly oppoſed, wiſely determined to gain him to his intereſt; and for that purpoſe diſpatched a meſſenger to him at Lyons, where he reſided, to requeſt that he would return to England, and take poſſeſſion of the primacy.

On the arrival of that prelate, Henry required from him the renewal of the homage which he had done to his brother, and which was conſonant to the practice of the Engliſh church; but Anſelm, whoſe ſentiments had been materially changed by his journey to Rome, refuſed to comply with this reaſonable requeſt, and attempted to ſanction his refuſal by quoting the decrees of the Council of Baric, at which he himſelf had aſſiſted, and which peremptorily forbade all eccleſiaſtics to receive inveſtiture from the laity, or to pay them homage on any account. He farther inſiſted, that the king ſhould relinquiſh that eſſential branch of his prerogative, and reſign the inveſtiture of biſhops and abbots, with the determination of all eccleſiaſtical diſputes, to the ſovereign pontiff. Though Henry was juſtly incenſed at the inſolent propoſitions of this arrogant prelate; yet, as he expected to reap eſſential advantages from his influence and popularity at a conjuncture, the delicacy of which required the utmoſt circumſpection of conduct, he was obliged to conceal his reſentment, and deſcend to temporize: he therefore deſired that the controverſy might remain in a ſtate of ſuſpence; and that meſſengers ſhould be diſpatched to Rome, to make overtures to the Pope for a ſyſtem of accommodation, by which he ſhould conſent to diſpenſe with the obſervance of thoſe canons which related to inveſtiture, as being diametrically oppoſite to the laws and cuſtoms of England; and that, in the interim, Anſelm ſhould take poſſeſſion of his Archbiſhopric. This expedient met with the approbation of the prelate; and the

the final determination of this important controverſy was accordingly deferred till the return of the meſſengers with an anſwer from the Roman pontiff.

An affair of importance ſpeedily occurred, in which Henry was compelled to have recourſe to the authority of Anſelm. Matilda, daughter to Malcolm the Third, King of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling, had on the death of her father, and the ſubſequent revolutions in the Scottiſh government, been conveyed to England, and placed in the convent of Rumſey, of which her aunt Chriſtina was abbeſs. This princeſs it was the king's intention to marry, in order to attach the Engliſh more firmly to his intereſt, by giving them a queen who was immediately deſcended from the line of their ancient monarchs. The conſent of Edgar Atheling was eaſily obtained; but as Matilda had worn the veil, though ſhe had never taken the vows, ſome ſcruples aroſe as to the legality of the intended marriage, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was applied to for his opinion on the ſubject. The matter, however, appeared of that importance, that Anſelm thought it requiſite to ſummon a council of the prelates and nobles; which was accordingly convened at Lambeth. It was there ſaid to be proved, that Matilda had aſſumed the veil, not for the purpoſe of embracing a monaſtic life, but merely with the view of protecting her chaſtity from the licentious attacks of the Normans, whom nothing could reſtrain from the gratification of their brutal deſires but the reſpect which they ſtill continued to preſerve for the ſacred habit of religion. The validity of this reaſon was not likely to meet with objections from men who were aſſembled rather to afford a plauſible ſanction to the pleaſure of their monarch, than for any minute and ſcrupulous inveſtigation of the juſtice of his doubts. Matilda, therefore, was declared by the council to be at full liberty to purſue the dictates of her inclination; in conſequence of which, her nuptials with Henry were ſolemnized by Anſelm with great pomp and magnificence.

By this act of political wiſdom, the king acquired great popularity with the Engliſh, who were willing to believe that an alliance with the blood of their ancient monarchs might temper the rigour of the Norman government, and prove the means of exempting them from thoſe ſeverities which they had experienced in the preceding reigns.

During theſe tranſactions, Robert, Duke of Normandy, arrived in his dominions, and took poſſeſſion of the dutchy without the ſmalleſt oppoſition. This prince expreſſed the greateſt reſentment at the conduct of his brother Henry, in taking advantage of his abſence to defraud him of his lawful inheritance, and evinced a determined reſolution to deprive him of the fruits of his uſurpation. For this purpoſe, he immediately commenced his preparations for the invaſion of England. The fame he had acquired in Paleſtine, greatly contributed to forward his pretenſions; and the diſcontented murmurs of the Norman barons, who expreſſed their diſpleaſure at the diviſion of Normandy from England, as they had done at the commencement of the preceding reign, inſpired Robert with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. His hopes, too, were conſiderably increaſed by a direct invitation from William de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, Robert de Beleſme, Earl of Shrewſbury and Arundel, Arnulf de Montgomery, Walter Giffard, Robert de Pontefract, Robert de Mallet, Yvo de Grentmeſnil, and many others of the principal nobility; who promiſed to join him with all their forces, as ſoon as he ſhould have landed in England.

The officers of a fleet which Henry had fitted out for the purpoſe of oppoſing his paſſage, won by the character of Robert, eſpouſed his cauſe, and joined him with the ſhips under their command. In this dangerous conjuncture, Henry began to entertain the moſt ſerious apprehenſions, not only for his crown, but for his life; and could think of no poſſible means of extricating himſelf from his difficulties but through the influence and interpoſition of the primate, who was alone able to ſuppreſs the enthuſiaſtic efforts of the people, directed by ſentiments of juſtice, by an artful appeal to their ſuperſtitious fears: he therefore paid court to Anſelm with the moſt diligent attention, and ſoothed his pride by commendations of his wiſdom and ſanctity. He adopted no means of importance without conſulting him, and appeared to make his opinion the invariable rule of his conduct. He promiſed to confirm and extend the privileges and immunities of the church; and profeſſed a determination to abide by the decrees of eccleſiaſtical ſynods, and to pay the moſt implicit obedience to the will of the ſovereign pontiff. By this means he effectually gained the confidence of Anſelm, whoſe influence with the people was of the moſt eſſential ſervice to him in his preſent critical ſituation.

That prelate did not heſitate to vouch for the ſincerity of Henry in his violent profeſſions of moderation and juſtice; and to aſſure the nobles, that it was his intention to avoid thoſe flagrant acts of tyranny and oppreſſion which had diſgraced the government of his predeceſſors: he even rode through the ranks of the army, ſtrenuouſly exhorted the troops to defend, with courage and perſeverance, the rights of their legitimate ſovereign; repreſented to them the danger and impiety of a neglect to obſerve, with the moſt religious punctuality, their oaths of allegiance; and expatiated on the advantages which they muſt inevitably derive from the adminiſtration of a monarch who was eminently diſtinguiſhed for his equity and wiſdom. By this ſagacious expedient, joined to the powerful influence of the Earls of Warwick and Mellent, of Roger Bigod, Richard de Redvers, and Robert Fitz-Hamon, who ſtill preſerved their fidelity to Henry, he was enabled to retain the army in his intereſt; and accordingly led his ſoldiers, with every appearance of firmneſs and unanimity, to oppoſe the progreſs of Robert, who had landed with his forces at Portſmouth.

The two armies lay in ſight of each other for ſome days without coming to action, each of their leaders being unwilling to hazard a battle which muſt inevitably have proved deciſive. Robert's

reluctance proceeded from his diſappointment in not being joined by the Engliſh, as he had fully expected; and that of Henry from a want of confidence in his troops, who he was fearful might forſake him in the hour of danger.

Anſelm embraced this opportunity to effect a mediation, in which he was aſſiſted by the chief noblemen and prelates of either army; who, after ſome debate, concluded a treaty, by which Robert conſented to reſign his pretenſions to the crown of England, on condition that Henry ſhould pay him an annual penſion of three thouſand marks, cede to him the Cotentin, and all his Norman poſſeſſions, except Danfront, which he could not give up without being guilty of a direct violation of the oath he had taken to the inhabitants when they received him into the place; that the adherents of each party ſhould be reſtored to their honours and eſtates, both in England and Normandy; that, if either of the brothers ſhould die without iſſue, the ſurvivor ſhould ſucceed to his dominions; and that neither of them ſhould afford the ſmalleſt protection, countenance, or encouragement, to the enemies of the other.

This treaty being ſigned and duly ratified, both armies were immediately diſbanded; and Robert, having paſſed two months at the Engliſh court, where he lived in the utmoſt harmony with his brother, returned to his own dominions.

Henry having eſtabliſhed his authority by this advantageous accommodation, and being wholly releaſed from his fears, began to give a looſe to his reſentment. He executed the articles of the treaty, indeed, with great punctuality, by reſtoring the adherents of Robert to their honours and eſtates; but ſecretly reſolved to promote their ruin, that he might be exempted from the danger of future moleſtation from noblemen, whoſe power and ability to interrupt the tranquillity of his government he had already experienced. Robert de Beleſme, Earl of Shrewſbury and Arundel, was the chief object of his indignation, and was therefore deſtined to be the firſt victim of his revenge. This nobleman, diſſatisfied with the late treaty, made no ſcruple to expreſs his diſſatisfaction to Henry in public; and, in order to repel any attempts that might be made to chaſtiſe him for his imprudence, he endeavoured to render himſelf formidable by increaſing the fortifications of his different caſtles. Thoſe of Bridgenorth and Shrewſbury, Tilkhill in Yorkſhire, and Arundel in Suſſex, were ſupplied with every requiſite for reſiſting an attack, and making an obſtinate defence. This conduct was perfectly agreeable to the king's wiſhes; who, to render his deſtruction more certain and compleat, placed ſpies to obſerve his motions; and, by inſidious pretences of coinciding in his meaſures, to betray him into expreſſions that might afterwards be converted into ſubjects of criminal accuſation.

When the king thought he had collected evidence ſufficient to operate his conviction, he preferred a capital charge againſt him, which contained five and forty different articles. The earl, conſcious of his guilt, and ſenſible of the power and inveteracy of the proſecutor, had recourſe to arms as the only means of defence that could be adopted with the ſmalleſt probability of ſucceſs.

But Henry having marched againſt him with a ſuperior force, and being deſerted by thoſe friends whoſe aſſiſtance he had every reaſon to expect, his caſtles were ſoon reduced; after which he was baniſhed the kingdom, and all his eſtates were confiſcated. His two brothers, Arnulf de Montgomery, and Roger, Earl of Lancaſter, whoſe innocence and loyalty were unimpeached, were alſo involved in the ſame ruin.

Robert de Pontefract, and Robert de Mallet, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſteady adherence to the Duke of Normandy, were next proſecuted and condemned. William de Warrenne experienced a ſimilar fate; and even William, Earl of Cornwall, ſon of the Count of Mortaigne, the king's uncle, was not exempted from the general perſecution. Having afforded ſome ſlender grounds for ſuſpicion, he was attainted, and all thoſe extenſive poſſeſſions which his family had acquired in England were ſeized, and annexed to the royal domains.

It will be eaſily imagined that Henry had not paid too ſcrupulous an attention to the forms, or even to the ſubſtance, of Juſtice, in the proſecution and conviction of theſe powerful barons. When inclination and ability are combined, it is ſeldom that the means of attainment can form any effectual obſtacle to the gratification of a favourite paſſion, or the accompliſhment of an intereſted ſcheme.

Robert, enraged at the fate of his adherents, and juſtly regarding the conduct of his brother as a flagrant violation of the late treaty, determined on a voyage to England. But his remonſtrances had little effect on Henry, who gave him ſo unpleaſant a reception, that he began to be ſeriouſly alarmed for his perſonal ſafety; and was at length compelled to purchaſe the liberty of returning to Normandy by the reſignation of his penſion.

The Earl of Shrewſbury, after the confiſcation of his Engliſh poſſeſſions, had retired to the dominions of Robert; and, under the pretence of obtaining ſatisfaction for the injuries he had ſuſtained from Henry, proceeded to commit depredations on the lands of ſuch of his ſubjects as had eſtates in Normandy; and, being joined by ſome other of the baniſhed nobles, harraſſed his native country with continual devaſtations.

Robert, who during his expedition to Paleſtine had acquired univerſal reſpect and eſteem, as well for his courage and intrepidity as for the more amiable qualities of generoſity and benevolence, on his attainment to the poſſeſſion of ſovereign authority, ſuffered the vigour of his mental faculties to relax by an unreſtrained indulgence in habits of indolence, which ſoon rendered him an object of contempt and deriſion to his ſubjects and dependents. According to Ordericus Vitalis, he abandoned himſelf ſo much to diſſolute pleaſures and effeminate ſuperſtition, that the affairs of government were totally neglected, and his people expoſed to the rapaciouſneſs and extortions of his followers. His ſervants, too, encouraged by his extreme

treme remiſſneſs, pillaged him with impunity, and even ſtole from him his very cloaths.

The barons, whoſe imperious and turbulent minds could only be kept in ſubjection by the moſt rigorous adminiſtration, indulged their ſpirit of unbounded rapine on their vaſſals, and their mutual animoſities to each other; ſo that Normandy, during the reign of a prince both benevolent and courageous, experienced every inconvenience which could have ariſen from the government of a ferocious and arbitrary tyrant. This induced the Normans to make an application to Henry, whoſe meaſures, they obſerved, had been productive of order and tranquillity in his own dominions; and to invite him to repair to Normandy, that he might exert his authority for the ſuppreſſion of theſe diſorders, and procure the reſtoration of peace.

By this invitation, Henry acquired a ſpecious pretence for interfering in the affairs of his brother. He employed it not, however, as fraternal affection ſhould have ſuggeſted, to effect an accommodation between Robert and his ſubjects, and thereby have rendered the government of Normandy firm and reſpectable: but, in compliance with the dictates of intereſt and ambition, to widen the breach that ſubſiſted between them; and, by detaching the barons from the intereſt of their lawful ſovereign, to promote the accompliſhment of his own deſigns upon the dutchy. He accordingly made a voyage to the continent; and, on his arrival, was met by many of the Norman nobility, who inveighed bitterly againſt the conduct of their own prince, and implored his protection to relieve them from the miſeries to which they were expoſed. Finding them thus inclined to ſerve him, he exerted all the arts of bribery, inſinuation, and intrigue, to attach them firmly to his cauſe; and he ſo far ſucceeded, that they promiſed to aſſiſt him in depriving his brother of his native dominions. He had alſo an interview with Robert, whom he reproached for his indolence and miſconduct, though he ſecretly rejoiced at their effects, as affording him an opportunity of gratifying his own ambition. In this interview, he found means of obtaining from him the ceſſion of the ſovereignty of the province of Evreux, and conſequently of the homage of it's Count.

Having thus paved the way for the reduction of Normandy by the humiliation of his brother, and by a diminution of his reſources, which at the ſame time increaſed the number of his own partizans, he returned to England.

After paſſing the winter in this kingdom, Henry collected, by arbitrary extortions on his ſubjects, a conſiderable treaſure, and a powerful army, with which he embarked for Normandy, in the ſpring of the year 1105, well prepared to obtain, either by force or corruption, the dominion of that dutchy. On his landing, he was joined by all the Norman barons who had eſpouſed his cauſe; and he immediately proceeded to the commiſſion of hoſtilities, under the ridiculous pretence of defending the churches from violence, and correcting the diſorders of the government.

During this campaign he took the city of Bayeux by ſtorm, after an obſtinate defence, and nearly reduced it to aſhes. This rigorous conduct alarmed the inhabitants of Caen, who ſurrendered the town to him at his firſt approach: but at Falaiſe he was leſs ſucceſsful; for meeting with a vigorous reſiſtance, and the autumn being far advanced, he was compelled to raiſe the ſiege, and return to England, where his ſubjects were harraſſed by the moſt oppreſſive exactions, in order to ſupport the ambitious projects of their ſovereign.

The Duke of Normandy, conſcious of his inability to defend his dominions againſt the attacks of Henry, aſſiſted by the diſaffection of his own rebellious ſubjects, determined to repair to England, and remonſtrate with him on the injuſtice of his proceedings; vainly imagining, that the ſame ſentiments of honour and generoſity which he was conſcious of entertaining himſelf might reſide in the boſom of his brother. Henry, however, as it will eaſily be ſuppoſed, was deaf to his ſolicitations; and ſuffered him to return to Normandy, diſſatisfied with his reception, and reſolved to make every preparation for a vigorous defence.

The king having, by the moſt ſpecious promiſes and artful inſinuations, prevailed on the Engliſh to ſupport his pretenſions, and ſupply him with the requiſite ſums for the enſuing campaign, he embarked for Normandy, about the end of July, with the full determination of effecting the final reduction of the dutchy. His firſt attempt was on the caſtle of Tinchebray; which, being provided with a ſtrong garriſon, was enabled to ſuſtain the ſiege till Robert could march to it's relief. That unfortunate prince, ſince his departure from England, had recovered his priſtine vigour, and made the moſt formidable exertions to oppoſe the progreſs of his brother. Aſſiſted by the Count of Mortaigne, and Robert de Beleſme, who warmly eſpouſed his cauſe, he had contrived to raiſe a conſiderable army, with which he now approached the camp of Henry, reſolved, by one deciſive battle, to terminate the quarrel between them.

Robert was now moving in his proper ſphere. Endued with more courage than cunning, he was leſs qualified to ſhine in the cabinet than to excel in the field; to rule a kingdom, than to command an army. Animated by the example of their prince, his troops evinced an earneſt anxiety to ſuſtain the glory of the Norman name; and their efforts were on the point of proving ſucceſsful, the Engliſh being routed, and thrown into the utmoſt diſorder, when the flight of Robert de Beleſme checked the ardour of the Normans, and diffuſed a panic through the ranks, which encouraged their adverſaries to rally, and at length occaſioned a total defeat. Great numbers of the Normans were ſlain in the action; and Henry took ten thouſand priſoners, in which number were his brother, Edgar Atheling, and moſt of the powerful barons who had adhered to the intereſt of Robert.

This victory determined the fate of Normandy. Rouen immediately ſubmitted to the conqueror; Falaiſe, after ſome negotiation, ſurrendered; and, in ſhort, he ſoon gained poſſeſſion of all the towns, caſtles, and places of importance, in the province.

In

In the caſtle of Falaiſe he found William, the infant ſon of his brother Robert, whom he committed to the care of Helie de St. Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, and who evinced his honour and integrity by the manner in which he fulfilled the important truſt that was repoſed in him.

About the middle of October, Henry convened an aſſembly of the prelates, barons, and military tenants, of the dutchy, at Liſieux; in which he revoked all the grants of territorial poſſeſſions which had been made by his brother, and adopted ſome wiſe regulations for the reſtoration of peace and good order.

Having diſmantled all the caſtles which had been lately built in Normandy, and enforced ſuch meaſures as the ſituation of the country required, he returned to England, in the ſpring of the year 1107, taking with him his captive brother, and many other illuſtrious priſoners. Determined to ſecure his acquiſitions, and to prevent the Duke of Normandy from affording him the leaſt moleſtation in future, he detained him in cuſtody in the caſtle of Cardiff, in Glamorganſhire, till his death, which did not happen till near twenty-eight years afterwards, in 1134.

Had the political abilities of that unfortunate prince been equal to his martial endowments and native benevolence of mind, he might have inſpired his ſubjects with affection, his neighbours with reſpect, and his enemies with awe.

Edgar Atheling, who had accompanied Robert in his expedition to Paleſtine, and had been taken with him at the battle of Tinchebray, was releaſed by the king, who did not think him of ſufficient importance to be conſidered as an object of reſentment. Henry, therefore, ſettled on him a ſmall penſion, on which he lived in England during the remainder of his days; which he paſſed in ſuch tranquil obſcurity, that even the time and other peculiar circumſtances of his death have not been preſerved in hiſtory.

Soon after Henry had compleated the conqueſt of Normandy, he terminated a diſpute that had been long depending between him and the Pope, in regard to the inveſtitures in eccleſiaſtical benefices; and though he was, in this inſtance, compelled to relinquiſh ſome of the legal prerogatives of the crown, yet he extricated himſelf from the difficulty on more reaſonable terms than thoſe princes who in that age were ſo unfortunate as to be engaged in diſputes with the apoſtolic ſee, could generally obtain.

We have already ſhewn that the king, from the peculiarity of his ſituation at the commencement of his reign, had been compelled to court the favour of Anſelm; and the event ſufficiently demonſtrated the ſagacity of this political compliance. When Anſelm firſt returned from baniſhment, his refuſal to do homage to his ſovereign gave riſe to a diſpute, which Henry wiſely evaded at that critical juncture, promiſing to diſpatch a meſſenger to Rome to effect an accommodation with Paſcal the Second, who then enjoyed the papal dignity.

Soon after the pacification with his brother Robert had effectually ſecured him in the quiet poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown, the meſſenger returned with letters from Paſcal, which contained the moſt reſolute aſſertions that the church, and all it's revenues, were the excluſive property of St. Peter and his ſucceſſors; and that no prince, king, or emperor, had the ſmalleſt right to grant the inveſtitures of benefices to the clergy, nor to exact homage from them. He founded his arguments on various texts of Scripture, ſo groſsly miſapplied as to be incapable of impoſing on the moſt ſuperficial underſtanding, if not obſcured by enthuſiaſtic zeal or frantic ſuperſtition. He attempted to prove, that Chriſt being the door, all eccleſiaſtics muſt enter the church through Chriſt alone, and not through the civil magiſtrate, or any profane layman: and where the Scriptures could not be perverted to anſwer his purpoſe, he quoted paſſages, as from the Holy Writ, which were not to be found in the Scriptures; of which the following aſſertion will afford an adequate proof. "It is horrible," ſays the imperious Paſcal, "that a ſon ſhould pretend to beget his father, or a "man to create his *god*. Prieſts are denominated "gods in Scripture, as being the vicars of God: "and will you, by your ſacrilegious pretenſions to "grant them their inveſtiture, aſſume the right of "creating them?"

This curious inſtance of papiſtical reaſoning, which the Pope ſhould have been the laſt to employ, ſeems rather to have irritated than convinced the king: for, the firſt time that Anſelm appeared at court after Henry had received this anſwer from Rome, he was ordered in a peremptory tone to do homage to him for the revenues of his ſee, and to proceed to the immediate conſecration of certain biſhops and abbots, whom he named, or to retire from his dominions. Henry added, that he would ſuffer no ſubject to remain in his territories who refuſed to do him homage. Anſelm arrogantly replied, that he was prohibited by the canons of the Council of Rome from paying obedience to the orders of his ſovereign; that he would not, therefore, depart the kingdom, but would remain in his dioceſe, and continue to perform the duties of his ſtation; and dared the king to interrupt him in the exerciſe of his function. After this inſolent declaration, he retired from court, and returned to Canterbury.

Henry ſoon after convened an eccleſiaſtical ſynod at Wincheſter, which he ſummoned the primate to attend; and it was there determined to ſend ambaſſadors to Rome, to declare to the ſovereign pontiff, in the name of the king and nobility of England, that, if he continued to perſiſt in his denial of the king's right of granting inveſtitures, and to the exaction of homage, they would expel the primate from the kingdom, withdraw their ſubjection to the ſee of Rome, and withold their cuſtomary payments. The perſons choſen for this unpleaſant embaſſy were Gerard, Archbiſhop of York; Herbert, Biſhop of Norwich; and Robert, Biſhop of Cheſter; men not leſs diſtinguiſhed by their abilities than by their rank. Permiſſion was likewiſe accorded to Anſelm to diſpatch two of his own friends for the purpoſe of defending his intereſts: he accordingly ſent two monks, named Baldwin and Alexander.

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The arrival of these ambassadors at Rome involved the pontiff in the utmost perplexity, as he was loth to urge the King of England and his subjects to proceed to extremities, and still more unwilling to relinquish his own pretensions, or to forsake so faithful an adherent as Anselm. To the royal ambassadors he made the most solemn promises, in private, that the king might grant investitures, and exact the homage, without fear of incurring his censures, although policy might induce him to employ menaces; but that prudence forbade him to commit his sentiments on this subject to paper, lest other princes should be induced to lay claim to a similar indulgence. He employed a very different language to the friends of the primate, to whom he gave a letter for that prelate, containing exhortations to adhere with firmness and resolution to the canons against investiture and homage, and an assurance of efficacious support.

When the messengers were all returned to England, a grand council of the prelates and nobles was convened at London, in the year 1102, to receive the intelligence they had brought: but the surprize at the contradictory reports they delivered is difficult to be expressed; the three prelates affirming that the Pope was willing to dispense with the canons against lay-investitures and regal homage, and the two monks making a positive declaration to the contrary, and producing the letter from his Holiness to the primate in confirmation of their testimony. This occasioned a violent altercation, and involved both parties in equal uncertainty: the king, bishops, and nobles, being willing to afford most credit to the prelates, while Anselm and his friends placed implicit confidence in the report of his own messengers; though, according to Eadmer, they all entertained the strongest suspicions of the Pope's duplicity. The dispute was at length suspended, by a proposal of the primate to dispatch other ambassadors to Rome; promising, in the mean time, to communicate with those prelates who had received investiture from the king.

During the suspension of the controversy, Anselm, with the consent of the king, convened an ecclesiastical synod at Westminster, in which several abbots were deposed for simony; and several canons were enacted, by one of which the married clergy were expressly commanded to repudiate their wives.

In the spring of the year 1103, the king had an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which both menaces and entreaties were exerted to induce that prelate to do him homage for the temporalities of his see; but he was neither to be soothed nor affrighted into obedience: he declared, however, that his messengers were just returned from Rome with letters from the Pope, which he had not yet opened, and by the contents of which he was willing to be guided in the direction of his future conduct. But Henry, who either knew, or strongly suspected, that they were unfavourable to his pretensions, exclaimed in a passion, that both the Pope and his letters were equally indifferent to him; that he would maintain undiminished the legal prerogatives of his predecessors; and would make any one, who should presume to encroach on them, experience the severest vengeance of insulted majesty. To this vehement declaration the primate calmly replied, that he was determined to suffer death sooner than violate the sacred canons of the church without the express command of the Pope.

The king, observing that menaces were insufficient to intimidate the mind of Anselm, thought it prudent to change his tone, and descend to entreaties: he accordingly requested, as a favour, that the primate would repair to Rome, and attempt, by his skill and address, to obtain what others had not been able to procure from the Pope, viz. the unlimited enjoyment of those privileges which his predecessors had exercised without interruption. Anselm desired that his journey might be deferred till Easter, when the sentiments of the nobility and prelates might be known. This delay was accordingly assented to: and on the arrival of that festival, when the grand assembly of the nation was held, as usual, all the members unanimously joined in the request of the king, that the archbishop would undertake the commission; in consequence of which he departed for the continent, on the 29th of April, in the year 1103.

When Anselm arrived at the monastery of Bec, in Normandy, of which he had formerly been abbot, he opened those letters which he had received from the Pope some time before; and which, as we are told by Eadmer, he was prevented, by motives of prudence, from perusing at the time he received them; though what those motives could be it is difficult to conjecture. He found them to contain the most flattering expressions of approbation of his own conduct, the most solemn asseverations that the report of the three prelates whom the king had sent to Rome was wholly devoid of truth, and that he excommunicated them for having dared to deviate from that strict veracity which the ministers of religion ought to preserve inviolate. Pascal farther declared, in these curious epistles, that it was his full determination to enforce the canons against lay-investitures: "For," says he, "if we permit monarchs to give a bishop the staff, the symbol of "his pastoral office; and the ring, the sign of his "faith; the destruction of the church, and even of "the Christian religion itself, must be the certain "and immediate consequence." These letters, it is more than probable, perfectly coincided with the wishes of Anselm, who departed from Bec in the month of August, and in a short time arrived at Rome.

Though the king had particularly requested Anselm to undertake this journey, he knew him too well to believe that he would be earnest in his endeavours to promote the cause he was sent to plead. His desire that he should quit the kingdom, probably, arose from the apprehension that the other prelates might be infected with his dangerous zeal: he therefore dispatched William de Warelwast, a man whose abilities he had experienced, and on whose fidelity he could rely, to the court of Rome, duly supplied with the only arguments which, in a court that was famous for venality and corruption,

were likely to produce conviction. The Engliſh miniſter travelled with ſuch expedition, that he arrived at Rome ſome time before Anſelm; and, by his activity and liberality, had gained ſo many friends, that he began to entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceeding in his negotiation.

Soon after the arrival of Anſelm, however, the hopes of Warelwaſt were proved to be fallacious; for a conſiſtory was convened by the Pope for the examination of this long-conteſted cauſe, in which that ambaſſador made a long harangue in defence of his maſter's right to grant inveſtiture to the prelates of his own dominions, and to receive homage from them: nor did he neglect to remind the aſſembly of the great munificence of the Engliſh monarchs to the church of Rome; nor to inſinuate, that a continuation of that munificence ſolely depended on the deciſion that might be given in the preſent cauſe. Anſelm himſelf obſerved a profound ſilence. When the debates began, ſeveral members who had been gained by Warelwaſt ſpoke in favour of the king, and aggravated the danger of provoking his reſentment. In order to give their arguments greater force, Warelwaſt declared that his maſter would rather forfeit his kingdom than relinquiſh his right of granting inveſtitures: but this declaration had a very different effect to that which it was intended to promote; for the pride and reſentment of the imperious pontiff riſing ſuperior to every other conſideration, he immediately replied, that he called God to witneſs, that Paſcal would rather forfeit his life than ſuffer Henry to uſurp a right he could have no legal pretenſions to. This reſolute aſſertion put an immediate termination to the debates; and a decree was pronounced, proteſting againſt the king's right to grant inveſtitures; and denouncing the penalties of excommunication againſt all prelates who had already ſubmitted to receive, or ſhould hereafter receive them from the hands of their ſovereign, until they ſhould make ſatisfaction, and obtain abſolution from the primate. To afford ſtill farther gratification to the ambition of Anſelm, the Pope granted him a bull, by which he confirmed the primacy of England to him and his ſucceſſors in the ſee of Canterbury; and then diſmiſſed him with every poſſible demonſtration of eſteem and affection.

Warelwaſt remained at Rome ſome days after the departure of the primate, in the hope of profiting by his abſence; but all his attempts to induce the Pope to revoke his ſentence proved inefficacious; he could only obtain from him a letter to his maſter, in which Paſcal congratulated him on his ſucceſſes in Normandy, and on the birth of his ſon: ſo that, although he obſtinately perſiſted in a refuſal to acknowledge the king's right of exerciſing a power which both law and reaſon entitled him to, yet he could expreſs his approbation and joy at his ſucceſsful attempts to violate the rights and uſurp the poſſeſſions of his brother, and that brother, too, a general who had ſignalized his piety by his zeal and courage to attack the enemies of the Chriſtian faith, and to reſcue the Holy Land from the hands of the Infidels! The Pope farther aſſured Henry, that he had been only induced to deprive him of the right of inveſtiture, by the conſideration, that the retaining it might have proved prejudicial to his eternal ſalvation, as it could not have failed to incur the vengeance of the Almighty: and, to ſoothe him to ſubmit to his arrogant pretenſions, he promiſed him that, if he would prove himſelf a dutiful ſon of the church, and pay that honour and obedience to Anſelm which his ſituation required, he would accord to him and his royal conſort a plenary remiſſion of their ſins, and beſtow his benediction on their infant ſon.

Warelwaſt departed from Rome with this curious epiſtle; and, as he paſſed through Lyons, paid a viſit to the primate, and gave him to underſtand that the king was willing he ſhould return to England, on condition that he would obſerve the ſame line of conduct as his predeceſſors in the ſee of Canterbury. But Anſelm, inſtead of anſwering him, gave him an inſolent letter to the king, in which he poſitively declared that he would neither do him homage, nor communicate with any of the prelates who had received the ſymbols of their office from his hands; that he would not return to England till he ſhould have reſigned his ill-founded pretenſions; and proteſted that the king ſhould be conſidered as accountable for every ſoul that ſhould be loſt by his abſence. On the reception of this letter, Henry ſeized all the revenues of the archbiſhopric; and Anſelm continued at Lyons, in a ſtate of baniſhment, during ſixteen months.

During his reſidence on the continent, the primate neglected nothing that might contribute to his reſtoration on his own terms. Having prevailed on the Pope to iſſue a ſentence of excommunication againſt the Earl of Mellent, Henry's chief favourite, and obtained the promiſe of a ſimilar ſentence againſt the king himſelf, if he did not ſpeedily ſubmit, he departed from Lyons in the month of May, in the year 1105, and paid a viſit to Adela, Counteſs of Blois, the king's ſiſter, who was a princeſs of exemplary piety, and one of his greateſt admirers. The counteſs, having learned his intention of publiſhing a ſentence of excommunication againſt her brother, which he daily expected to receive from Rome, was, according to Eadmer, ſo much hurt at the thoughts of her brother's damnation, that ſhe determined, if poſſible, to extricate him from the danger; and for that purpoſe engaged Henry to conſent to an interview with the primate, that an accommodation might be effected.

This interview accordingly took place on the twenty-ſecond of July, in the year 1105, at the caſtle of L'Aigle, in Normandy; whither the counteſs had previouſly conducted the archbiſhop, whom the king received with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of friendſhip and eſteem. After ſome converſation, Henry offered Anſelm the liberty of returning to England, and of exerciſing his functions, on the ſole condition of holding communion with thoſe prelates who had received the ring and croſier from the hands of their ſovereign; but Anſelm even refuſed to comply with this reaſonable requeſt till he ſhould have received directions from the ſovereign pontiff, to whoſe will he expreſſed a ſettled determination

mination to pay the moſt implicit obedience: it was therefore reſolved, that both the king and primate ſhould diſpatch meſſengers to Rome, to requeſt that the Pope would finally ſettle all matters of diſpute which ſubſiſted between them; and that every thing ſhould remain quiet till their return. After this arrangement, Anſelm retired to the abbey of Bec; and the king embarked for England.

But Henry having by this means avoided the danger of excommunication, which he had deemed a ſubject of ſerious alarm, delayed ſending his ambaſſadors to Rome, which gave great offence to Anſelm and his Engliſh partizans. At this time, the prelate was informed by a letter from a friend, that his abſence had produced a moſt ſhameful relaxation of morals, and almoſt a total extinction of the Chriſtian religion; that the moſt horrid cuſtoms prevailed in England; and that, the fear of his cenſures being removed, ſodomy, and the practice of wearing long hair—which the bigotted writer ſeems to have regarded as crimes of equal enormity—obtained among all ranks of people, who publicly expoſed their infamy without ſenſe of ſhame or dread of puniſhment.

At length, about the concluſion of the year 1105, Henry again diſpatched William de Warelwaſt, whom he had now promoted to the ſee of Exeter, to proceed to Rome, with Baldwin de Torney, who was ſent thither by Anſelm.

During the negotiation of theſe meſſengers with the Pope, the prelates of England, foreſeeing that an accommodation would neceſſarily take place, and be ſpeedily attended with the return of their primate, deemed it prudent to ſend him a letter of invitation; which, as we are told by Eadmer, was replete with expreſſions of reſpect and ſubmiſſion.

This ſecond embaſſy was attended with much better ſucceſs than the firſt; and, when the obſtinacy which the ſovereign pontiff had evinced on all former occaſions is conſidered, the terms which were now obtained from him were much more favourable to the king than could have been expected.

On the twenty-third of March, in the year 1106, Warelwaſt procured letters from the Pope, addreſſed to Anſelm, in which that prelate was commanded to grant abſolution to all the Engliſh biſhops and abbots who had ſubmitted to pay homage, and to receive inveſtiture from their ſovereign, and then either to conſecrate them himſelf, or by commiſſion. He even extended his indulgence to thoſe three prelates whom he had accuſed of delivering a falſe report to the king, and ordered the primate to hold communion with them, as well as to grant abſolution to the king, queen, and nobility, of England, for all their paſt ſins. As to the future conſecration of biſhops and abbots, he directed Anſelm not to refuſe it to ſuch as had done homage to the king, provided they had not received inveſtiture from him.

Thus the diſputes between the King and the Pope appear to have been finally decided by mutual conceſſions. Paſcal allowed the biſhops to do homage for their temporal properties and privileges; and Henry relinquiſhed the right of granting inveſtitures, by which the ſpiritual dignity was ſuppoſed to be conferred. The pontiff was well pleaſed to have made this important acquiſition to the papal power, which he hoped would ſoon be enabled to make farther encroachments: and the king, eager to extricate himſelf from a ſituation which the prevalence of ſuperſtition rendered dangerous, was content to preſerve a ſmall, though precarious, authority, in the election of prelates.

Henry, by the acquiſition of Normandy, had attained the ſummit of his wiſhes; but the injuſtice of his uſurpation, by exciting frequent ſenſations of remorſe, deprived him of thoſe enjoyments which ſucceſs, when obtained by virtuous means, generally ſecures: yet, far from wiſhing to comply with the dictates of conſcience, by affording ſuch reparation as was in his power to make, he only ſought to procure a temporary reſpite from mental inquietude by the erection of monaſteries and other ſuperſtitious evaſions, which Matthew Paris, and other of our monkiſh hiſtorians, ſeem to intimate were the moſt effectual atonement he could offer for the numerous injuries he had inflicted. His moſt ſerious concern, however, was occaſioned by William, the infant ſon of his brother Robert, whom he greatly feared might ſooner or later meet with friends ſufficiently powerful to enable him to aſſert his rights, and exact vengeance for his own and his father's ſufferings. To relieve himſelf from theſe troubleſome apprehenſions, he determined, if poſſible, to get the young prince within his power; and for that purpoſe he diſpatched Robert de Beauchamp, with a body of horſe, to ſurprize the caſtle of St. Saen, and ſeize the perſon of William during the abſence of his guardian: but the vigilance and fidelity of the domeſtics prevented his plot from ſucceeding; as, on the firſt alarm, they found means to eſcape with their charge, and bear him in ſafety to their maſter.

Henry, enraged at the diſappointment of his plans, puniſhed Helie de St. Saen for his integrity by confiſcating his eſtates, which compelled that nobleman to wander from court to court with his royal pupil, the beauty of whoſe perſon excited admiration, while the ſeverity of his fate commanded univerſal compaſſion.

About this period, Henry attempted the reformation of certain abuſes which had long ſubſiſted in the œconomy of his court. By the tenor of the feudal laws, the immediate vaſſals of the crown were obliged to ſupply the king and his retinue with proviſions, and all other neceſſaries, when he travelled under the inſpection of the ſteward of the houſhold, who always attended his perſon. This had of late proved a ſource of the moſt grievous oppreſſion to the ſubject, as the king's followers had exerciſed every ſpecies of outrage and inſult; not content with putting their landlords to ſuperfluous expences, they extorted from them what money they choſe, and even violated the chaſtity of their wives and daughters: in ſhort, their conduct was ſo brutal, that when the people received intelligence of the king's approach, they deſerted their habitations, and retired to the woods with their families and effects. To remedy theſe diſorders, Henry publiſhed

liſhed an edict, by virtue of which all perſons convicted of ſimilar offences, were ſentenced to loſe their eyes, hands, or feet. At the ſame time, another law was enacted for the puniſhment of coiners, who had become very numerous, and had long adulterated the currency under the protection of the nobles, for whom they worked privately in their houſes, where they were exempt from moleſtation, as no officer of juſtice had a right to enter the houſe of a baron. By this edict it was decreed, that whoever ſhould be convicted of adulterating the coin, ſhould ſuffer caſtration and the deprivation of ſight.

Though, by the promulgation of theſe decrees, Henry evinced a regard for the welfare of his ſubjects, yet the ſubſequent change in his deportment obliterated every favourable idea they were calculated to inſpire. The accompliſhment of his unjuſt deſigns upon the dominions of his brother, and his ſucceſs in overcoming every obſtacle that had oppoſed itſelf to his wiſhes, induced him to lay aſide all reſtraint, and to diſplay the native bent of his diſpoſition, which appears to have borne too ſtrong a reſemblance to that of his father. The affability which he had aſſumed at his acceſſion now totally diſappeared: he treated his nobles with inſolence and pride; and, in direct violation of the charter he had granted, ruled with the moſt arbitrary ſway.

The extent of his power and poſſeſſions, however, did not fail to attract the attention of foreigners; and Henry the Fifth, Emperor of Germany, ſent ambaſſadors to the Engliſh court, to demand his only daughter, Maude, or Matilda, who was but eight years of age, in marriage. An alliance, ſo replete with advantages, the king was too wiſe to reject; the treaty, therefore, was ſpeedily concluded. The princeſs was affianced with great ſolemnity; and her marriage portion, raiſed by an impoſt of three ſhillings on every hyde of land in the kingdom, was paid to the ambaſſadors, who conducted her in the following year to Germany, to receive her education at the Imperial court.

But the pleaſure which Henry derived from this advantageous alliance was conſiderably damped by the news he received from the continent, where the effects of the intrigues of Helie de St. Saen in favour of his royal ward now began to be viſible.

Lewis the Groſs, ſon of Philip, was at this time King of France, and had contracted a perſonal friendſhip for Henry during his reſidence at the Engliſh court, whither he had been compelled to ſeek refuge, in the lifetime of Philip, from the perſecutions of his ſtep-mother, Bertrude. But, after the acceſſion of Lewis to the throne of his anceſtors, his intereſts were found in many particulars to be ſo diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of the Engliſh monarch, whoſe annexation of Normandy to his other dominions rendered him ſtill more formidable, that the ties of friendſhip were ſoon made to yield to objects of ſuperior importance. He therefore joined the Counts of Anjou and Flanders in giving diſturbance to Henry's government by eſpouſing the cauſe of Prince William, and adopting the reſolution of eſtabliſhing him in the poſſeſſions of his father. Fulk, Count of Anjou, had conceived ſo great an affection for that unfortunate prince, that he not only afforded him protection in his court, but promiſed to give him his daughter Sibylla in marriage.

Henry, alarmed at this powerful confederacy, repaired to the continent, and took every method which his ſagacity could deviſe to avert the impending ſtorm. During two years which he paſſed in Normandy, he was continually engaged either in wars or negotiations. At length, finding that all his endeavours to divert the ſupporters of the prince from their intended purpoſe were ineffectual, he propoſed a marriage between a daughter of the Count of Anjou and his own ſon, William, who was the heir apparent to all his dominions. This temptation proved too ſtrong for the count's generoſity; who accordingly broke the contract between William, the ſon of Robert, and his daughter Sibylla, on pretence of their conſanguinity, and immediately affianced her ſiſter to the ſon of Henry, who ſtood exactly in the ſame degree of relation to her.

This contract produced a peace between Henry and the count; which was ſoon after followed by a perſonal interview between the Kings of England and France, in which a final accommodation took place. It was agreed, that all the Norman barons who had eſpouſed the cauſe of Prince William ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their lands in Normandy; and that the Count of Anjou ſhould do homage to Henry for the province of Maine.

In conſequence of this treaty, Helie de St. Saen was compelled to quit the court of Anjou with his royal pupil; and, after having wandered about as a fugitive for ſome time, he retired with him to the court of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, who received him with great hoſpitality, and promiſed him future protection and aſſiſtance.

Henry, having by theſe means eſtabliſhed tranquillity in his Norman dominions, returned to England in the month of July, in the year 1113; and for the ſpace of five years, in which he divided his time between England and Normandy as the exigency of affairs required his preſence in either country, enjoyed a degree of tranquillity which the turbulence of the times rendered uncommon.

During this peaceful period, the chief object of his attention was to ſecure the ſucceſſion of all his dominions to his only legitimate ſon, Prince William. For this purpoſe he viſited Normandy at the end of September, in the year 1114; and, having aſſembled the ſtates of the dutchy, obliged all the prelates and barons to ſwear fealty and do homage to his ſon, as his heir and ſucceſſor. He returned again to England in the July following; and in the month of March, in the year 1116, convened a grand national council at Saliſbury, at which all the earls, barons, and prelates, of the kingdom attended. The king there informed them, that he was about to viſit his continental territories; and, as he knew not what accident might befal him, he thought it neceſſary to require them to take an oath of fealty to his ſon, as heir to the crown: a requiſition which met with immediate compliance from the whole aſſembly.

Yet

Yet all theſe precautions were inſufficient to remove the jealous doubts and apprehenſions of Henry, who ſtill feared that his nephew might one day be enabled to diſpute the poſſeſſion of his dominions with himſelf, or the ſucceſſion with his ſon: he therefore endeavoured to entice him to his court by a promiſe of conferring on him three Engliſh earldoms, and of educating him with the ſame care and tenderneſs as his own ſon. But William was prudent enough to reject theſe ſpecious promiſes, and wiſely refuſed to truſt to the profeſſions of a man who, not content with uſurping the throne of England to the prejudice of his father, had deprived him of his lawful inheritance, and ſtill detained him as a priſoner.

The proſperity which this fortunate monarch had hitherto experienced now began to ſuffer interruption, and was ſucceeded by a train of very ſerious calamities. On the firſt of May, in the year 1118, he loſt his queen Matilda, a princeſs of great virtue and ſignal accompliſhments, equally diſtinguiſhed for her charitable exertions, and for her ſtrict attention to all the duties of religion. Among other works of charity, ſhe founded an hoſpital for lepers in the city of London; and erected the priory of Chriſt-Church, within Aldgate. As ſhe was once paſſing the River Lea, at Oldford, near London, ſhe very narrowly eſcaped being drowned, which induced her to order the erection of two ſtone bridges, at the diſtance of a mile from the Old Ford; one over the main body of the River Lea, at the end of the town of Stratford; and the other over a contiguous branch, commonly called Channel's Bridge. Between theſe two bridges ſhe cauſed a highway of gravel to be raiſed. For the ſupport of theſe works, ſhe made over certain manors, and a mill, known by the name of Wiggon-Mill, to the Abbeſs of Barking. We are told, in Stow's Annals, that theſe were the firſt bridges in England that were compoſed of ſtone; and that, becauſe they were raiſed in the form of a bow, the town of Stratford was afterwards denominated *Bow*.

Within a few weeks after the death of his illuſtrious conſort, Henry loſt Robert, Earl of Mellent, a friend of ſtrict honour and approved fidelity.

About the ſame period, a concurrence of untoward circumſtances excited many powerful enemies, both foreign and domeſtic, to form a conſpiration againſt him, in order to promote his ruin.

Ever ſince the acceſſion of Lewis to the throne of France, that monarch had not ceaſed to interrupt the tranquillity of Henry, either by affording protection to his rebellious ſubjects in Normandy, or by exciting the neighbouring princes to invade his continental dominions. Though he was generally ſtudious to conceal his hoſtile endeavours beneath the ſpecious maſk of friendſhip, yet Henry was by no means a dupe to his inſidious artifices: he well knew that it was Lewis who had formerly urged the Norman barons to rebellion; and therefore determined to embrace a favourable opportunity, which now offered, for the exaction of vengeance. His nephew Thibaud, Count of Blois, the ſon of his ſiſter Adela, had experienced ſome inſult or injury from the French monarch, which he was preparing to reſent by taking up arms againſt his ſovereign: Henry, therefore, reſolved to afford him aſſiſtance; and, in order to animate him to a vigorous proſecution of the war, ſupplied him with a powerful reinforcement of troops.

Lewis, irritated at this conduct, openly declared in favour of his nephew William; and perſuaded Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and Fulk, Count of Anjou, two noblemen who were poſſeſſed of great power, to eſpouſe his cauſe. This formidable confederacy received a great acceſſion of ſtrength by the junction of Amaure de Montfort, who was diſcontented with Henry for having refuſed to inveſt him with the earldom of Evreux, and of the Counts of Eu and Aumale, and many other Norman barons; who, either from motives of hatred to the Engliſh monarch, or of eſteem to his brother Robert, were prevailed on to embrace the party of William. In ſhort, the diſaffection of the Norman nobility, owing to the intrigues of Lewis, became ſo general, that he knew not in whom to repoſe the ſmalleſt degree of confidence. Even Euſtace, Count of Breteuil, his own ſon-in-law, who had married Juliana, one of his natural daughters, joined the confederates. Beſides theſe avowed enemies, he was ſurrounded by ſecret foes, who betrayed his councils, and formed deſigns upon his life. Indeed, if we may credit the account of Ordericus Vitalis, his own daughter Juliana made a deſperate attempt to deprive him of his exiſtence, by diſcharging an arrow at his breaſt.

No augmentation of danger, however, could depreſs the mind of Henry, who exerted his wonted courage to extricate himſelf from his difficulties, not by puſillanimous conceſſions, but by vigorous reſiſtance. In order to preſerve himſelf from the ſecret machinations of domeſtic traitors, he continually ſlept in his armour, his ſword and ſhield placed by his ſide, and his apartment guarded by a troop of faithful domeſtics.

At the commencement of the war, finding it impoſſible to carry on ſo unequal a conteſt with any probability of ſucceſs, he prudently forbore to attack, and acted wholly on the defenſive, waiting the arrival of ſome favourable circumſtance, and endeavouring to ſow diviſion amongſt his enemies. Nor was it long before fortune proved favourable to his wiſhes, and the effect of his intrigues began to appear.

Baldwin, Count of Flanders, the braveſt, moſt powerful, and moſt inveterate of his adverſaries, received a wound in an action near Eu, of which he ſoon after expired. He likewiſe ſucceeded in his attempt to detach the Count of Anjou from the confederacy, by ſolemnizing the marriage between the daughter of that nobleman and his own ſon, the delay whereof had been the count's principal inducement to take up arms againſt him. The nuptials were celebrated in the month of June, in the year 1119. His next care was to induce the Norman barons to return to their duty, to which he ſoon perſuaded them, by a ſolemn promiſe to grant whatever they deſired. Thus the King of France, deſerted by all his allies, was reduced to ſupport the whole burden of the war himſelf.

The conteſt, by the adoption of theſe ſagacious meaſures, being now rendered more equal, Henry determined to take the field; and, having received intelligence that Lewis had formed a plan for ſurprizing the caſtle of Noyon, near Andeley, he marched to the relief of that place, at the head of five hundred horſe, and met the King of France on the plain of Brenneville, as he was advancing to the attack, with a body of cavalry amounting to about four hundred. A ſharp conflict immediately enſued, in which Prince William, the ſon of Duke Robert, who led the vanguard of the French, diſplayed the greateſt bravery, broke through the firſt ranks of the Engliſh, and penetrated to the ſpot where his uncle was poſted, whoſe life was in imminent danger, having received a wound on the head from William Criſpin, a gallant Norman officer, who had followed the fortunes of William. The ardour of the French, however, ſoon relaxed; and the Engliſh, being animated by the preſence and example of their monarch, the troops of Lewis were routed in their turn; and William, being unhorſed, made his eſcape with difficulty. The King of France, fearing to fall into the hands of the enemy, fled with great precipitation to Andeley.

This ſkirmiſh was rendered famous by the dignity of the combatants, two kings, two princes, and many noblemen of the firſt rank, being engaged in it. The ſlaughter was trifling, only three men being ſlain. This was owing partly to the heavy armour which was worn by the cavalry in thoſe times, and partly to the earneſt deſire of making priſoners, in order to enrich themſelves by their ranſom.

Lewis, finding himſelf unable to wreſt Normandy from the king by force of arms, had recourſe to the dangerous expedient of making application to the ſpiritual power, and of affording the eccleſiaſtics a ſpecious pretence for interpoſing in the temporal concerns of princes. He prevailed upon Pope Calixtus the Second, who was then in France, to convene a general council at Rheims, in Champagne, whither he carried William, the young Norman prince; and, having preſented him to the aſſembly, expatiated largely on the manifeſt uſurpation and flagrant injuſtice of the Engliſh monarch; craved the aſſiſtance of the church for reinſtating the true heir in his dominions; and repreſented the enormity of detaining in captivity ſo valiant a prince as Robert, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed champions of the Cruſade, who by his powerful exertions againſt the Infidels was placed under the immediate protection of the apoſtolic ſee.

Henry knew how to defend the rights of his crown with vigour, and yet with addreſs. He had ſent over the Engliſh biſhops to attend this ſynod; but at the ſame time had cautioned them, that if the ſovereign pontiff, or the eccleſiaſtics, ſhould be induced to advance any farther pretenſions, he was fully determined ſtrictly to adhere to the laws and cuſtoms of England, and to maintain, undiminiſhed, thoſe legal prerogatives of royalty which had been tranſmitted to him by his predeceſſors. "Go," ſaid he to the prelates at their departure, "ſalute the Pope "in my name; pay attention to his apoſtolic pre- "cepts, but be careful to bring back none of his "new inventions with you into my dominions." Finding, however, it would be a matter of greater facility to him to elude than oppoſe the efforts of Calixtus, he gave his ambaſſadors private inſtructions to gain the pontiff and his favourites by liberal preſents and tempting promiſes. By a ſagacious application of theſe convincive arguments, they found means to prevail on the council to treat with neglect the well-founded complaints of the Norman prince.

Some time after, Calixtus came to Giſors, where he had a long conference with the king; in which he intimated, that it was the deſire of the council that Robert ſhould be reſtored to his dominions. Henry replied, that it was not from his brother that he had taken Normandy, but from a nefarious band of depredators, who were conſuming the inheritance of his anceſtors, which the imprudence of Robert had delivered into their hands. He likewiſe added, that in taking poſſeſſion of that dutchy, he had not acted in compliance with the dictates of avarice or ambition, but in conſequence of the earneſt and repeated ſolicitations of the nobility, clergy, and people, of Normandy, who had beſought him, with the moſt ſtrenuous ſupplications, to prevent the utter deſolation of the church. Theſe reaſons he took care to ſtrengthen with the ſame arguments which had been employed by his ambaſſadors at the council of Rheims; and they had ſo powerful an effect upon the Pope, and the cardinals who attended him, that they declared on their return, that, of all the men whom they had converſed with in the whole courſe of their lives, the King of England was the moſt eloquent and perſuaſive.

Calixtus, having by this means been prevailed on to relinquiſh the intereſts of the Norman prince, exerted himſelf to effect an accommodation between the two monarchs; and, his endeavours being crowned with ſucceſs, a peace was concluded at the commencement of the year 1119. The terms of this treaty were, that all the caſtles and fortified places which had been taken in the courſe of the late war ſhould be reſtored on both ſides; and that Henry ſhould do homage for Normandy to the French monarch. But Henry, eſteeming it a degradation of his royal dignity to do this homage in perſon, ſent his ſon, Prince William, to do it; who then received the inveſtiture of that dutchy from the hands of the King of France.

Henry paſſed a conſiderable time in Normandy after the concluſion of this peace, to extinguiſh every remaining ſpark of diſaffection, and to take farther meaſures for ſecuring the ſucceſſion to his ſon, by making all the Norman nobility renew their oaths of fealty to him. When he had made every neceſſary arrangement, he invited ſuch of the Normans as had remained faithful to his intereſt to accompany him to England, to receive the reward of their fidelity; and, all things being ready for the voyage, the king embarked at Barfleur on the evening of the twenty-fifth of November, in the year 1120, and arrived on the Engliſh coaſt the next morning.

One

One of the fineſt veſſels in the fleet, called the White Ship, was allotted to his ſon, Prince William, and his numerous retinue; who, being detained by ſome accident, ordered three caſks of wine to be diſtributed to the ſhip's crew, by which means many of them became intoxicated; and the captain himſelf, Thomas Fitz-Stephens, was induced to exceed the bounds of ſobriety. They ſailed about ſun-ſet; and, being in a hurry to overtake the king, crouded all their ſails, as well as plied their oars; when, through the careleſſneſs of the pilot, the veſſel ſtruck on a ſunken rock, called the *Catte-Razze*, with ſuch violence, that ſhe ſtarted ſeveral planks, and was almoſt overſet. The boat was immediately hoiſted out, and the prince, with ſome of the chief nobility, entered it; and, having got clear of the ſhip, might have reached the ſhore, which was not far diſtant; but, affected by the ſhrieks of his natural ſiſter Maude, Counteſs of Perche, he commanded the ſailors to row back, and attempt to ſave her. When the boat, however, approached the ſhip, where terror and deſpair had deſtroyed all diſtinction, and every one was actuated by a natural impulſe of ſelf-preſervation, ſuch numbers leaped into it, that it inſtantly ſunk, and all on board periſhed.

On this occaſion, beſides the prince and his natural brother Richard, there were loſt eighteen ladies of the higheſt rank, one hundred and forty young noblemen of the principal families of England and Normandy, with all their attendants, and fifty ſailors. A butcher of Rouen, named Bertoud, was the only one who eſcaped from this dreadful diſaſter. Being a robuſt man, and warmly cloathed, he climbed to the top of the maſt, which remained above water, and there ſtaid till the next morning, when he was taken up by ſome fiſhermen. While he was in that perilous ſituation, Fitz-Stephens, the captain, ſwam up to him, and laid hold of the maſt; but, being informed by Bertoud that Prince William had periſhed, he expreſſed his determination not to ſurvive him, and inſtantly plunged into the ſea.

Henry was kept in a ſtate of ſuſpence during three days. He was willing to hope that his ſon's veſſel had been driven into ſome diſtant port; but when his doubts were removed by certain intelligence of the calamity being brought him, his ſtrength forſook him, and he fell ſenſeleſs on the floor. It was alſo remarked, that from that inſtant his countenance was overſpread by a ſettled gloom, which no tranſient gleam of chearfulneſs was ever ſeen to diſpel for an inſtant.

Though the death of William was the immediate ſource of thoſe internal commotions which after the deceaſe of Henry diſturbed the tranquillity of England, and might in this reſpect be regarded as a misfortune; yet, on every other account, it might juſtly be conſidered as a fortunate occurrence: for it is remarkable that he had ever entertained a ſingular averſion to the Engliſh; which he was ſo far from endeavouring to conceal, that he had been heard publicly to declare that, when he ſhould mount the throne, he would make them draw the plough, and convert them into beaſts of burden. This prejudice he might probably inherit from his father, whoſe government affords the moſt convincing proof of his diſlike to the natives; though he was accuſtomed to pique himſelf on the fortuitous circumſtance of being born an Engliſhman, whenever the boaſt could be productive of any advantage to him.

The Engliſh were as effectually excluded from every kind of preferment, as well civil as eccleſiaſtical, during this reign, as during that of the firſt William. The concurring accounts of contemporary hiſtorians will not permit us to doubt that this inveterate antipathy to his ſubjects did really ſubſiſt; though it be difficult, at this diſtant period, to ſay from whence it derived it's origin. We cannot, however, but diſſent from the opinion of Hume, who is willing to admit it as a preſumptive proof of the rudeneſs and barbariſm of the Engliſh, which he ſuppoſes might have inſpired the mind of Henry with diſguſt: but there is not any thing in the conduct of that prince which can convey to us the moſt diſtant idea of his ſuperior refinement; on the contrary, his actions beſpeak him poſſeſſed of a heart that had received but little advantage from the progreſs of civilization, and was conſequently little ſuſceptible of thoſe capricious diſguſts which are engendered by a taſte depraved through exceſs of refinement We may be allowed to conjecture, with greater probability, that this averſion was early impreſſed by his brutal father on his infant mind, where it took ſuch deep root as to baffle all the ſubſequent efforts of policy and gratitude to eraſe it. When we reflect on the ſtrength of habit and force of education, this conjecture will not appear viſionary.

In the following year, the Welſh, encouraged by the death of Richard, Earl of Cheſter, who had periſhed with Prince William, made incurſions into Cheſhire, under the command of Griffyn ap Conan, Prince of North Wales. This ferocious people reduced ſeveral caſtles to aſhes, and committed ſuch deſtructive ravages on the neighbouring country, that the Engliſh monarch determined to exact vengeance, by making an invaſion on their own territories. He accordingly placed himſelf at the head of a formidable army, and penetrated as far as the mountains of Snowdon, in the county of Caernarvon; but his farther progreſs was here impeded by an accident that had nearly proved fatal to him. In an endeavour to make himſelf maſter of a paſs of conſiderable importance, he fell into an ambuſcade; and, before he could extricate himſelf, great numbers of his men were ſlain, and himſelf wounded by an arrow, which lodged in his breaſt-plate. Finding the reduction of the enemy would be attended with infinitely more danger and difficulty than he at firſt apprehended, he thought it prudent to liſten to an accommodation; and granted peace to Griffyn, on condition that he ſhould deliver hoſtages, and give him a thouſand head of cattle towards defraying the expences of the war.

Soon after this expedition, Radulphus, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, died of a lingering diſorder, the attacks of which his advanced age had rendered him unable to reſiſt. He is repreſented by William of Malmſbury, a contemporary hiſtorian, who was intimately acquainted with him, as a prelate highly diſtinguiſhed

diſtinguiſhed for his piety and erudition, as well as for the generoſity of his mind, and the affability of his deportment: but, at the ſame time, he was ridiculouſly anxious to defend from encroachment the prerogatives of his ſee, even in matters the moſt trivial and inſignificant. For inſtance: on thoſe feſtivals of extraordinary ſolemnity, when the King was accuſtomed to wear his crown, Radulphus would never ſuffer him to place it on his head himſelf; pretending that it was the peculiar privilege of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, on all occaſions, to put the crown on the head of his ſovereign.

After the death of this prelate, a council was convened for the purpoſe of chuſing a ſucceſſor to the primacy; when a warm conteſt, as uſual, enſued between the monks of Canterbury and the biſhops of the province. The biſhops were ſtrenuous in their entreaties to the King, to promote a ſecular clergyman to that elevated ſtation, in order to avoid thoſe dangerous commotions which had hitherto invariably reſulted from the choice of monkiſh primates; who had not only paid the moſt implicit obedience to the Church of Rome, but had regularly diſplayed an inveterate enmity to the ſecular clergy, and evinced a diſpoſition inimical to the ſupremacy of the King. On the other hand, the monks of Canterbury threw themſelves at his feet; and were equally earneſt in their ſupplications, that he would not encourage a deviation from the ancient practice, but prefer one of their own order to the primacy: and, when the prayer of their petition was rejected by the King, they obſtinately perſiſted; for the ſpace of two days, in their refuſal to nominate a ſecular prieſt to that dignity; but being menaced by the biſhops with a ſentence of excommunication, they at laſt ſelected, out of four who were ſubmitted to their choice, William de Corboil, prior of the canons of Chiche; who was accordingly confirmed by the King, at Glouceſter, on the feaſt of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, in the year 1123. Having been afterwards conſecrated at Canterbury, on the twentieth of February, by the Biſhops of London and Wincheſter, aſſiſted by all the other prelates of the kingdom, he made a journey to Rome, to obtain his pall; which, after ſome deliberation, was granted him. He had likewiſe another motive for undertaking this journey; which was, to procure a deciſion in favour of his ſee, in the famous diſpute with the Archbiſhop of York, that was ſtill depending: but in this he did not experience the ſame ſucceſs; for the ſovereign Pontiff was in no haſte to determine a queſtion which afforded him ſo favourable an opportunity for exerting his authority over the Church of England.

By the death of his ſon, the king perceived that all his exertions to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion were entirely fruſtrated, and that the hopes of his nephew would now be revived, by the fair proſpect of ſucceeding to the dominions of his father. In order, therefore, to defeat the expectations of that prince, whoſe talents and accompliſhments had greatly endeared him to the Normans, he determined to take a ſecond wife, in hopes of having male heirs; and with this view he aſſembled the national council at London, and propoſed his own marriage with Adelais, daughter of Godfrey, Count of Louvaine, and niece to Pope Calixtus, a young princeſs of great beauty. The propoſal meeting with the approbation of the aſſembly, the princeſs was conducted to England; and the nuptials were celebrated at Windſor, on the twenty-ninth of January, in the year 1121. But this precaution was not productive of thoſe advantages which Henry had expected to derive from it; for, the marriage proving unfruitful, the pretenſions of his nephew did not ſuffer the ſmalleſt diminution. That prince was now protected by the French monarch, who again excited the Norman barons to riſe in his favour. A conſpiracy was accordingly formed to put him in poſſeſſion of Normandy, and was joined by many of thoſe noblemen in whom Henry had repoſed the greateſt confidence, and whoſe fidelity he had attempted to ſecure by a profuſion of honours and rewards. Among theſe were Gualeran, Count of Mellent, and his brother Robert, ſons of that Count of Mellent who had been the king's chief favourite. The conſpirators, too, received conſiderable encouragement by the acceſſion of Fulk, Count of Anjou, who being releaſed, by the death of his ſon in-law, from thoſe ties which had attached him to the intereſts of Henry, now embraced the party of William, and again promiſed to beſtow on him in marriage his daughter Sibylla, who had formerly been contracted to him.

Henry was no ſooner apprized of this revolt than he haſtened to ſuppreſs it. Having appointed Roger, Biſhop of Saliſbury, regent of the kingdom, he ſailed from Portſmouth ſoon after Whitſuntide, in the year 1123, with a powerful fleet and a numerous army; and, having arrived on the coaſt of Normandy, he marched to attack the inſurgents before they were prepared to receive him, took ſeveral of their caſtles, and defeated them in different ſkirmiſhes.

On the twenty-fifth of March, in the year after his arrival, William de Tancarville, chamberlain to the king, had the good fortune to ſurprize the Count of Mellent, with his brother Robert, the Count of Evreux, and ſeveral of the chief conſpirators, as they were riding between Beaumont and Vatteville, and took them all priſoners. Diſcouraged by this unlucky accident, all the other barons who had joined in the revolt haſtened to return to their allegiance, and to make peace with him on the beſt terms they could procure. The king, too, ſoon found means of drawing off the Count of Anjou; who, ſeeing the confederacy in a great meaſure diſſolved, conſented to be reconciled to him, and to diſſolve the contract of marriage that had been lately formed between Prince William and his daughter, who, though twice affianced, had never conſummated the marriage. That prince, who ſeemed deſtined to experience a continuation of misfortunes, ſeeing all his expectations diſappointed, once more retired to the court of France, where he was ſoon after married to the ſiſter of Lewis, and received with her the diſtricts of Pontoiſe, Chaumont, Mantes, and the Vexin François, which enabled him to make

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ſome farther attempts for the recovery of his father's dominions, and compelled the Engliſh monarch to prolong his ſtay on the continent.

During Henry's reſidence in Normandy, his ſon-in-law, the Emperor Henry the Fifth, died without heirs; and the Empreſs returned to the court of her father, who accompanied her to England, in the month of September 1126.

As there now exiſted but little probability of receiving any addition to his family by his preſent Queen, to ſecure the ſucceſſion of his dominions to his daughter became the principal object of his care and attention.

The advantage which this princeſs poſſeſſed, of being deſcended, by her mother's ſide, from the ancient line of Saxon monarchs, greatly endeared her to the Engliſh nation, who were not yet inured to the Norman yoke. On the other hand, it was the intereſt of the Normans, in defect of an heir of their own nation, to place on the throne of England a grand-daughter of the Firſt William, to whom they were indebted for all their Engliſh poſſeſſions.

Theſe conſiderations afforded the beſt-founded hopes to Henry of ſucceeding in his deſign; and for that purpoſe he convened a great council of all the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, barons, and thanes, in the kingdom. There were likewiſe preſent, Stephen, Count of Boulogne, the king's nephew; and David, King of Scotland: the latter of whom attended the council on account of thoſe Engliſh provinces which he held as a fief of the crown of England. All the members being aſſembled at Chriſtmas, they took the oath of fealty to Matilda, whom they ſwore to obey as ſucceſſor to the throne, in caſe the king ſhould die without a male heir.

Henry was ſtill fearful that the reſtleſs ſpirit of the Count of Anjou might create him new enemies on the continent, and promote the ſuſcitation of revolts that might end in a diſſolution of his Norman government. In order to prevent this, he propoſed an alliance between his daughter and Geoffrey Martel, the eldeſt ſon of Fulk; which being chearfully accepted by the count, the nuptials were celebrated at Rouen, with great pomp and magnificence, ſoon after Whitſuntide, in the year 1128. But the Norman barons were highly diſpleaſed that a ſtep, in which the intereſts of the nation were ſo eſſentially concerned, ſhould have been taken without their previous conſent; and Henry had too ſenſibly experienced the turbulence of their diſpoſition not to dread the effects of their reſentment. It ſeemed probable that the party of his nephew might gain a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength from the increaſe of the malcontents; and an important addition of power which that prince acquired about the ſame time, rendered his pretenſions ſtill more formidable. Charles, Count of Flanders, having been aſſaſſinated during the celebration of divine ſervice, Lewis, the French king, immediately eſtabliſhed Prince William in the poſſeſſion of that powerful earldom, on which he had ſome claims that were derived from his grandmother, Matilda, conſort to William the Firſt.

His uncle Henry, however, found means to raiſe him up a competitor in Thierry, Landgrave of Alſace, which occaſioned a war, in which William was generally victorious: but, having received a wound in the hand in a trifling ſkirmiſh, a mortification unfortunately enſued, which put an end to his exiſtence, on the twenty-ſeventh of July, in the year 1128, at the abbey of St. Bertin.

Ordericus Vitalis ſays, that when he found his death approaching, he wrote to Henry, to expreſs his concern for the trouble he had cauſed him; and to requeſt, with an earneſtneſs that evinced the goodneſs of his own heart, that he would receive into his favour Helie de St. Saen, and a few other friends, whom no reverſe of fortune had ever induced to forſake him.

The death of this unfortunate prince, whoſe urbanity of manners and undaunted courage had ſecured him the love and eſteem of all who knew him, releaſed his ambitious uncle from thoſe jealous fears and anxious inquietudes which, ſince his uſurpation of Normandy, had not ceaſed to diſturb his tranquillity.

The principal merit of Henry's government conſiſted in the profound peace which he eſtabliſhed and maintained throughout his Engliſh dominions during the greateſt part of his reign. He retained in ſubjection his rebellious barons; and his neighbours, in every attempt they made upon him, found him ſo well prepared for their reception, that they were diſcouraged from continuing or renewing their enterprizes.

In the year 1111, in order to repreſs the incurſions of the Welſh—which, however, were always renewed whenever a favourable opportunity occurred—he brought over ſome Flemings, and ſettled them in Pembrokeſhire; where they long preſerved a language, cuſtoms, and manners, different from thoſe of their neighbours.

The king had no ſmall difficulty to protect his kingdom from the encroachments of the court of Rome, and to defend the rights and liberties of the Engliſh church. In the year 1101, the Pope had ſent Guy, Archbiſhop of Vienne, as legate, into Britain; and though he was the firſt who for many years had appeared in that character, and his commiſſion created univerſal ſurprize, Henry, who was then in the commencement of his reign, and involved in many difficulties, was compelled to ſubmit to this encroachment on his authority. But at a ſubſequent period, when he was firmly ſeated on the throne, Anſelm, Abbot of St. Sabas, who was coming over with a ſimilar legantine commiſſion, was expreſsly prohibited to enter the kingdom; and Henry afterwards obtained a promiſe from the Pope, at the interview that took place at Giſors, that no legates ſhould be ſent, either into England or Normandy, without his own requiſition: but this promiſe being extorted at a time when the Pope was engaged in a diſpute with Gregory, who laid claim to the papacy, was never regarded as obligatory. The ſovereign pontiff, therefore, having terminated the conteſt by the captivity and ſubmiſſion of his antagoniſt, ſent the Cardinal de Crema as

his *legate a latere* into England; and the king being engaged in a continental war, and conſequently in no condition to reſent this violation of a ſolemn promiſe, was under the neceſſity of permitting him to exerciſe his commiſſion. In the performance of this duty, the cardinal paid more attention to the gratification of his avarice and pride than to the promotion of thoſe religious intereſts which he was ſent to defend. Soon after his arrival, he preſided at a national council, which aſſembled at Weſtminſter on the ninth of September, in the year 1126, and in which were preſent the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, twenty other prelates, forty abbots, and an immenſe multitude both of the clergy and people.

In this council, the firſt at which a Roman legate had preſided in England, no leſs than ſeventeen canons were enacted, or rather promulgated, in the name and by the authority of the Pope alone. By one of theſe canons, very ſevere penalties were inflicted on the marriages of the clergy, which were now, for the firſt time, extended to thoſe of the loweſt orders, who were ſtrictly forbidden to ſuffer any women to remain in their houſes, except their ſiſters, aunts, or other near relations, who could not afford the ſmalleſt grounds for ſuſpicion. The cardinal, whoſe eloquence was exerted on that favourite topic with all the virulence and malignity which diſtinguiſhed the partizans of celibacy, repreſented it as a crime of the higheſt magnitude in a prieſt to conſecrate and touch the body of Chriſt immediately after he had riſen from the arms of a ſtrumpet: for that was the decent appellation which this pious legate charitably beſtowed on the wives of the clergy. But his private conduct was not ſtrictly conſonant to his public declarations; for the very next night, after having aſſiſted at the conſecration of the Euchariſt, the officers of juſtice, forcing an entrance into a diſorderly houſe, found the conſcientious cardinal in bed with a courtezan. A detection ſo public rendered him an object of ſuch general ridicule, that he thought it neceſſary to depart the kingdom with the utmoſt ſecrecy and precipitation; which cauſed the ſynod immediately to break up, and occaſioned a conſiderable relaxation in the obſervance of the canons againſt the marriage of eccleſiaſtics. This fact is recorded by ſeveral of the monkiſh hiſtorians: and Huntingdon, in particular, who was himſelf a clergyman, in mentioning it, apologizes for uſing ſuch freedom with the fathers of the church; but ſays that the circumſtance was of public notoriety, and ought not to be concealed.

At the concluſion of the late council of Weſtminſter, the Cardinal de Crema, in his quality of legate, had ſummoned the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York to repair to Rome without delay, in order to plead the cauſe that was depending before the Pope relative to the prerogatives of their reſpective ſees; to ſo intolerable a height had the inſidious uſurpations of the apoſtolick ſee, and the overbearing inſolence of the papal legates, arrived at this period of our hiſtory! The two prelates, in obedience to the citation, paid a viſit to his Holineſs: when Thurſtan, Archbiſhop of York, who enjoyed the greateſt portion of the pontiff's favour, obtained from him a bull, by which he and his ſucceſſors were exempted from all kind of ſubjection to the ſee of Canterbury, and which eſtabliſhed an exact equality between the Archbiſhoprics of Canterbury and York.

This was not the only diſgrace which the primate incurred during his ſtay at Rome; for he ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed on to degrade his dignity, and to enſlave both himſelf and his ſucceſſors, by accepting a commiſſion from the Pope, appointing him to be his legate in England. He was probably induced to this by the hopes of recovering, by means of his legatine power, that authority over his rival Thurſtan of which the late bull had deprived him. Proud of his chains, he convened a national ſynod immediately after his return to England, to meet at Weſtminſter on the ſeventeenth of May, and preſided over it as the Pope's legate.

Thurſtan, unwilling to ſhew any marks of ſubjection to William, even in his new character, abſtained from attending the council; and his ſuffragan, the Biſhop of Durham, alſo ſent an excuſe.

The canons of this ſynod appear to have originated, as well as the authority by which they were promulgated, in the court of Rome. They ſtile the marriage of the clergy, *the plague of the church*; and all eccleſiaſtical dignitaries are by them expreſsly commanded to employ their utmoſt exertions to promote it's extirpation. They not only ordered the wives of prieſts and canons to be ſeparated from their huſbands, but to be expelled from the pariſh; and if, after ſuch an expulſion, they were ever known to converſe with their huſbands, they were to be ſeized by the *officers* of the church—who were laymen, employed for the purpoſe of executing the ſentences of eccleſiaſtical courts—and ſubjected to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, or elſe reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude, at the diſcretion of the biſhop. And it was decreed, that if any perſon, however elevated his rank or ſtation, ſhould attempt to reſcue theſe unfortunate victims from the hands of their unnatural perſecutors, a ſentence of excommunication ſhould be pronounced againſt him.

Theſe canons are ſufficiently demonſtrative of the power and tyranny of the court of Rome, from whence they proceeded; and prove alſo the extreme difficulty which the partizans of celibacy experienced in their attempts to reſtrain the inferior clergy of the church of England from obeying the moſt natural impulſe incident to the human mind.

But theſe canons being found inſufficient to accompliſh the end they were intended to promote, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury convened another council; which aſſembled at London, on Monday the twenty-ninth of September, in the year 1129, and continued to ſit till Friday the third of October. The ſole intent of this ſecond ſynod was to adopt ſome more effectual method than had yet been deviſed, to compel the lower order of clergy to put away their wives. To enforce an obſervance of this papiſtical doctrine, it was decreed, that all prieſts who were married ſhould repudiate their

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wives on or before the feſtival of St. Andrew, which was on the thirtieth of November; and that ſuch as did not obey the decree, ſhould be immediately deprived of their churches and dwellings, and declared incapable of enjoying, in future, any eccleſiaſtical benefice or ſpiritual office whatever. To give greater effect to this regulation, the council committed the execution of it to the king. But this meaſure, which was highly commended for it's prudence and ſagacity, was productive of conſequences diametrically oppoſite to thoſe which were expected to reſult from it: for Henry, inſtead of enforcing a rigid obſervance of the law, found it more advantageous to ſanction a violation of it, by impoſing a tax on ſuch as choſe to retain their wives; thus converting an intended act of tyranny on the clergy, into a ſource of emolument to himſelf.

Henry, having reduced every part of his dominions to a ſtate of perfect tranquillity, embraced the opportunity of paying a viſit to Normandy about Michaelmas, in the year 1130. He was induced to make this voyage, as well by his natural affection for that country, as by his tenderneſs for his daughter, the Empreſs Matilda, who was now the ſole object of his care. Loth to relinquiſh the pleaſure which her company and converſation afforded him, he prevailed on her to accompany him to England the Midſummer following; when he cauſed a great council of the nobility and prelates to be convened at Northampton, and engaged them to a renewal of their oaths of fealty to her as his ſucceſſor in the throne of England.

In this voyage Henry had an interview with Pope Innocent the Second; whom he acknowledged as the true Pope, though his rival, Anacletus, was then maſter of Rome. As Innocent had been previouſly acknowledged by the French monarch, the king had intended, as well from policy as inclination, to give his voice in favour of Anacletus; but the former found means to inſinuate himſelf ſo far into his good graces, that he ſpeedily induced him to alter his intentions.

The empreſs, having paſſed ſome time with her father, returned to the continent, where ſhe was delivered of a ſon, in the month of March, in the year 1133: and the king, tranſported with joy at this fortunate event, celebrated the feſtival of Eaſter at Oxford with great magnificence; and, the farther to enſure his daughter's ſucceſſion, made the nobility once more ſwear fealty both to her and her infant ſon, who was named Henry.

Impatient to behold this auſpicious grandchild, he ſailed for Normandy on the ſeventh of Auguſt; and, as the chief objects of his affection were ſettled in that country, he ſeemed determind to paſs the remainder of his days there: but an incurſion of the Welſh obliged him to think of returning, after a reſidence of two years, during which time his daughter was delivered of two other ſons. But, previous to his intended journey, he indulged himſelf in the pleaſures of the chace, to which he was greatly attached; and having one day overheated himſelf in the purſuit of his game, and having afterwards at ſupper indulged his appetite by eating too plentifully of lampreys, he was ſeized with a fever, which brought him to the grave. When he perceived that his end was approaching, he ſent for Robert, Earl of Glouceſter, his natural ſon; William de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey; Robert, Earl of Leiceſter; the Counts of Mortaigne and Mellent; and ſeveral other of his chief nobility who conſtantly attended the court; and earneſtly recommended to them the protection of his daughter's intereſts, but without taking the ſmalleſt notice of her huſband, whoſe impatient ambition had incurred his diſpleaſure. He then remitted all the forfeitures of his nephew's adherents, whom he recalled from baniſhment. He gave directions for the immediate diſcharge of all his debts, forgave all thoſe that were due to himſelf, and ordered ſixty thouſand pounds to be diſtributed to his guards and domeſtics. Having made theſe regulations, and deſired that his corpſe might be interred in the abbey at Reading, which he had founded, he expired, at St. Denis le Forment, on the firſt of December, in the year 1135, the ſixty-ſeventh of his age and thirty-ſixth of his reign.

Henry the Firſt is ſaid, by ancient hiſtorians, to have excelled all his predeceſſors both in mental and perſonal accompliſhments. His perſon was graceful, and his countenance inſinuating: his eyes were piercing and ſerene; and his addreſs was diſtinguiſhed by that diſcreet affability which at once tended to encourage the loyal advances of uſeful confidence, and to repreſs the forward ſallies of diſreſpectful familiarity. The ſplendour of his eloquence, and ſolidity of his judgment, muſt have enſured him diſtinction even in a private ſtation of life: nor could his courage and military talents have failed to excite reſpect. His natural abilities were ſtrong, and had received every improvement which a good education could afford them. Indeed, his progreſs in literature was ſo great, that it procured him the appellation of *Beau-Clerc*, or the *Fine Scholar*. In the cabinet, as in the field, he was cool, cautious, and reſolute; and, had he been as earneſt in the purſuit of virtue as in the gratification of a lawleſs ambition, he might have had juſt claims to a diſtinguiſhed place in the annals of hiſtory. But his tyrannical conduct to his brother and nephew evinced a total diſregard to every maxim of juſtice and equity, and ſhewed that he was always ready to ſacrifice the moſt ſacred ties, both of religion and morality, to the promotion of his ambitious projects. Notwithſtanding his liberal profeſſions to the Engliſh at the commencement of his reign, and his celebrated charter for the ſecurity of their rights and liberties, his government was deſpotic and oppreſſive: but it is not ſurprizing that a man, whoſe boſom was callous to the warmeſt feelings of nature, ſhould reſiſt the generous dictates of gratitude. Among other inſtances of his tyranny may be adduced the burdenſome taxes that he impoſed on his ſubjects, and his conſiderable augmentation of the royal foreſts, any encroachments on which were puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. To kill a ſtag was rendered as criminal as to murder a man; and all dogs that were kept on the borders of his foreſts were cruelly mutilated.

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There is a code of laws which paſſed under the name of this monarch; but the authenticity of it is ſtrongly doubted by our moſt learned antiquarians. It is, however, replete with uſeful inſtruction on the manners and cuſtoms of thoſe times. We learn from it, that a great diſtinction was made at this period between the Engliſh and Normans, much to the prejudice of the former. Thoſe deſtructive feuds which were ſo common among the Saxons, and which the privilege of inflicting private revenge tended greatly to encourage, ſtill prevailed in a certain degree, not being yet formally repreſſed by any poſitive law.

Henry, on his acceſſion, granted a charter to the city of London, which appears to have been the firſt ſtep towards erecting it into a corporation. By this charter the city was empowered to keep the farm of Middleſex at three hundred pounds a year, to elect it's own ſheriff and juſticiary, and to hold pleas of the crown; and it was exempted from the impoſt of Danegeld, from trials by combat, and from the obligation of lodging the king's retinue. Theſe, with a confirmation of the privileges of their Court of Huſtings, Wardmotes, and Common Halls, and the liberty of hunting in the counties of Middleſex and Surrey, form the principal articles of this charter.

During this reign the Epiſcopal ſees of Ely and Carliſle were founded; as were likewiſe the abbies of Reading, Hyde, and Cheſter; and the priory of Dunſtable. A magnificent palace was alſo built at Woodſtock, in an extenſive park that was encloſed with a ſtone wall; and is affirmed to have been the firſt park that was made in England.

In the year 1121, a navigable canal was made, by order of the king, between the rivers Trent and Witham, for the benefit of the commerce of Lincoln, which was at that time a rich and populous city.

Henry left only one legitimate child, the Empreſs Matilda: but being much addicted to women, and ſubject to no reſtraints in the proſecution of his illicit amours, he had a numerous illegitimate offspring. William Gemiticenſis mentions fourteen of his natural children, ſeven ſons and ſeven daughters, viz. Robert, Earl of Glouceſter. Richard, whoſe mother was the widow of a nobleman in Oxfordſhire named Anſkil: this prince periſhed on the French coaſt with his legitimate brother, William. Reynald, (created Earl of Cornwall in the reign of Stephen) by Sybil, the daughter of Sir Robert Corbet of Alceſter, in Warwickſhire. Robert, by Editha, the daughter of a northern gentleman. Gilbert. William de Tracy, ſo named from a town in Normandy. Henry, by Neſta, daughter of Rhees ap Tudor, prince of South Wales; (who was afterwards married to Gerald of Wincheſter, conſtable of Pembrokeſhire, and anceſtor of the Earls of Kildare in Ireland:) Henry was born and educated in Wales, where he married, and reſided; and he loſt his life in the conflict between Magnus, ſon of the King of Norway, and Hugh Montgomery, Earl of Shrewſbury, in the year 1197. Maude, Counteſs of Perche, who was drowned with her brother Richard. Another princeſs, alſo named Maude, who was married to Conan Le Gros, Count of Bretagne. Juliana married to Euſtace de Pacie, natural ſon of William de Breteuil; who was eldeſt ſon and heir of William, and elder brother of Roger, Earl of Hereford. Conſtance, the wife of Roſcelin, Viſcount of Beaumont, (a town of Maine, in France;) and, by him, mother of Richard, Viſcount of Beaumont, who was father of Ermengard, conſort to William King of Scotland; and of Conſtance de Toen, to whom King John confirmed the eſtate of her grandmother Conſtance. Elizabeth, by Elizabeth, ſiſter of Gualeran Count of Mellent, married to Alexander King of Scots.

William Gemiticenſis alſo mentions two other daughters, whoſe names are not preſerved.

STEPHEN.



STEPHEN.

HENRY had taken every precaution which human foreſight could ſuggeſt, to ſecure the ſucceſſion to his daughter, the Empreſs Matilda; and as he had made all his vaſſals, both in England and Normandy, ſwear fealty to her, he was induced to hope that they would not eaſily be prevailed on to depart at once from the ſupport of her hereditary right, and from their own reiterated oaths and engagements. But the ſucceſs of his own ambitious ſchemes might have taught him, that the adherence of the Engliſh and Normans to any regular mode of ſucceſſion was not to be expected; and that the will of a tyrant and uſurper could have little claim to their reſpect or obedience.

Adela, daughter of William the Firſt, had been married to Stephen, Count of Blois, by whom ſhe had ſeveral children; the two youngeſt of which, Stephen and Henry, had been invited over to England by the late king, and had been loaded with wealth, honours, and preferment.

Henry, who had been a monk in the monaſtery of Clugni, was firſt created Abbot of Glaſtonbury, and afterwards inveſted with the Biſhopric of Winchester. The king's liberality to Stephen was ſtill greater: he married him to Matilda, the daughter and ſole heireſs of Euſtace, Count of Boulogne, who brought him, beſides the earldom of her father, a very conſiderable property in England; which, in the diſtribution of lands after the eſtabliſhment of the Norman government, had been allotted by the firſt William to the family of Boulogne. By this marriage, alſo, Stephen contracted a new alliance with the royal family of England, as Mary, his wife's mother, was ſiſter to David, the reigning King of Scotland, and to Matilda, the firſt wife of Henry, and mother of the empreſs. The king, vainly imagining that the aggrandizement of Stephen would tend to ſtrengthen the intereſts of his family, was eager to enrich him by the grant of new poſſeſſions. With this view, he beſtowed on him the earldom of Mortaigne, in Normandy, and the extenſive eſtates that had been forfeited by Robert Mallet in this kingdom. In return for ſo many important favours, Stephen profeſſed the moſt violent attachment to his uncle; and avowed himſelf ſo zealous an aſſerter of the rights of the Empreſs Matilda, that he ſtrongly contended with Robert, Earl of Glouceſter, the king's natural ſon, for the honour of being the firſt of the laity to take the oath for ſupporting the ſucceſſion of that princeſs to the throne of England: yet, beneath this appearance of zeal, he cheriſhed projects of ambition which urged him to reſtrain every impulſe of gratitude. He ſought to cultivate the friendſhip of the Engliſh by practiſing all the dangerous arts of popularity; and, as he bore the ſemblance of many virtues which he did not poſſeſs, his attempts in a great meaſure ſucceeded. He acquired the eſteem of the barons by his courage, activity, and vigour; and obtained the affections of the people, particularly of the inhabitants of London, by an appearance of affability, which in thoſe days few men of high rank condeſcended to aſſume. Though prudence forbade him to ſeek for farther aggrandizement, leſt he ſhould expoſe himſelf to the ſuſpicions of his uncle; yet he hoped, by continuing to accumulate wealth and power, and to acquire popularity, he might in time be enabled to ſucceed in his views on the crown.

Stephen was at Boulogne when he received intelligence of Henry's death; from whence he immediately ſailed for Dover, where the inhabitants, who were aware of his intentions, ſhut the gates of the town, and refuſed him admiſſion. He experienced a ſimilar reception at Canterbury; but, not

intimidated by these disgraceful repulses, he proceeded to London, where some of the lower class of people, instigated by his emissaries as well as moved by his general popularity, proclaimed him king. His next care was to obtain the protection of the clergy, which was absolutely necessary, in order to procure his coronation, and thereby acquire possession of the throne, from which he knew it would be difficult to effect his expulsion. In the attainment of this essential point he was greatly assisted by his brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, who gained him the friendship of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, chief justiciary and regent of the kingdom, a prelate who owed a considerable fortune and great advancement to the favour of the late monarch, but who was not endued with sufficient strength of mind to resist the temptations of interest from motives of gratitude.

Having secured this powerful friend, he made application to William Corboil, Archbishop of Canterbury, to perform the ceremony of crowning him; but the primate, who as well as the rest of the prelates had sworn fealty to Matilda, refused to comply with his requisition. An expedient, however, was soon found to quiet his scruples, equally dishonourable with the other measures that were adopted to effect this revolution. As the integrity of the archbishop proved incorruptible, they had recourse to his credulity, by engaging Hugh Bigod, steward of the household, to make oath before him, that Henry, on his deathbed, had expressed a dissatisfaction with his daughter Matilda; in consequence of which he disinherited her, absolved his subjects from their oaths, and declared Stephen his successor. The archbishop, convinced by the testimony of Bigod, withdrew his opposition; and Stephen was accordingly crowned and anointed at Westminster, on the twenty-second of December, in the year 1135. At this ceremony, after which Stephen was allowed to proceed to the exercise of sovereign authority without the least shadow of a title, either hereditary or acquired, very few of the barons attended; not one abbot; and, of the prelates, only the primate, and the Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury.

His brother farther assisted him to obtain possession of the late king's treasures, which were deposited at Winchester, and amounted to one hundred thousand pounds in money, besides jewels and plate to an immense value. These were appropriated to the purpose of securing partizans by the means of bribery, and to pay an army of foreign mercenaries, whom he hired to support his usurpation.

Stephen, to give some solidity to his tottering throne, had recourse to those liberal professions of equity and moderation which had been occasionally employed by his predecessors to engage the affections of their subjects. At his coronation, he had chearfully complied with every proposal that had been made to him by the few barons who were present; and, to confirm and ratify the privileges he had promised to accord, he convened a national council at Oxford, at the commencement of the year 1136; where a charter was passed, in which he engaged not to retain any vacant sees or benefices in his own hands, but to fill them with all possible expedition; and not to appropriate their rents, during the vacancy, to his own use. He also promised to reduce the royal forests to their ancient boundaries, to correct all tyrannical encroachments, and to restore to the nobles the privilege of hunting; and likewise to abolish the tax of Danegeld, and restore the laws of Edward the Confessor.

Though the conduct of Stephen had afforded a sufficient proof that he was not to be restrained by engagements, however solemnly contracted, when impelled by interest to violate them; yet the English, who seem at this early period to have been possessed of that credulity which has since so strongly marked the national character, paid implicit belief to these flattering professions; and were happy to find, in the countenance of the clergy, an excuse for their obedience to an usurper.

These precautions were highly necessary, as many of the most powerful nobles were averse to his government, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to demonstrate their attachment to the Empress. David, King of Scotland, uncle to Matilda, was the first who appeared to support her cause, by entering England with an army in vindication of her rights. He took Carlisle and Newcastle, and over-ran the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland; but, finding that few of the English were ready to join him, he entered into a negotiation with Stephen, who had advanced to meet him, at the head of his troops, about the beginning of Lent. An accommodation accordingly took place, by which Stephen consented to cede the county of Northumberland and the city of Carlisle to the Scottish monarch, to be held as a fief of the English crown. He likewise conferred the earldom of Huntingdon on Henry, the eldest son of David; and promised not to dispose of the earldom of Northumberland till he had investigated the pretensions of that prince, who had laid claim to it as the grandson and heir of Waltheof.

Robert, Earl of Gloucester, natural son of the late king, was a nobleman of strict honour and extensive abilities; and, as he was firmly attached to the interests of his sister Matilda, and zealous for the lineal succession which he had solemnly sworn to support, it was chiefly from his opposition and intrigues that the king had reason to apprehend a revolution of government. This nobleman, who was in Normandy when he received the news of Stephen's accession, found himself greatly embarrassed as to the line of conduct he should observe in that difficult emergency. To swear allegiance to the usurper would afford a sanction to the usurpation, and be a violation of the oath he had taken to the Empress: on the other hand, if he refused to give this pledge of his fidelity, he must relinquish his great estates in England, and be thereby incapacitated from serving the legitimate heir, whose cause he was so anxious to promote. After long deliberation, he complied with the invitation of Stephen; and coming over to England about Easter, offered to do him homage, and take the oath of fealty, on condition that the king should faithfully observe

obſerve all the engagements he had contracted, and maintain him in the poſſeſſion of all his rights and dignities. Though Stephen could not miſtake the motive of this unuſual reſervation; yet, being aware that his power was not ſufficiently eſtabliſhed to run the riſk of incurring the reſentment of ſo powerful an enemy, he was compelled to receive him on his own terms. The clergy, too, profiting by the precarious ſituation of the king, annexed this condition to their oaths of allegiance, viz. that they were only bound to obſerve it ſo long as the king defended the eccleſiaſtical liberties, and ſupported the diſcipline of the church. The barons, in return for their ſubmiſſion, exacted terms of a ſtill more pernicious tendency, equally deſtructive of public peace and of regal authority. Many of them inſiſted on the right of fortifying their caſtles, and of putting themſelves in a poſture of defence; and the king found himſelf in no condition to withold his conſent from this exorbitant demand. The fatal effects of his compliance were ſoon viſible; the whole kingdom was immediately filled with thoſe fortreſſes, which the barons either garriſoned with their own vaſſals, or with licentious ſoldiers who flocked to them from every quarter. The moſt ſhameful extortions were practiſed upon the people for the maintenance of theſe troops; and domeſtic feuds and private animoſities now raged with unbounded violence, and rendered England a continued ſcene of riot and diſorder. The nobles were conſtantly engaged in wars with each other: the barons even aſſumed the diſtinguiſhing marks of royalty; the right of coining money, and of exerciſing, without appeal, every act of juriſdiction; while the inferior gentry, as well as the common people, finding the laws inadequate to their defence during this annihilation of ſovereign power, were compelled, for their own immediate ſafety, to court the protection of ſome neighbouring chieftain, by conſenting to ſubmit to his exactions, and to aſſiſt him in his rapine upon others. The erection of one caſtle cauſed the building of another; and even thoſe who had not obtained the king's permiſſion, thought that they were entitled by the grand principle of ſelf-preſervation to put themſelves on a footing with their neighbours, who were generally their enemies and rivals.

The ariſtocratical authority, which is uſually ſo productive of oppreſſion where it has ſcope for exertion, now that it enjoyed a plenitude of power, became inſupportable; for Stephen, though neither deſtitute of courage nor talents, as he had uſurped the throne without the ſhadow of a title, was compelled to tolerate in others the ſame violence to which he himſelf had been indebted for his elevation to the ſovereignty.

While this kingdom was thus involved in anarchy and confuſion, the Empreſs Matilda, and her huſband, Geoffrey Plantagenet, were endeavouring to enforce their pretenſions to the continental dominions that had been bequeathed them by the late king; but they experienced the ſame ill fortune in Normandy as in England. This was partly owing to the hereditary hatred which had long ſubſiſted between the Normans and Anjouvins, and partly to the deſire of the Norman barons to be governed by the ſame ſovereign as the Engliſh, that they might ſecure the poſſeſſion of their eſtates in either country. As ſoon, therefore, as theſe noblemen received the intelligence of Stephen's acceſſion to the throne of England, they deputed meſſengers to wait on him with an invitation to repair to Normandy, and to aſſume the ſovereignty of that dutchy. Stephen having effected an accommodation with the King of Scotland, and received the ſubmiſſion of the Earl of Glouceſter, thought himſelf at liberty to comply with their requeſt, and accordingly made a voyage to Normandy about the middle of Lent, in the year 1137. Soon after his arrival on the continent, he had an interview with Louis Le Jeune, King of France, and formed an alliance with that monarch, by betrothing his ſon Euſtace to the Princeſs Conſtantia, ſiſter to Louis, who granted the inveſtiture of the dutchy of Normandy to his future brother-in-law.

After this tranſaction, Stephen advanced with his forces to attack the Count of Anjou, who had entered Normandy; and having made an unſucceſsful attempt to take the city of Caen by ſurprize, had retired to Argentan; but when he had marched as far as Liſieux, a diſpute occurred between two of his principal officers, William D'Ypres, Earl of Kent, and Renaud de St. Valery, on the ſubject of precedence; which being eſpouſed with equal warmth by the adherents of each of them, brought on a ſkirmiſh, that produced a great effuſion of blood on both ſides.

Whether Stephen, on this occaſion, evinced a partiality to his foreign troops, in which he placed his chief reliance; or whether his favourite, the Earl of Kent, was ſo much diſliked by the Normans, that they were reſolved not to ſerve under him: certain it is, that they left the army; nor could the king, who followed and overtook them at Pont Audemer, prevail upon their leaders, Hugh de Gournay, and young William de Warrenne, to return to their duty.

In this perplexing ſituation, in a country the fidelity of whoſe inhabitants he had every reaſon to ſuſpect, Stephen was reduced to the neceſſity of purchaſing a truce for two years of the Count of Anjou, by an annuity of five thouſand marks to him, and another of two thouſand to his own brother Theobald, Count of Blois, who had formed pretenſions to the dutchy of Normandy in conſequence of an invitation from ſome of the principal barons previous to their application to the King of England.

Notwithſtanding this negotiation, the flames of civil war ſtill continued to rage among the Norman nobility, and all the efforts of Stephen were inadequate to quell them. While he had been thus engaged on the continent, Robert Earl of Glouceſter had been exerting himſelf in England to excite an inſurrection in favour of his ſiſter Matilda; and, having ſettled his plans, now repaired to Normandy. William D'Ypres, who entertained ſome ſuſpicions

ſuſpicions of the Earl's intention, communicated his thoughts to the king, and adviſed him to ſeize the perſon of Robert: but, before the ſcheme could be accompliſhed, that nobleman received intelligence of their deſigns; and, by his conduct, gave Stephen to underſtand that he was no ſtranger to his intentions. Greatly apprehenſive of the fatal effects that muſt inevitably have proceeded from a rupture with a nobleman whoſe power and popularity were ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, he made overtures to Robert for an accommodation; and, after much difficulty, obtained a perſonal interview, in which he apologized for his paſt intentions, and ſolemnly ſwore, in the preſence of the Archbiſhop of Rouen, that he would never again form any deſign againſt the perſon or liberty of the Earl. Robert accepted his excuſes, and was apparently reconciled; but he was too well acquainted with the diſpoſition of Stephen, to repoſe the ſmalleſt degree of confidence in his oaths.

The preſence of the king was now required in England, where the moſt dreadful anarchy was univerſally prevalent. The foreign mercenaries, who formed the chief ſupport of his authority, having exhauſted the royal treaſure, ſubſiſted wholly by depredations on the unfortunate natives. Extortion and cruelty were every where practiſed; and they whoſe power and influence might have rendered their efforts effectual, were ſeen to promote thoſe diſorders which it was their duty to repreſs. Stephen therefore found it neceſſary to return, though he had not yet been able to check the turbulency of the Norman barons, which diſturbed the repoſe of his continental dominions.

On his arrival in England, he found that David, King of Scotland, had made incurſions into the county of Northumberland, to the earldom of which his ſon, Prince Henry, had renewed his pretenſions; but, at the inſtigation of Thurſtin, Archbiſhop of York, he had conſented to delay the proſecution of his claims till the return of Stephen.

The demand of the prince was now formally enforced by ambaſſadors deputed for that purpoſe; but the king peremptorily refuſing to comply with it, David again entered Northumberland, at the beginning of the year 1138; when his troops committed the moſt deſtructive ravages, reducing whole towns to aſhes, and putting the defenceleſs inhabitants to the ſword, without the ſmalleſt diſcrimination either of age or ſex. Theſe abominable acts of cruelty are chiefly attributed by the Scottiſh hiſtorians to the men of Galloway; whom they repreſent as a ferocious, undiſciplined band, that no endeavours of their ſovereign could poſſibly reſtrain within the ſmalleſt degree of ſubordination.

Stephen immediately advanced, at the head of a powerful army, to check the progreſs of the Scottiſh king; who, on his approach, retired to Roxburgh, whither the Engliſh purſued him. But while the two armies were poſted oppoſite to each other, the king diſcovered ſuch ſymptoms of diſaffection among his own troops, that he deemed it dangerous to riſque an action, and therefore returned to the ſouth, where his affairs had taken an unfavourable turn.

Robert, Earl of Glouceſter, who had only taken the oath of fealty to Stephen that he might be enabled the more effectually to promote the intereſts of his ſiſter, having now compleated the plan of an inſurrection, determined to throw off the maſk. To give an appearance of candour to his proceedings, he conſulted the Pope on the validity of his oath, and received an anſwer agreeable to his wiſhes and expectations; which informed him, that he was wholly abſolved from it, as a compliance with the obligations it impoſed would involve him in perjury, by compelling him to violate that which he had formerly taken to the empreſs; and which, from priority, as well as the juſtice of it's motives, claimed an indiſputable preference. Fortified with this anſwer, he ſent to Stephen from Normandy, to bid him open defiance, formally to renounce the allegiance he had ſworn conditionally to preſerve, and to upbraid him with the breach of thoſe terms which had been annexed to his oath of fealty.

This was the ſtipulated ſignal to the Engliſh barons, whom he had prevailed on to join him in his attempts to raiſe the empreſs to the throne; and numbers of them immediately retired to their caſtles, and prepared for the execution of this important deſign.

This formidable conſpiracy, however, only tended to augment the courage and activity of Stephen, and to urge him to more powerful exertions. He attacked the fortreſſes of his rebellious nobles, took many of them; and either puniſhed their lords, or compelled them to return to their obedience. But while he was thus employed in the ſouth, the Scots, taking advantage of his abſence, again returned to the northern provinces, and penetrated as far as Yorkſhire, without having experienced the ſmalleſt oppoſition. But the impolitic renewal of their deſtructive depredations and barbarous maſſacres excited the reſentment of the nobility, who might otherwiſe have been induced to join them. A confederacy was ſpeedily formed to impede their progreſs; and William Earl of Albemarle, Robert de Ferrers, Walter L'Eſpée, Roger Moubray, Robert de Bruce, Bernard de Baliol, Hubert Lacey, Walter de Gant, William de Percy, and many other powerful barons in thoſe parts, aſſembled an army, with which they encamped at North-Allerton, and awaited the arrival of the enemy. At this place was fought the celebrated battle of the *Standard*—ſo called from a lofty crucifix erected by the Engliſh on a waggon, and carried along with the army as a military enſign—in which the Scots, after an obſtinate conflict, ſuſtained a total defeat. David, who had narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of the enemy, retired to Carliſle, where he was ſoon joined by his ſon Prince Henry, whoſe perſon had likewiſe been in imminent danger. Having there collected their ſcattered troops, they laid ſiege to the caſtle of Werk, which they reduced by famine.

Alberic, Biſhop of Oſtia, the Pope's legate in England, paid a viſit to the King of Scotland during his ſtay at Carliſle, for the purpoſe of effecting

fecting an accommodation between the Engliſh and Scots; but David ſteadily rejected every propoſal for peace, though he conſented to a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities for ſome months. In this peaceful interval, Maude, the wife of Stephen, who was niece to David, procured an interview with her uncle at Durham, and by her powerful mediation prevailed on him to conclude a treaty on the following terms; viz. that Stephen ſhould confer the earldom of Northumberland on Henry, Prince of Scotland; and that, in return, both the prince and his father ſhould live in the ſtricteſt amity with the King of England, and refuſe all aſſiſtance to his enemies.

The ſucceſs of Stephen, during the laſt campaign, had in a great meaſure overawed the malcontents in England; and might have procured ſome ſtability to his government, had he not ſuffered his proſperity to tranſport him beyond the bounds of prudence. Elated with the ſenſations it inſpired, he thought to eſtabliſh his authority by exertions of vigour, and therefore abſurdly engaged in a controverſy with the clergy, whoſe power was ſuperior to his own. Had the extenſive influence poſſeſſed by the church been employed for thoſe purpoſes to which a juſt ſenſe of religion would naturally have directed it, however it might have infringed on the legal prerogatives of the crown, which every true friend to liberty muſt be anxious to defend from encroachment, yet in thoſe times of violence and rapine the moſt important advantages might have been derived from it; but, unhappily for the nation, the prelates who were entruſted with power, more frequently employed it for the promotion of outrage, than for the correction of diſorders. Neglectful of their functions, and forgetful of the character they were deſtined to ſupport, they ſunk the prieſt in the ſoldier; and were more eager in the exertion of military force, than in the exerciſe of ſpiritual exhortation.

Roger, Biſhop of Saliſbury, who had long been prime miniſter to Henry the Firſt, and high juſticiary of the kingdom, in imitation of the nobility, had erected ſeveral ſtrong caſtles; one, particularly, at the Devizes, which in beauty and magnificence exceeded any fortreſs in Europe. His two nephews, Nigell Biſhop of Ely, and Alexander Biſhop of Lincoln, had followed the example of their uncle; and his natural ſon, Roger, who was chancellor of England, had likewiſe provided himſelf with ſome of theſe dangerous appendages of grandeur.

Stephen, whom experience had by this time convinced of the miſchiefs attending theſe multiplied citadels, reſolved, if poſſible, to remedy the evil which he had hitherto been compelled by neceſſity to encourage. For this purpoſe, he determined to begin by deſtroying the caſtles of the clergy, who by their functions ſeemed leſs entitled than the barons to ſuch military ſecurities. Thoſe of the Biſhop of Saliſbury and his family, as being the moſt formidable, were the firſt objects of his reſentment. That he might have a pretence for commencing his operations, he invited theſe prelates to a grand council of the nobility; which was held at Oxford, on the twenty-fourth of June, in the year 1139. On their arrival, a diſpute occurred, which, if we may believe the affirmations of ſome contemporary hiſtorians, was deſignedly promoted between the domeſtics of the Biſhop of Saliſbury and the retinue of Alain, Count of Bretagne; which occaſioned a fray in which many were wounded, and one knight loſt his life.

The king, taking advantage of this occurrence, ordered the biſhop and his friends to be inſtantly apprehended. Three of them were accordingly ſeized; but the Biſhop of Ely, having found means to eſcape, fled to his uncle's caſtle at the Devizes, which he determined to defend to the laſt extremity. The others being conducted into the king's preſence, were offered their liberty, on condition that they would immediately ſurrender all the fortreſſes in their poſſeſſion. This they reſolutely rejected; but, at the ſame time, offered to make any other atonement in their power.

Stephen, finding both intreaties and menaces ineffectual, diſpatched his chief confident, William D'Ypres, with his foreign mercenaries, to attack the caſtle of the Devizes; and ordered him to take with him it's owners, the Biſhop of Saliſbury and his ſon Roger. When he arrived at the caſtle, he ſummoned the Biſhop to ſurrender; proteſting that, in caſe of a refuſal, he would ſtarve his uncle to death. This threat, however, did not anſwer the intended purpoſe; he was therefore compelled to have recourſe to another expedient. Maude of Ramſey, miſtreſs to the Biſhop of Saliſbury, and mother to Roger, being in the caſtle, he ſent a meſſage to her, to let her know, that if the fortreſs was not immediately delivered up to him, he would put her ſon to death in her ſight. Maude, being well acquainted with the ſanguinary diſpoſition of William, trembled for the ſafety of her ſon, whom ſhe loved with the utmoſt warmth of maternal affection, and prevailed on the biſhop to ſurrender this impregnable caſtle; in which was found no leſs than forty thouſand marks, which it's owner had amaſſed, and which was inſtantly confiſcated to the uſe of the king. Poſſeſſion was obtained of the other fortreſſes by ſimilar ſtratagems; and when Stephen had thus effected the accompliſhment of his ſchemes, he reſtored the prelates to liberty: but the Biſhop of Saliſbury was ſo much affected by the loſs of his treaſure, that, according to William of Malmſbury, his grief ſoon brought him to the grave.

Theſe proceedings, which, though they were conducted with too much rigour, and exceeded the bounds of rigid juſtice, might yet be juſtified, from the alarming progreſs of thoſe outrages they were deſigned to correct, excited the moſt violent clamours among the clergy. Henry, Biſhop of Wincheſter, regardleſs of the ties of blood by which he was connected with his ſovereign, having received a legantine commiſſion from the Pope, was the firſt to exclaim againſt them, as a groſs violation of the clerical privileges. He aſſembled an eccleſiaſtical ſynod at Wincheſter, on the thirtieth of Auguſt; at which he loudly inveighed againſt the impiety of his

brother's proceedings, who had dared to employ violence againſt the dignitaries of the church without awaiting the ſentence of a ſpiritual court; which alone, he maintained, had the power to try or condemn them, if their conduct had really merited puniſhment or cenſure.

The ſynod had the inſolence to ſummon the king to appear before them, and anſwer for his conduct; and Stephen, inſtead of puniſhing their temerity, deigned to ſend Aubrey de Vere, an eloquent lawyer, to plead his cauſe. The legate cenſured the conduct of the king with the utmoſt virulence, repreſenting him as unjuſt, violent, and cruel; and concluded an inflammatory harangue, by aſſuring the aſſembly, that neither the dread of forfeiting his brother's favour, nor even the fear of loſing his own life, ſhould deter him from putting their ſentence in execution. De Vere, on the other hand, accuſed the prelates of treaſon and ſedition; but his arguments were little attended to.

The king, however, found a more potent advocate in the Archbiſhop of Rouen; the only clergyman preſent who eſpouſed his cauſe. That prelate, on the ſecond day of the council, made an eloquent ſpeech; in the courſe of which, he affirmed that the biſhops had merited the ſufferings they had experienced, for having tranſgreſſed the canons of the church, by fortifying their caſtles, and acting in a military capacity. But all his perſuaſions would have proved inſufficient to prevent a ſentence of excommunication againſt the king, and againſt all ſuch as had been concerned in the late tranſactions, if the partizans of Stephen had not employed menaces, and evinced a diſpoſition of executing violence by the hands of the ſoldiery. Even this might perhaps have been ineffectual, if Aubrey de Vere had not adopted the imprudent and humiliating meaſure of appealing to the Pope, in the name of his maſter. To that there was no reply; all further proceedings were therefore immediately ſtopped, and the ſynod broke up on the firſt of December.

After this tranſaction, it will be eaſily believed, that the clergy ſpared no pains to inflame the minds of the people, and to increaſe thoſe diſcontents which the inſtability of the government had given riſe to.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe conduct, during the reign of his brother, appears to have been actuated by no fixed motive, but to have proceeded rather from that ridiculous ſpecies of vanity—infallible token of a weak mind!—which frequently inſpires a man with an earneſt anxiety to render himſelf conſpicuous, though no poſſible advantage can be derived from it, than from any ſettled views of intereſt or ambition, having failed in his firſt attempt, now adopted an expedient of a more dangerous tendency. He ſecretly conveyed intelligence to the Empreſs Matilda of the precarious ſituation of the king's affairs; and repreſented to her, that no time could be more favourable than the preſent for enforcing her pretenſions to the throne.

Matilda, thus encouraged, determined to profit by the opportunity; and accordingly landed in England on the thirtieth of September, with her brother Robert, Earl of Glouceſter, and a retinue of one hundred and forty knights. She immediately proceeded to Arundel Caſtle, the reſidence of Adelais, the queen dowager, now married to William de Albini, Earl of Suſſex, who received her with the moſt perfect cordiality.

Stephen, who was beſieging Marlborough, no ſooner heard that the competitor for his crown was arrived in his dominions, than he marched into Suſſex with all poſſible expedition, and inveſted the fortreſs in which ſhe had taken refuge; but, previous to his arrival, the Earl of Glouceſter had left the empreſs to the care of her ſtepmother, and proceeded to Briſtol, where his friends were numerous, accompanied only by twelve knights. On the king's approach, the queen-dowager, who feared to incur his reſentment by the reception ſhe had afforded his rival, thought it prudent to ſend him an apology, proteſting that ſhe had not the ſmalleſt deſign of encouraging an inſurrection; that ſhe had only granted her daughter-in-law admiſſion into her caſtle, from a juſt reſpect to the memory of her deceaſed father; and declaring that, if he would accord her a ſafe paſſport to ſome other part of the kingdom, ſhe would prevail on her to quit it without delay. Stephen accepted her excuſes, and granted permiſſion to the empreſs to retire to Briſtol; whither ſhe was honourably eſcorted by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and by Gualeran Count of Mellent, her moſt inveterate enemy, and the chief confident of Stephen, and was ſafely delivered to her brother.

It is not leſs difficult to account for the king's motives in thus ſuffering Matilda to eſcape, when he muſt have been ſo anxious to obtain poſſeſſion of her perſon, than for thoſe which could induce the empreſs to repoſe ſo important a confidence in a man who had been guilty of ſuch repeated violations of oaths the moſt ſolemn. This ſingular event, the veracity of which cannot admit of a doubt, has never been ſatisfactorily accounted for. Contemporary hiſtorians ſimply relate the fact, unaccompanied by any kind of elucidation; while modern writers have either neglected to notice it, or aſcribed it to principles which could have but a partial effect. Dr. Henry, indeed, whoſe profound erudition merits the moſt ample tribute of commendation, imputes it to that ſpirit of gallantry, and ſtrict regard to *the point of honour*, which prevailed at this period. This might, *perhaps*, have engaged Stephen to keep his word when plighted to the empreſs for her ſafety, but could certainly not have induced him to plight it; for, in that caſe, he never would have betrayed, at a ſubſequent period, an anxiety to ſeize the perſon of Matilda: nor can we believe that that princeſs would have truſted to *his* obſervance of a promiſe, who had trifled with the ſolemnity of an oath. We muſt therefore be compelled to reject the opinion of Dr. Henry, and attempt to account for this extraordinary tranſaction in a manner which to us appears more conſiſtent with reaſon and probability. The Caſtle of Arun-

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del was a fortreſs of conſiderable ſtrength, and deemed almoſt impregnable; conſequently the only mode of reducing it muſt have been by cutting off all ſupplies of proviſion, which would inevitably have required a great length of time to perform. Stephen, aware of this circumſtance, and apprehending that, while he was engaged in the ſiege, his enemies might be making a dangerous progreſs under the conduct of the Earl of Glouceſter, whoſe vigour and activity experience had taught him to dread, might juſtly deem it an act of policy to permit the empreſs to join her brother, as his enemies would then be concentrated in one point, againſt which he would be enabled to direct his whole force. As to Matilda, it is highly probable that ſhe was compelled by her ſtepmother to depart from the caſtle; for, as the queen-dowager, by ſending to Stephen to offer apologies for her conduct, had evinced a fear of his reſentment, and knew no other means of averting it, and at the ſame time of demonſtrating the ſincerity of her profeſſions, than by getting rid of her gueſt, it is not to be ſuppoſed, when ſo favourable an opportunity offered to provide for her own perſonal ſafety, without violating the rights of hoſpitality, that ſhe would ſuffer it to eſcape.

From Briſtol the empreſs was conducted by her brother to Glouceſter, where ſhe remained a conſiderable time, under the protection of Milo, a wealthy and powerful nobleman, whom Robert had appointed to the government of that city during the late reign. By his aſſiſtance the Earl of Glouceſter was enabled to raiſe a formidable body to ſupport the cauſe of his ſiſter, while the clergy were employed in diſpoſing the minds of the people in her favour.

The year that ſucceeded that in which Matilda arrived in England, was more replete with calamities than any which the Engliſh had hitherto experienced. The flames of war and civil diſcord raged with incredible fury in every quarter; and thoſe turbulent barons who were always inclined to diſturb the tranquillity of the nation, having now obtained the ſpecious pretence of a public cauſe, carried on their devaſtations with redoubled violence, gave a looſe to their implacable reſentment to each other, and ſet no bounds to their oppreſſion over the unfortunate people. The caſtles of the nobility were become the receptacles of licenſed marauders; who, making incurſions both by day and night, laid waſte the country, and extended their deſtructive depredations even to the cities. The priſoners they took were put to torture, in order to make them reveal their treaſures; and afterwards diſpoſed of as ſlaves, or inhumanly murdered. They ſet fire to the churches and monaſteries; and even whole villages and towns, that had been previouſly ſtripped of their inhabitants, were reduced to aſhes. The ferocity of their minds, thus urging them to the commiſſion of indiſcriminate deſtruction, defeated the object of their rapacity; and the perſons of eccleſiaſtics, generally ſo much revered, were at laſt, from neceſſity, expoſed to the ſame outrage as their fellow-ſubjects. All commercial intercourſe was entirely ſtopped; the lands, forſaken by their maſters, were left untilled; and a grievous famine, the natural conſequence of a diſcontinuation of agriculture, compleated the miſeries of the people, and deprived ſome thouſands of their exiſtence.

Though the annals of this year, 1140, are replete with accounts of ſieges, ſkirmiſhes, and other military operations, which would afford neither inſtruction nor entertainment to the reader; yet no action of importance occurred which could in the leaſt contribute to put an end to theſe ſavage hoſtilities, by finally deciding the quarrel.

Stephen, during theſe tranſactions, diſplayed the greateſt activity and courage; but all his exertions could not prevent a conſiderable augmentation of ſtrength to the party of the empreſs, whoſe influence daily increaſed. Geoffrey Talbot, William Mohun, Ralph Lovel, William Fitz-John, William Fitz-Alan, Paganell, and many other rich and powerful barons, had declared for her; and every freſh acquiſition ſhe obtained was attended by a proportional diminution of the number of the king's partizans.

After many fruitleſs negotiations, and mutual overtures for treaties of peace, an event at laſt occurred which ſeemed to promiſe a reſtoration of the national tranquillity. Ralph, Earl of Cheſter, and his half-brother, William de Roumara, Earl of Lincoln, had hitherto preſerved their allegiance to the king; but the marriage of the former with the daughter of Robert Earl of Glouceſter having rendered his fidelity ſuſpected, Stephen thought it prudent to withold from them the caſtle of Lincoln, which was the property of William. The two earls, however, found means to take it by ſurprize; when the citizens of Lincoln, being zealouſly attached to the king's party, ſent him word, that the caſtle was ſo negligently guarded, that he might eaſily obtain poſſeſſion of it. This advice induced Stephen to march to Lincoln with the utmoſt expedition, and to inveſt that important fortreſs; from which the Earl of Cheſter eſcaped, and haſtening into Cheſhire, collected a numerous band of followers, with the deſign of compelling the king to raiſe the ſiege; but finding his forces inſufficient for the purpoſe, he was induced to make application for aſſiſtance to his father-in-law, the Earl of Glouceſter. Robert, engaged by the promiſes of Ralph, who aſſured him that both he and the Earl of Lincoln would immediately declare for the empreſs, and urged by the deſire of relieving his daughter from her diſtreſs, complied with his requeſt, and inſtantly began his march; on which he was joined by the Earl of Cheſter, with a freſh body of troops. Theſe combined forces having paſſed the Trent early in the morning of the ſecond of February, in the year 1141, found their adverſaries drawn up in order of battle, without the walls of Lincoln. The cavalry was placed in the two wings; one of which, compoſed of foreign mercenaries, was commanded by William D'Ypres and the Earl of Albemarle; and the other, conſiſting of Engliſh and Bretons, was headed by Alain Count of Dinan, Gualeran de Mellent, Hugh Bigod Earl of Norfolk, Simon de

de Seules, Earl of Northampton; and William de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey. The King placed himſelf at the head of his infantry, which was poſted in the centre.

The Earl of Glouceſter drew up his army in a ſimilar form. The infantry were led on by himſelf: one of his wings, conſiſting wholly of the vaſſals of the Earl of Cheſter, was entruſted to the command of that nobleman; while the other was entirely compoſed of thoſe noblemen and gentlemen who had been deprived of their honours and eſtates by Stephen. Theſe laſt began the attack; and being animated by revenge, a paſſion the moſt likely to impel the mind of man to deeds of deſperation, threw away their lances, and drawing their ſwords, fell with inexpreſſible fury on the King's cavalry; who, unable to withſtand the ſhock, fled at the firſt onſet. The Earl of Cheſter was equally ſucceſsful in his attack on the other wing, commanded by William D'Ypres; and the King, being thus forſaken by his cavalry both to the right and left, was in danger of being ſurrounded by the enemy. In this deſperate ſituation he diſplayed the ſkill of an experienced general; and, if the moſt extraordinary efforts of perſonal valour could have inſpired his troops with a ſpark of emulation, the day muſt have been his own: but, forſaken by his ſoldiers, and overpowered by numbers, he was at length compelled to yield to the ſuperior good fortune of his enemies. He had fought with the moſt deſperate courage till his battle-axe was totally broken; when, drawing his ſword, he long defended himſelf againſt a hoſt of foes, inveighing againſt the daſtardly conduct of his faithleſs troops. In this unequal conteſt, his ſword being ſhivered in pieces, he had recourſe to his truncheon, which he continued to employ till a blow from a ſtone brought him to the ground. Still his ardour was unabated; and he was preparing to riſe for the purpoſe of renewing the combat, when William de Kaines, a knight of the oppoſite party, ſeizing him by the helmet, preſented his ſword to his throat, and menaced him with inſtant death, if he refuſed to ſurrender. Notwithſtanding the dangerous extremity to which he was reduced, he reſolutely declared that he would yield to no other than the Earl of Glouceſter, who being fortunately at hand, advanced and took him priſoner, together with four noblemen, who had valiantly fought by the ſide of their monarch.

Robert conducted his royal captive to Glouceſter, and is ſaid to have treated him with great humanity; till the inſtigations of ſome friends to the Empreſs cauſed him to be thrown into priſon, and ignominiouſly loaded with irons.

The captivity of the king, and defeat of his army, proved fatal to his intereſts: his party was entirely broken; and the nobility flocked from all quarters of the kingdom to do homage to the Empreſs. Matilda, however, well knew that her proſperity would be of ſhort duration, if the ſucceſs of her ſchemes was not promoted by the countenance of the clergy, to whoſe influence ſhe chiefly attributed the misfortunes of her rival. The conduct of the Biſhop of Wincheſter had of late been extremely ambiguous, and ſufficiently ſhewed that his intentions had rather aimed at the humiliation than at the deſtruction of his brother: ſhe therefore reſolved, at all events, to engage him to eſpouſe her cauſe. For this purpoſe ſhe held a conference with him, on the ſecond of March, in an open plain near the city of Wincheſter; where ſhe promiſed, upon oath, that he ſhould be entruſted with the excluſive direction of public affairs, and ſhould, in particular, have the ſole diſpoſal of all vacant abbies and biſhoprics, if he would acknowledge her for his ſovereign, recognize her title to the crown as the lawful heir of the late monarch, and adhere to thoſe oaths of allegiance which he, in common with the reſt of the kingdom, had ſworn to her during the life of her father. Her brother Earl Robert, Milo of Glouceſter, Brian Fitz-Count, and other powerful noblemen, became guarantees for her obſervance of theſe engagements; and the prelate was at laſt induced to promiſe her fealty, but on the expreſs condition that ſhe ſhould on her part ſtrictly adhere to her promiſes. The Empreſs then made her triumphant entry into Wincheſter, and was conducted to the cathedral by the legate, who publicly recognized her Queen of England, in preſence of many biſhops and abbots; and denounced curſes againſt all ſuch as ſhould curſe, invoked benedictions on thoſe who bleſſed her, granted abſolution to ſuch as were obedient to her, and excommunicated all ſuch as refuſed to ſubmit to her authority. Theobald, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, with many other prelates and nobles, made their ſubmiſſions to the Empreſs a few days after, at Wilton; from whence ſhe proceeded to Oxford, where ſhe celebrated the feſtival of Eaſter with great pomp and magnificence.

In order farther to enſure the attachment of the clergy, Matilda was deſirous of receiving the crown from their hands; and, therefore, inſtead of proceeding in the uſual manner by aſſembling the ſtates of the kingdom, who were alone competent to confer on her the rights of ſovereignty, ſhe was content that the legate ſhould ſummon an eccleſiaſtical ſynod, and that her title ſhould there be acknowledged. In conſequence of this convention, a great council of the clergy was convened at Wincheſter, on the ſeventh of April; when the legate, who had previouſly held private conſultations with the prelates, abbots, and archdeacons, and obtained their conſent to the acknowledgement of the Empreſs, addreſſed the aſſembly in a very artful ſpeech, which is preſerved by William of Malmſbury, who was preſent, and ſays that he paid the ſtricteſt attention to every thing that paſſed. His exordium was replete with the moſt flattering encomiums on the proſperity of the preceding reign, which he ſtrongly contraſted with the enormities of the preſent: he reminded the council of their former oaths to ſupport the ſucceſſion of Matilda, and the ſubſequent uſurpation of Stephen; who, he obſerved, had been permitted to reign in the abſence of the Empreſs. He then proceeded to aggravate the errors of his brother's adminiſtration, adverted to the impriſonment of the biſhops, and dwelt with conſiderable

conſiderable energy on the oppreſſions which had been exerciſed over the church and clergy, in direct violation of thoſe promiſes which Stephen had made at his acceſſion, with the view of ſeducing them to ſupport his cauſe. He ſaid, that his brother's failure to obſerve his engagements could not but inſpire him with ſentiments of the deepeſt concern; but that the conſtant interruption of public tranquillity, the daily commiſſion of unpuniſhed crimes, the illegal confiſcation of eſtates, the ſale of eccleſiaſtical benefices, and the pillaging of churches, were enormities of ſuch magnitude as could not be ſuffered to paſs unnoticed: that, for his part, an earneſt deſire to procure the redreſs of theſe grievances had led him to ſummon the king to appear before a council of biſhops; but that, inſtead of inducing him to amend the vices of his adminiſtration, this laudable expedient had only tended to excite his reſentment. "For theſe complicated "crimes," purſued this pious prelate and affectionate brother, "our heavenly Father hath now "rejected him, and delivered him into the hands "of his enemies. That the kingdom may not, "therefore, remain without a ruler, I have con"vened you, the clergy of England, whoſe peculiar "province it is to elect and ordain kings; and, in "conſequence of the deliberations which we yeſter"day held in private on this important buſineſs; "having previouſly invoked the aſſiſtance of the "Holy Spirit, I do now elect the daughter of the "pacific, rich, magnanimous, good, and incom"parable King Henry, to be our ſovereign, and in "the name of this council do promiſe her loyalty "and ſupport." To this declaration all the members of the council, either by their ſilence or acclamations, gave, or appeared to give, their aſſent.

The only laymen ſummoned to this ſynod, which was meant to decide on the fate of the crown, were the Londoners; whoſe deputies, on their introduction on the ſecond day of the council, declared that they came not for the purpoſe of debate, but to inſiſt on the delivery of their ſovereign from confinement, which they were inſtructed to demand in the name of the whole community of London: but they were referred by the legate to the decrees of the preceding day, and ordered to report them to their conſtituents as the final determination of the ſynod, from which no earthly conſiderations could induce them to depart.

The authoritative tone in which the citizens of London endeavoured to enforce their demand is not to be wondered at, if the account of Fitz-Stephen, a contemporary author, be deemed worthy of credit: for he aſſerts, that that city could at this period bring no leſs than eighty thouſand combatants into the field. Were this eſtimation, however, to be depended on, London muſt at that time have contained near four hundred thouſand inhabitants, which is more than double the number that it contained at the death of Queen Elizabeth. But theſe vague calculations, or rather conjectures—for we do not find that any ſpecific enumeration had then taken place—are to be looked on with an eye of ſuſpicion and miſtruſt. Peter of Blois, a celebrated writer of that age, and a man of ſound judgment, who was greatly diſtinguiſhed for his energetic diſcourſes on the flagitious conduct of the clergy, ſays, in one of his epiſtles, that there were then only forty thouſand inhabitants in London, which is much more conſiſtent with probability. Fitz-Stephen's remarks, therefore, on the prodigious riches, ſplendour, and commerce, of London, ſhould only be taken in a comparative ſenſe, as demonſtrative of the extreme poverty of the other principal towns in the kingdom, which was indeed common to all the northern parts of Europe.

Before the concluſion of the council, a ſentence of excommunication was iſſued againſt ſeveral perſons whoſe adherence to the King rendered them objects of eccleſiaſtical cenſure; and particularly againſt one William Martel, who had been guilty of plundering the legate's baggage.

The deputies of London, however, having been diſmiſſed without any ſatisfactory anſwer to the demands they were inſtructed to enforce, all the addreſs and eloquence of the Earl of Glouceſter proved at firſt inſufficient to prevail on the citizens to admit the Empreſs. In the mean while, Matilda advanced as far as Reading; where ſhe was met by Robert de Oyly, Governor of Oxford, who came to offer her the keys of his caſtle, and humbly to entreat that ſhe would honour that city with her preſence. With a requeſt ſo agreeable to her wiſhes ſhe chearfully complied; and, having received the oath of allegiance from the inhabitants of Oxford and the adjacent country, ſhe removed to St. Alban's, where ſhe waited to know the final determination of the Londoners, who were at a loſs what reſolution to adopt. Many of them expreſſed an earneſt anxiety to preſerve their fidelity to their captive ſovereign; while others were for yielding to the urgency of the times, and acknowledging the authority of Matilda. Theſe laſt, ſeconded by the powerful influence of the Earl of Glouceſter, who was an object of general eſteem, at length prevailed: the Empreſs accordingly made her entry into London a few days before Midſummer, and began the neceſſary preparations for her coronation.

The authority of Matilda, by the prudent conduct of Robert, now ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed over the whole kingdom; but affairs did not long remain in this ſituation. A ſtranger to moderation, ſhe ſunk beneath the burden of proſperity; and, in obedience to the dictates of a paſſionate and imperious ſpirit, aggravated by harſhneſs thoſe refuſals that ſhould have been tempered with affability. With a proud confidence in her own ſagacity, ſhe rejected the counſels of her uncle David, King of Scotland, who had come to congratulate her on her ſucceſs; and the advices of her brother Robert, to whoſe exertions ſhe was ſo greatly indebted. Inſtead of attempting to ſoothe to ſubmiſſion, by promiſes of favour or reward, ſuch as ſtill adhered to the King, ſhe had recourſe to the moſt rigorous meaſures, and confiſcated the eſtates of all who would not immediately yield to her authority. Not contented with this ill-timed diſplay of ſeverity, ſhe proceeded to revoke all the grants that had been

made by Stephen, even thoſe to the church not excepted; and by that means excited a general diſſatisfaction.

Stephen's queen, who was a princeſs of diſtinguiſhed merit, and her near relation, ſeconded by many of the nobility, made the moſt earneſt ſupplications for the liberty of her huſband; and offered that, on this condition, he ſhould ſolemnly relinquiſh all pretenſions to the crown, and paſs the remainder of his days in a convent. The Biſhop of Wincheſter deſired that his nephew, Prince Euſtace, might inherit Boulogne, with the earldom of Mortaigne, and the other patrimonial eſtates of his father. The citizens of London petitioned for an abatement of their taxes; and applied for the reſtoration of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor inſtead of thoſe of King Henry, which they declared to be pregnant with oppreſſion. But all theſe petitions were rejected in ſo haughty and inſolent a manner as added diſguſt to diſappointment.

The legate, whoſe ambiguity of conduct had ever rendered his ſincerity ſuſpected, and who probably repented of the part he had acted againſt his brother, now determined to profit by the murmurs of diſcontent, which the imperious behaviour of Matilda had excited, to inſtigate the Londoners to a revolt. A plot was accordingly formed to ſeize the perſon of the Empreſs: but, though it was conducted with every poſſible precaution that could tend to enforce ſecrecy, ſhe had timely notice of it, and ſaved herſelf from the danger by a retreat, effected with ſuch precipitation, that her palace and effects were expoſed to the fury of the populace. She firſt fled to Oxford; but, having received intelligence that the legate had retired to Wincheſter, ſhe ſpeedily repaired thither, accompanied by the King of Scotland, the Earl of Glouceſter, and a numerous retinue, in hopes of taking the prelate by ſurprize. But he found means to eſcape her vigilance; and, having aſſembled his followers and vaſſals, openly joined his force to that of the Queen, who had collected a body of troops in Kent, to the Londoners, and to Stephen's foreign mercenaries, who had not yet evacuated the kingdom; by which means he was ſoon placed at the head of a powerful army, with which he commenced the ſiege of the caſtle of Wincheſter on the firſt of Auguſt.

As the inhabitants of that city had evinced an imprudent zeal in promoting the cauſe of Matilda, the Biſhop ſet fire to it, although it was the capital of the dioceſe: nor could the flames be extinguiſhed, till, according to the account of William of Malmſbury, twenty churches, and the greateſt part of the town, were reduced to aſhes. A celebrated monaſtery, called *The Hide*, that was ſituated in the ſuburbs, ſhared the ſame fate; from which, however, the Biſhop was careful to reſerve, for his own uſe, a maſſy golden cup, richly ſtudded with precious ſtones, that had been preſented to that convent by King Canute; together with three royal diadems, with ſtands of the pureſt Arabian gold, embelliſhed with jewels, and enriched with the moſt curious devices. While the pious Legate was thus pouring fire and deſtruction on his flock, William D'Ypres was inflicting a ſimilar puniſhment on the inhabitants of Andover: he likewiſe burnt the convent of Warewell, whither many of Matilda's adherents had retired, as to a place of undoubted ſecurity.

The face of affairs was now totally changed, and the Empreſs had a gloomy proſpect before her. Her principal adherents were ſhut up with her in the caſtle, and in the moſt imminent danger of either periſhing by famine, or of falling into the hands of the enemy.

In this extremity, the Earl of Glouceſter formed a ſcheme for their deliverance. In thoſe ſuperſtitious times, the moſt inveterate enemies, by tacit conſent, ſuſpended their operations, and relaxed their vigilance, on the feſtivals of the church. That of the Holy Croſs was to be celebrated on the fourteenth of September; and early in the morning of that day, the Empreſs, mounted on a ſwift horſe, and attended by a ſelect body of troops, marched with great ſilence and caution out of Wincheſter, and eſcaped to the Devizes, where ſhe arrived almoſt deprived of her ſenſes by terror and fatigue, and was conveyed from thence to Glouceſter in a litter. Her uncle, the King of Scotland, being equally fortunate, reached his own kingdom in ſafety. But the Earl of Glouceſter, who had placed himſelf in the rear, was purſued and overtaken by a ſuperior force at Stokebridge, where he was made priſoner, and from thence conducted to the caſtle of Rocheſter.

The captivity of this nobleman proved as fatal to the party of the Empreſs as that of Stephen had done to the loyaliſts; and a negotiation was therefore entered into for the exchange of theſe illuſtrious priſoners, which was accompliſhed on the firſt of November. The Legate, who had been the chief inſtrument of his brother's deliverance, convened an eccleſiaſtical ſynod at Weſtminſter, on the ſeventh of December, in which he appeared in a character diametrically oppoſite to that which he had aſſumed at the Council of Wincheſter but a few months before. After the King had opened the council by a ſpeech, in which he deeply complained of the infidelity of his ſubjects, who, not content with waging war againſt him in direct violation of their oaths of allegiance, had quietly reſigned him to all the horrors of a tedious impriſonment; the Biſhop of Wincheſter, in an harangue, more diſtinguiſhed for rhetorical elegance than for depth of reaſoning or ſolidity of argument, attempted to apologize for the flagrant inconſiſtency of his own conduct, and the frequent breach of his oaths, which he imputed, with greater impudence than addreſs, to the neceſſity of the times. As a farther juſtification of himſelf, he affirmed that Matilda had not only broken all the ſtipulations ſhe had made with him previous to her election, but had likewiſe formed deſigns againſt his life and dignity. He concluded his ſpeech by pronouncing a ſentence of excommunication againſt all the adherents of the Counteſs of Anjou, the only title he now would conſent to beſtow on the Empreſs, though he had ſo lately acknowledged her Queen of England.

Whatever

Whatever diſguſt the eccleſiaſtical members of this aſſembly might conceive at the arrogance and inconſiſtency of the Legate, there was not one of them endued with ſufficient firmneſs of mind to expreſs his ſentiments on the ſubject. A lay-deputy, who attended the council by the orders of Matilda, was the only perſon preſent that conducted himſelf with becoming reſolution: he boldly taxed the Biſhop, in the name of his royal miſtreſs, with perjury and rebellion; affirmed, that the voyage of the Empreſs to England had been made in conſequence of his frequent and earneſt ſolicitations; that her ſubſequent conduct had been wholly guided by his direction; and that even the detention of Stephen in priſon was in compliance with his advice. To theſe direct and poſitive charges the Biſhop very prudently forbore to reply. The name of the worthy layman who preferred them hiſtorians have unfortunately neglected to mention; though a man, who was poſſeſſed of ſuch uncommon fortitude and honeſty as, in the preſence of a ſovereign ſurrounded by his adherents, to aſſert the ſupremacy of his rival, and boldly accuſe his principal ſupporter, is indiſputably deſerving of the higheſt praiſe an author can beſtow, and ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity as an object of imitation to every member of a national aſſembly, where the voice of Reaſon is ſometimes liable to be ſuppreſſed by the dictates of Intereſt, or overawed by the prevalence of Faction.

The flames of civil war were now rekindled with all their priſtine fury; but no action of importance occurred, as the King was reduced to a ſtate of inactivity by a fit of ſickneſs, which attacked him in the ſpring of the year 1142; and the Earl of Glouceſter was abſent from England. That nobleman's departure was in conſequence of a council convened by Matilda at the Devizes; in which it was reſolved to ſend an invitation to the Count of Anjou to come over, and take upon himſelf the management of his wife's affairs. But he declined accepting it, till ſuch time as he ſhould have had a conference with the Earl of Glouceſter, who at firſt refuſed to leave the kingdom at ſo critical a conjuncture, when his preſence appeared to be ſo eſſentially requiſite. He was, however, at length compelled to yield to the preſſing importunities of his ſiſter and her adherents; and, having taken his leave of her, was accompanied in his voyage by a conſiderable number of the young nobility, whom he took with him as pledges for the fidelity of their parents. He embarked at Wareham; and after a very dangerous paſſage, in which he narrowly eſcaped from being ſhipwrecked, arrived at Caen, the capital of Lower Normandy, where he was met by Geoffrey Plantagenet; who, among a variety of other objections to quitting his dominions and croſſing the channel, mentioned the abſolute neceſſity of his ſtaying to reduce ſome important fortreſſes, which were defended with great obſtinacy and courage by the Norman barons. Robert conſented to remain with him till he had ſubdued theſe caſtles, and accordingly aſſiſted him in the enterprize; but when it was accompliſhed, the Count of Anjou ſtill found other pretences to retard his departure. The Earl of Glouceſter, therefore, finding that there was but little probability of being able to overcome the averſion which he ſo plainly evinced to the voyage, prevailed upon him to ſend over his eldeſt ſon Henry, whoſe preſence, he hoped, would animate the Engliſh to the moſt powerful exertions in ſupport of his mother.

During the abſence of her brother, Matilda eſtabliſhed her reſidence at Oxford; where ſhe was guarded by the noblemen of her party, who pledged their honour to protect her till his return.

When Stephen had recovered from his illneſs, he aſſembled a body of troops, and laid ſiege to the town and caſtle of Wareham, which ſoon ſurrendered to his arms. From thence he marched to Oxford with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, that he took it by ſurprize three days before Michaelmas; and the Empreſs with great difficulty eſcaped to the caſtle, with her retinue. The King immediately inveſted that fortreſs, and made a ſolemn oath not to raiſe the ſiege till he had taken his rival priſoner. When he had been three months before the place, and the garriſon were on the point of periſhing by famine, Matilda found means to eſcape from impending deſtruction, by an expedient ſtill more extraordinary than that which ſhe had adopted on a ſimilar occaſion at Winchester. The river being compleatly frozen, and the ground covered with ſnow, ſhe arrayed herſelf and three truſty followers in white; and, iſſuing from a poſtern of the caſtle in the dead of night, paſſed all the King's centinels unobſerved, and travelled on foot to Abingdon, at which place ſhe procured horſes, and proceeded to Wallingford. Here ſhe was ſoon after joined by an army that was marching to her relief, under the conduct of the Earl of Glouceſter, who had now returned from Normandy, accompanied by her ſon, Prince Henry. This fortunate rencontre revived the hopes of Matilda: but, as the caſtle of Oxford had ſurrendered the morning after her departure, the barons with their followers were permitted to return to their reſpective homes; and, the ſeaſon being far advanced, the troops on both ſides were put into winter-quarters.

Stephen opened the campaign of the year 1143 by an expedition into the weſtern provinces, which he undertook at the commencement of the ſpring. After ravaging the country, and making ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts on different caſtles in the weſt, he marched to Wilton, with an intent of erecting a fortreſs to impede the excurſions of the garriſon of Saliſbury. While he was ſuperintending the work, accompanied by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Earl of Glouceſter formed a ſcheme for taking them both by ſurprize: they, however, found means to eſcape, though with great difficulty, and with the loſs of their plate and baggage. In this ſudden attack, William Martel, the King's chief favourite and ſteward of his houſhold, was taken priſoner, and the caſtle of Sherborne was given up for his ranſom.

A council was ſummoned by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, in his capacity of Legate, to meet at London, about the middle of Lent this year, at which the

the King himſelf attended, and addreſſed the aſſembly in a long harangue; in which he endeavoured to convince the Biſhops of the neceſſity of making more ſtrenuous exertions than they had hitherto done, in order to bring a war, that muſt inevitably be attended with ſuch prejudicial conſequences to the kingdom, to a ſpeedy termination. He declared that he was himſelf willing, nay, determined, to perſevere in continually expoſing his life for the ſervice of the ſtate; but that he could not flatter himſelf with the hopes of deriving the ſmalleſt ſucceſs from his endeavours, unleſs his ſubjects would afford him more effectual aſſiſtance. He therefore required, that all ſuch as were poſſeſſed of ſufficient ſtrength and courage to bear arms, would attend him in his military expeditions, and that the reſt ſhould furniſh him with pecuniary ſupplies. This latter requeſt was particularly addreſſed to the clergy; who, being entirely guided by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, promiſed, without heſitation, to grant the required aſſiſtance. This promiſe, however, was made on the expreſs condition that the church ſhould be better protected in future than it had been of late. The King aſſured them that he was ever anxious to promote a ſtrict obſervance of the canons, and would willingly accede to any farther regulations which they might think it neceſſary to adopt, in order to ſecure the perſons and poſſeſſions of eccleſiaſtics from thoſe violent inſults and rapacious depredations to which they had been expoſed in the courſe of the civil wars. In conſequence of this declaration, a canon was enacted, by which it was ordered, that no perſon againſt whom a ſentence of excommunication had been iſſued for the violation of a church or church-yard, or for the commiſſion of any act of violence upon a clergyman, ſhould be abſolved from it by any other than the Pope. "By this ſa-"gacious law," ſays Hoveden, a contemporary hiſtorian, "was ſome little degree of reſtraint impoſed "on the daring rapacity of the Kites."

About this period, Henry de Tracey, a nobleman who had hitherto ſupported the intereſt of Stephen in Devonſhire, deſpairing to ſee his authority firmly eſtabliſhed, reſolved to provide for his own ſafety by ſubmitting to the Empreſs, who had now obtained poſſeſſion of all the ancient kingdom of Weſſex, except the county of Hants; while her competitor enjoyed but a precarious and unſettled influence in other provinces, except in the city of London, the inhabitants of which adhered to his cauſe with firmneſs and unanimity.

A part of Wales, with the counties on the borders of the Severn, had declared for Matilda: the biſhoprick of Durham, and the three northern provinces poſſeſſed by David, King of Scotland, had likewiſe acknowledged her ſovereignty. The power of William, Earl of Yorkſhire, who adhered to Stephen, was counterbalanced by that of Alain, Earl of Richmond, who embraced the oppoſite party: while Ralph, Earl of Cheſter; Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk; and many other noblemen who reſided in the ancient kingdom of Eaſt-Anglia; maintained a kind of independent ſovereignty within their reſpective diſtricts, though they were contented to recognize Stephen for their monarch. The ſeat of war was therefore chiefly confined to Berkſhire, and the parts immediately contiguous; but, as Stephen was unable to aſſemble a formidable army, the conteſt was merely ſupported by ſieges and blockades of caſtles, or ſlight ſkirmiſhes between detached parties. This irregular kind of war continued during the three ſucceeding years, to the total deſtruction of induſtry, and the ruin and depopulation of the country.

Stephen appears to have been infected with the rage of building caſtles; for he ſeldom attempted to take one fortreſs without erecting another; and the governors he appointed to command them very frequently aſſumed the rights, and diſplayed the authority, of a legal proprietor: ſo that by this means he not only created a number of lawleſs tyrants, who exerciſed their depredations on his ſubjects, but raiſed up ſo many bulwarks to be employed in oppoſition to his own intereſt. He was alſo too much inclined to jealouſy and miſtruſt; of which, indeed, the dangerous peculiarity of his ſituation may in ſome degree be admitted as a palliation: though, when his ſuſpicion was once excited, he was too impatient to wait for conviction, but took immediate ſteps for the promotion of his own intereſt and advantage, though they were too frequently attended with deviations from juſtice, and adopted in contradiction to the ſuggeſtions of gratitude.

Geoffrey de Magneville, a nobleman of great abilities and extenſive poſſeſſions, had been created Earl of Eſſex, and appointed to the government of the Tower of London: but, notwithſtanding theſe ſignal marks of favour, which ſhewed that the King entertained a juſt ſenſe of his merit; Stephen, inſtigated by the ſecret enemies of Geoffrey, who repreſented him as a private ſupporter of the Empreſs, ordered him to be arreſted at St. Alban's, under favour of a tumult which he had cauſed to be excited for the purpoſe; and peremptorily refuſed to releaſe him from confinement till he had delivered up the Tower, together with his own caſtles of Walden and Pleſhy, near Dunmow, in Eſſex.

Whatever the ſentiments of Geoffrey might have been prior to this injury, he now declared himſelf the avowed enemy of Stephen; and made an offer of his ſervices to the Empreſs, who confirmed to him the poſſeſſion of his title, and appointed him hereditary high-ſheriff of London, Middleſex, and Hertfordſhire. To approve himſelf worthy of theſe honours, he aſſembled a powerful body of his friends and vaſſals; by whoſe aſſiſtance he deſtroyed the town of Cambridge, and converted the abbey of Ramſey into a garriſon. He then retired to the Fens; from whence Stephen, in perſon, made ſeveral attempts to diſlodge him, but without ſucceſs. He was afterwards joined by Hugh Bigod, who had now declared for the Empreſs; and theſe two noblemen ravaged the whole country, extending their excurſions even to the vicinity of London, on whoſe inhabitants Stephen placed his principal reliance. At length, however, Geoffrey was killed by an arrow at the ſiege of Burwell Caſtle; and

Stephen

Stephen marching againſt Bigod, obliged him to retire. The King likewiſe purſued the ſame perfidious and impolitic conduct with regard to Ralph Earl of Cheſter, who had effected an accommodation with him, and had aſſiſted him with his forces on ſeveral occaſions ſince his releaſe from captivity. Notwithſtanding theſe proofs of his ſincerity and attachment, he incurred the ſuſpicion of his ſovereign, whoſe jealouſy was founded on his omiſſion to reſign ſome of the royal caſtles which had been entruſted to his care. Stephen, therefore, took the earlieſt opportunity to demand immediate reſtitution of theſe fortreſſes; and when the Earl deſired that time might be allowed him to conſult his friends upon the ſubject, he was accuſed of high-treaſon, and taken into cuſtody. His friends and adherents were no ſooner informed of this occurrence, than they took up arms, and attacked ſome places belonging to the King; but they were at laſt compelled to deliver the caſtles that had been demanded, as the ranſom of Ralph, who was deprived of all his poſſeſſions except the county palatine of Cheſter. He was ſo incenſed at the injury he had ſuſtained, that, notwithſtanding the oath which he had been obliged to take to Stephen before he could procure his releaſe, he immediately aſſembled his forces; and declaring war againſt the King, ſurprized and took a great number of his caſtles; laid waſte the whole country about Lincoln; and blocked up the fort of Coventry, which was one of thoſe he had been compelled to ſurrender.

In this expedition he was joined by his nephew, Gilbert Earl of Clare, whoſe reſentment Stephen had incurred, by detaining certain caſtles which he had delivered as pledges for the reſtitution of thoſe which were in the poſſeſſion of his uncle.

Theſe noblemen, for ſome time, wholly engroſſed the attention of the King, who employed all his forces in the attempt to reduce them to obedience. This proved a taſk of extreme difficulty. Stephen was worſted in ſeveral encounters: at length, however, he obtained a conſiderable advantage over them, which repreſſed their ardour for a time; though they were not ſo totally diſabled, but that, after a ſhort interval, they renewed their exertions in a leſs degree, and continued to afford ſuch moleſtation to Stephen, as prevented him from taking advantage of ſome favourable circumſtances which occurred at a ſubſequent period.

Prince Henry had reſided in the caſtle of Briſtol more than four years, where he proſecuted his ſtudies with unremitting diligence, under the immediate inſpection of his uncle, the Earl of Glouceſter, whoſe learning and virtue were equal to his activity and courage; when he received a ſummons from his father Geoffrey, Earl of Anjou, to repair to Normandy, which during the captivity of Stephen he had entirely reduced to ſubjection. Robert accordingly attended his royal pupil to Wareham, at which place he embarked for the continent, in the ſummer of the year 1147; while his uncle remained in England, where he was ſoon after attacked by a diſorder of which he died, at his caſtle of Briſtol, on the thirty-firſt of October.

This accompliſhed nobleman was the ſon of Neſta, daughter of Rheeſe, Prince of South Wales. By the intereſt of his royal father, King Henry the Firſt, he obtained in marriage Mabel, or Maude, the wealthy heireſs of Robert Fitz Hamon, Lord of Corboil, in Normandy; Cardiff, in South Wales; and of Tewkſbury, in England. By her he had William, who ſucceeded him in the earldom of Glouceſter; Roger, Biſhop of Worceſter; Richard, Biſhop of Noyon; Hamon; Mabel, who was married to Aubrey de Vere; and Matilda, wife to Ralph Earl of Cheſter. Robert was buried at Briſtol, in the church belonging to the monaſtery of St. James, which he had built, as well as the caſtle of Cardiff.

Matilda likewiſe ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs in the death of Milo, Earl of Hereford, one of her moſt faithful and powerful adherents; who was ſlain by an arrow, as he was hunting, on the twenty-fourth of December, in this year. Milo was created Earl of Hereford by patent from Matilda; which being the firſt patent of that kind of which we have any knowledge, is rendered an object of curioſity. It is preſerved in Rymer's Fœdera, and commences thus: "Matilda, *imperatrix*, Henrici *regis filia, et* "Anglorum *domina, archiepiſcopis, epiſcopis, abba-* "*tibus, baronibus, &c. ſalutem. Sciatis me feciſſe* "Milonem de Gloceſtriâ, Comitem de Hereford, "*et dediſſe ei motam* Hereford, *cum toto caſtello, in* "*feudo et hæreditate ſibi et hæredibus ſuis ad tenen-* "*dum de me et hæredibus meis. Dedi etiam ei ter-* "*tium denarium placitorum totius comitatûs* Hereford, "*&c.*" The title of Earl of Hereford devolved to Roger, the ſon of Milo; who, though he was a nobleman of tried courage and approved fidelity, had neither the influence nor experience of his father.

The Empreſs, after the departure of her ſon, and the death of her brother, experienced ſo conſiderable a diminution of her authority, that ſhe retired to Normandy at the beginning of the following year; when the cauſe of the King muſt inevitably have prevailed, but for ſome unexpected occurrences which impeded the courſe of his proſperity. Having at length found, from experience, that the caſtles erected by the noblemen of his party encouraged a ſpirit of independence, and were almoſt as dangerous as thoſe which ſtill remained in the power of his enemies, he endeavoured to obtain a ſurrender of them into his own hands; and by the attempt, though it was founded in principles of political juſtice, alienated the affections of many, who, from being firmly attached to his cauſe, were thereby induced to embrace the oppoſite party. His intereſt, too, was greatly injured by a quarrel in which he imprudently involved himſelf with the church.

Theobald, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, had been ſenſibly mortified at the ſuperiority of rank and authority which the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who was his ſuffragan, poſſeſſed by his legantine commiſſion, and his near relationſhip to the King. Diſputes had frequently ariſen between theſe two prelates, all of which were referred to the court of Rome for deciſion, and there proſecuted with equal eagerneſs

and animoſity. Eugenius the Third, who had ſucceeded to the papacy, propoſed to hold a general council at Rheims, in Champagne, in the time of Lent, in the year 1148, which the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſeveral other Engliſh prelates, were ſummoned to attend. The King, however, at the inſtigation of his brother, the legate, prohibited the primate from quitting his dominions. By this means the Biſhop of Wincheſter hoped to involve Theobald in a dilemma, from which he would have great difficulty to extricate himſelf; as, if he treated the prohibition with contempt, he would infallibly incur the diſpleaſure of the King; and, if duty to his ſovereign ſhould lead him to reſpect it, he could not fail to give offence to the Pope.

The primate, chuſing rather to forfeit his obedience to his ſecular than to his ſpiritual lord, privately retired from England; and repairing to Rheims, experienced a moſt gracious reception from the council. The Pope, to evince his reſentment againſt Stephen for his treatment of Theobald, deprived his brother of the legantine commiſſion, which he had enjoyed for ſome years, and beſtowed it on that prelate; who, after the concluſion of the council, returned to England. But he was ſo ill received by Stephen, who during his abſence had ſequeſtered his revenues as a puniſhment for his diſobedience, that he thought proper to go back to the continent; where he inſtigated the ſovereign Pontiff, who was ſenſible of his own advantage in engaging in a conteſt with a monarch whoſe title to the throne was ſo ſtrongly diſputed, to take revenge of the King by laying his whole party under an interdict.

Armed with this inſtrument of revenge, Theobald again returned; and, having landed on the coaſt of Suffolk, was honourably received and protected by Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk; and, at the appointed time, he publiſhed the interdict againſt all the churches which acknowledged the authority of Stephen. The performance of divine ſervice was accordingly ſuſpended in thoſe parts of the kingdom which adhered to the King; while it continued to be celebrated, as uſual, in thoſe which had ſubmitted to the Empreſs: a diſtinction that produced a very ſenſible effect among the people. The monks of St. Auguſtine, who revolted againſt this ordinance, having been excommunicated by the Archbiſhop, ſent agents with a remonſtrance to the Pope, who refuſed to admit them to an audience till they had undergone diſcipline, and received abſolution, which was granted them in the name of the Primate. They were then ſharply rebuked for their miſconduct, and ordered to pay implicit obedience to Theobald, who was at the ſame time directed to inflict a ſevere puniſhment on them: an injunction he complied with by depoſing the prior, ſuſpending the ſecretary, and commanding the reſt of the monks to obſerve the interdict.

The diſcontents of the royaliſts at being reduced to this ſituation, were greatly augmented by a compariſon with the party of Matilda, who enjoyed all the benefits of the ſacred ordinances; and Stephen was at laſt compelled, by making ſuch ſubmiſſion to the ſee of Rome as the Pope judged it requiſite to exact, to reſcue his adherents from this irkſome predicament.

Though the animoſities on both ſides ſtill raged with unabating violence, their mutual weakneſs produced a temporary ſuſpenſion of arms; during which, Roger de Moubray, William de Warenne, and many others of the nobility, being deprived of an opportunity to exert their military ardour at home, enliſted themſelves in a new cruſade, which was now preached by St. Bernard with ſuch a rapidity of ſucceſs, as no reflections on former diſappointments and misfortunes could impede or diminiſh. But an event ſoon after occurred which threatened to rekindle the flames of war in England.

Prince Henry, having attained his ſixteenth year, was anxious to receive the honour of knighthood, which was generally conferred at that age; and was a ceremony which, in thoſe times, every gentleman was obliged to paſs through before he could be admitted to the uſe of arms, and which was even deemed requiſite for the greateſt princes. He intended to receive his admiſſion from his great-uncle David, King of Scotland; and for that purpoſe came through England with a ſplendid retinue, and was accompanied by the moſt conſiderable of his partizans. The ceremony was accordingly performed at Carliſle, on the twenty-ſecond of May, in the year 1149, with great pomp and magnificence, in the midſt of a prodigious concourſe of the nobility of England, Scotland, and Normandy. He remained ſome time with his uncle, during which he made frequent incurſions into England; and, by his dexterity and vigour in all manly exerciſes, by his military courage, and a continual diſplay of extraordinary prudence on every occaſion, he revived the drooping hopes of his party, and afforded ſtrong ſymptoms of thoſe great qualities which he afterwards evinced in the exerciſe of regal authority.

After a reſidence of about eight months in the court of Scotland, he embarked, in the month of January, in the year 1150, for Normandy, the government of which his father, with the conſent of Matilda, ſoon after relinquiſhed to him. When he took poſſeſſion of that dutchy, his intent was to make his firſt martial eſſay at the head of his party in England, to attempt the recovery of a crown to which his mother was the lawful heireſs; but he was prevented from putting his deſign into execution, by a ſucceſſion of important events which detained him on the continent for the ſpace of three years.

The firſt of theſe tranſactions was a war with the French monarch reſpecting the inveſtiture of Normandy; which, after an obſtinate conteſt, Henry obtained. The ſecond was the death of his father, Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, which took place on the ſeventh of September, in the year 1151, and which gave to him the poſſeſſion of the territories of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. The laſt, and moſt important, was his marriage, which brought him a great acceſſion of power, and rendered him extremely formidable to his rival.

Eleanor, the daughter and ſole heireſs of William, Duke

Duke of Guienne and Count of Poictou, had been married ſixteen years to Lewis the Seventh, King of France, and had attended him in a cruſade which that monarch conducted againſt the Infidels; but, having there loſt the affections of her huſband, and even excited ſome ſuſpicions of infidelity with a handſome Saracen, Lewis, whoſe delicacy was greater than his politeneſs, procured a divorce from her, and reſtored her to thoſe rich provinces which by her marriage ſhe had annexed to the crown of France. Henry, though only twenty years old, neither diſcouraged by the inequality of age, nor by the reports of Eleanor's gallantries, paid his addreſſes to that princeſs; and, his offers being accepted, married her within ſix weeks from the time of her divorce, and got poſſeſſion of all her dominions as a dowry.

The jealouſy of Lewis being powerfully excited by this marriage, that monarch reſolved, if poſſible, to humble the pride of the prince; and for that purpoſe formed an alliance with the King of England, and his ſon Euſtace; Theobald, Count of Blois; and Geoffrey of Anjou, Henry's younger brother, who was diſſatisfied with the fortune bequeathed him by his father. An immediate invaſion of Normandy was the conſequence of this formidable confederacy; but the vigilance and vigour of the prince had contributed ſo effectually to the defence of the dutchy, that the troops of the allies were compelled to retire, and wholly abandon their enterprize.

In the mean time, ſuch was the reputation which Henry had acquired by his conduct and late acquiſitions, that his influence in England became ſo conſiderable, that when Stephen, deſirous to enſure the crown to his eldeſt ſon Euſtace, required the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to anoint that prince as his ſucceſſor, the primate, who is ſuppoſed to have received ſecret inſtructions from the Pope on the ſubject, refuſed to comply; and made his eſcape to the continent, that he might avoid the puniſhment due to his diſobedience.

When Henry had effected an accommodation with the King of France, he equipped a fleet of ſix and thirty ſail, on board of which he embarked with one hundred and forty knights and three thouſand infantry; and, making a deſcent upon England on the ſixth of January, in the year 1153, was immediately joined by almoſt all the barons of the kingdom. Though it was now the middle of winter, he commenced the war with a vigour that appeared to ſcorn reſtraints, and defy the inclemency of the ſeaſon. His firſt attempt was on the town of Malmeſbury, which he took, after defeating a party of the enemy, who had marched to it's relief. The caſtle next ſubmitted to his arms. Robert, Earl of Leiceſter, came in perſon to offer him his ſervices; and Gundreda, Counteſs of Norwich, gave him poſſeſſion of the ſtrong fortreſs which had been erected in that city. He likewiſe made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Reading, and more than thirty other places of importance, without the ſmalleſt effuſion of blood. He then proceeded to throw ſuccours into Wallingford, which the King had advanced to beſiege with an army of ſuperior force. Here the two armies lay oppoſite to each other three days in continual expectation of a deciſive action; when the nobility of either party, alarmed at the proſpect of farther bloodſhed, and the confuſion that muſt inevitably reſult from a general engagement, for which ever ſide victory might happen to declare, interpoſed their good offices, and offered terms of accommodation to the rival princes. A negotiation was accordingly commenced; the concluſion of which was greatly facilitated by the death of Euſtace, which occurred on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, in the year 1153. The terms of this treaty were, that Stephen ſhould enjoy the crown during his life; that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered in his name, even in thoſe provinces which had acknowledged the ſovereignty of Henry; and that Henry ſhould, on the demiſe of Stephen, ſucceed to the kingdom; and William, Stephen's ſon, ſhould inherit Boulogne and his patrimonial eſtate.

This convention, which diffuſed inexpreſſible joy over all England, was ſolemnly ratified in a great national council held at Wincheſter, in the month of November this year: and all the prelates and barons of both parties took an oath of fealty, and did homage to Henry as ſucceſſor to the throne, in another council that met at Oxford, on the thirteenth of January. When the ſucceſſion was thus finally ſettled, Henry evacuated the kingdom, and returned to Normandy.

Gervaſe of Canterbury, an ancient hiſtorian, affirms that the ſudden departure of Henry was in conſequence of a diſcovery he had made of a plot formed by William, the ſon of Stephen, to deprive him of his life amidſt the celebration of thoſe rejoicings which took place on the eſtabliſhment of peace; and which, he ſays, would have certainly been put in execution, but for an accident which happened to William, who fell from his horſe as he was riding upon Barham Downs, and broke his thigh. But this aſſertion, being wholly unſupported by the teſtimony of contemporary writers, muſt at leaſt be conſidered as doubtful.

Though the authority of the King, and the tranquillity of the country, had been more firmly eſtabliſhed ſince this pacification than in any other period of his reign, Stephen, whoſe inclination had been compelled to yield to neceſſity, ſoon began to diſplay his intentions of deviating from the expreſs terms of the treaty. It was particularly ſpecified, that all caſtles which had been erected on both ſides ſince the death of Henry the Firſt—which, if we may credit the aſſertions of Matthew Paris, a contemporary hiſtorian, amounted to the aſtoniſhing number of eleven hundred and fifteen—ſhould ſuffer immediate demolition, as moſt of them had been uſed as receptacles for thieves, and had been productive of infinite miſchief to the kingdom. Henry had iſſued ſtrict orders to the barons of his party to obſerve an exact compliance with this part of the treaty; but Stephen had protracted the time ſpecified for it's execution by many frivolous excuſes. This, and many other difficulties inevitably attendant on ſo delicate a ſituation, might probably have

have rekindled the flames of civil war, but for the death of Stephen; who, being ſeized with the iliac paſſion, expired at Dover, on the twenty-fifth of October, in the year 1154, which was the fiftieth of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. His body was interred in the abbey of Feverſham, which he himſelf had founded, by the ſide of his conſort Matilda.

Both the perſonal and mental qualities of this prince were ſuch as muſt inevitably have ſecured him univerſal eſteem, had they been confined to that ſphere of life in which he was deſtined by his birth and connections to move. His mind was diſtinguiſhed by candour and liberality; and, though poſſeſſed of that intrepid courage which borders on ferocity, he was affable and condeſcending. His talents were neither brilliant nor deſpicable; his judgment was rather ſuperficial than profound. He diſcharged all the domeſtic duties of life with a ſcrupuloſity that demonſtrated great goodneſs of heart: as a huſband, he was kind and affectionate; as a parent, tender and indulgent; as a friend, ſincere and liberal, even to profuſion. With theſe virtues, had Stephen ſucceeded to the crown by a lawful title, there can be little doubt that his government would have been productive of happineſs to his ſubjects, and of proſperity to the nation: but his uſurpation of the throne, to the excluſion of the legitimate heir, impelled him to the commiſſion of many acts of violence, which reflect diſgrace on his memory. Authority obtained by injuſtice is commonly preſerved by oppreſſion. On his acceſſion, he had been induced to grant a charter of privileges, which his neceſſities ſoon urged him to infringe. After this violation of a ſolemn oath, it is not ſurprizing that he ſhould have been guilty of many ſubſequent breaches of gratitude. Yet, notwithſtanding his precarious ſituation, he never indulged himſelf in the exerciſe of cruelty or revenge; and, during the ſhort calm which he enjoyed after the treaty with Henry, he made a progreſs through his dominions; publiſhed an edict to reſtrain all rapine and violence; and diſbanded the foreign mercenaries, who had ſo long preyed upon his ſubjects. As thoſe vices which ambition engendered were ſeverely puniſhed by the miſeries which he experienced, in common with his people, during the greateſt part of his reign, though we muſt certainly with-hold every ſentiment of reſpect from the Monarch, we cannot but commiſerate the Man.

It was during the commotions which proved ſo fatal to the tranquillity of this reign, that the Pandects of Juſtinian were imported into England from the court of Rome, by ſome of the attendants of Theobald, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. The ſtudy of the civil law being by this means introduced into the univerſity of Oxford, Roger Vacarius, Prior of Bec, was appointed profeſſor, and read lectures on the Juſtinian code to very numerous audiences both of the clergy and laity. Their introduction, however, experienced conſiderable oppoſition; and we are told by John of Saliſbury, a contemporary hiſtorian, that he had ſeen many people who were ſo averſe to the innovation, that, whenever they found a copy of the Roman law, they either tore it in pieces, or committed it to the flames. Stephen himſelf, moved, according to the conjecture of the learned Selden, by his hatred to the primate, made every poſſible attempt to diſcourage it's progreſs; he even publiſhed an edict, to prevent Vacarius from continuing his lectures, and to prohibit his ſubjects to read the books of the civil law.



Published as the Act directs by Harrison & Co. Nov. 15. 1788.

HENRY THE SECOND.

WHEN the news of Stephen's death was brought to Henry, he was engaged in the ſiege of a caſtle on the frontiers of Normandy; and, being conſcious that no danger of a competition was to be apprehended, he determined not to relinquiſh his enterprize till he had brought it to an iſſue.

The Engliſh, harraſſed with civil wars, and diſguſted with the vaſt effuſion of blood, and thoſe deſtructive depredations which they had experienced during the calamitous period of the laſt reign, were little diſpoſed to violate their oaths by the excluſion of the lawful heir from the ſucceſſion to their monarchy. Many of the moſt conſiderable fortreſſes were in the hands of Henry's adherents. The whole kingdom had witneſſed the noble qualities of his mind, and compared them with the inſignificant endowments of William, the ſon of Stephen: as they were acquainted with the extent of his foreign poſſeſſions, and conceived that they would afford additional ſtrength to the crown of England, they never entertained the leaſt thoughts of reſiſtance.

Six weeks had elapſed before Henry had reduced the caſtle he was beſieging, and had arranged his affairs on the continent. At the expiration of that period, he ſailed from Harfleur in the month of December; and, landing at Hurſt Caſtle, proceeded from thence to Wincheſter, where the Engliſh nobility took the oaths of homage and fealty. Before the concluſion of the month he was crowned at Weſtminſter, with his conſort Eleanor, by Theobald, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, amidſt the joyful acclamations of all orders of men.

The firſt acts of Henry's adminiſtration were equally demonſtrative of his wiſdom and vigour, and fully juſtified the high opinion which his ſubjects had formed of his ſpirit and abilities. All the foreigners who had ſettled in the kingdom during the preceding reign, and had committed the moſt violent depredations on the natives, were ordered by proclamation to leave the kingdom, together with their leader, William D'Ypres, the great friend and confident of the deceaſed monarch. The King iſſued orders for the immediate deſtruction of thoſe caſtles which had been erected during the late commotions, and which had ſerved as receptacles for licenſed depredators, who, iſſuing from theſe fortreſſes, deſolated the neighbouring country. The Earl of Albemarle, Hugh Mortimer, and Roger, the ſon of Milo of Glouceſter, were inclined to make ſome reſiſtance to this neceſſary ſtep; but the timely approach of the King at the head of his army compelled them to ſubmit.

Henry, finding the crown greatly impoveriſhed by the numerous grants of his predeceſſor, obtained a decree of the great national council for the revocation of them, as well as of ſome others which neceſſity had induced his mother Matilda to accord: and the Empreſs, who had relinquiſhed her own rights in favour of her ſon, made not the ſmalleſt oppoſition to a meaſure ſo pregnant with ſalutary conſequences, and ſo eſſential to the ſupport of regal dignity.

In a parliament aſſembled at London, he voluntarily granted a charter of liberties, or rather renewed and confirmed that which had been granted by his grandfather, Henry the Firſt. In a ſecond parliament, held at Wincheſter in the ſucceeding autumn, he gave orders for reſtoring the ſtandard purity of the coin, which had been ſhamefully adulterated during the preceding reign; and took proper meaſures to prevent the return of a ſimilar abuſe. The laws, too, which during the general confuſion and diſorders of the ſtate had ſuffered great relaxation, he raiſed to their proper dignity and vigour. To

give permanency to his regulations, to ſecure the happineſs of his ſubjects, and prevent any future diſputes about the ſucceſſion, he ſummoned another extraordinary council at Wallingford; at which he exacted an oath of allegiance from the barons and prelates to his two ſons, William and Henry, as his eventual ſucceſſors. In ſhort, this youthful monarch accompliſhed more good, and more effectually ſecured the affections of his ſubjects, in the firſt year of his reign, than any other prince had done in the ſame ſpace of time ſince the death of Alfred the Great.

England now enjoying the moſt perfect tranquillity, Henry made a voyage to the continent, in order to oppoſe the attempts of his brother Geoffrey; who, during his abſence, had advanced pretenſions to the territories of Maine and Anjou, and had actually made incurſions into thoſe provinces, and obtained poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of them: but, on the King's approach, he was compelled to forego his claims; and, on making ſubmiſſion, was permitted by Henry to retain a part of his lands, and received an annuity of a thouſand pounds for thoſe which his brother obliged him to relinquiſh.

Having quelled this inſurrection, Henry made a progreſs into Guienne, and the other provinces which he had got by the Queen, for the purpoſe of receiving the homage of the nobility and prelates.

He returned to England in the ſpring of the following year, 1157; and entered into a negotiation with Malcolm the Fourth, King of Scotland, whoſe inability to contend with ſo formidable an adverſary obliged him to relinquiſh the four northern counties which the Scottiſh monarchs had hitherto held in vaſſalage from the Engliſh crown.

The Welſh, during the preceding reign, had made frequent incurſions into England, where they not only committed depredations on the property of the inhabitants, but recovered the poſſeſſion of ſeveral extenſive diſtricts which had been formerly taken from them; and, as the internal commotions of the kingdom prevented any attempts to impede the progreſs of their encroachments, they had proceeded to the eſtabliſhment of their own independence. As they now began to renew their incurſions, Henry was determined to repreſs them, and to make an invaſion upon their own territories. He therefore raiſed a powerful army, and marched to Baſingwerk, in Flintſhire, without experiencing the ſmalleſt oppoſition: but when he had advanced a little farther, as his vanguard was paſſing through a narrow defile, it was ſuddenly attacked by the Welſh; who, pouring down a ſhower of arrows, darts, and ſtones, from the ſurrounding hills, threw his troops into the utmoſt conſternation. Henry de Eſſex, the hereditary ſtandard-bearer of England, being ſeized with a panic, threw down the royal ſtandard, and betook himſelf to flight, exclaiming that the King was ſlain, and the day loſt. This cowardly behaviour might have proved fatal to the whole army, had not the timely appearance of the King, who placed himſelf at the head of his troops, and led them on with great gallantry, prevented a total defeat. Eſſex was afterwards accuſed of high treaſon by Robert de Montfort; who having eſtabliſhed his guilt by vanquiſhing him in ſingle combat, he was compelled to retire to the monaſtery of Reading, and his eſtates were all confiſcated.

Henry, having experienced the danger of a precipitate march through a country defended by thick woods and natural fortreſſes, advanced with greater caution, ſending out reconnoitring parties to cut down the trees, and open a convenient paſſage. By the adoption of theſe prudent meaſures, he continued his march, without farther interruption, as far as Snowden; where Owen Guynoth, the Prince of North Wales, and his barons, finding themſelves unable to oppoſe his progreſs, ſued for peace: which they obtained by a reſignation of all their acquiſitions, and by taking the oath of fealty to the King of England, and doing homage to him for what he ſuffered them to retain.

About this time, Geoffrey of Anjou, Henry's brother, died, ſoon after he had acquired poſſeſſion of Nantz, in Britanny; the inhabitants of which, having revolted from their lawful ſovereign, had invited him to aſſume the government of their diſtrict. Henry, as heir to his brother, laid claim to the territory, and repaired to the continent to ſupport his pretenſions by force of arms. Conan, Duke of Britanny, who claimed Nantz as belonging to his dukedom, from which it had been lately ſeparated by rebellion, had, immediately after the death of Geoffrey, taken poſſeſſion of it. Henry's firſt care, on his arrival in Normandy, was to ſecure the friendſhip of Lewis, the French monarch, whoſe interpoſition in the controverſy he had reaſon to apprehend: he therefore paid him a viſit, in which it was ſettled that Prince Henry, the King's eldeſt ſon, and heir to his crown, ſhould be affianced to the Princeſs Margaret, daughter of Lewis, by his ſecond wife, Conſtantia of Caſtile; though the former was only five years of age, and the latter ſtill in her cradle. This alliance procured Henry an invitation to Paris, where he was entertained with the utmoſt magnificence for ſeveral days; and ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the French King, that he granted him a commiſſion, as Count of Anjou and Seneſchal of France, to decide the important controverſy which had ſubſiſted for ſome time between Eudo, Count of Ponliévre, and Conan, Duke of Britanny, about the right of that dukedom.

Conan was no ſooner informed of the power with which Henry was entruſted, than he waited upon him, and made a voluntary reſignation of Nantz, to purchaſe a favourable ſentence, which he did not fail to obtain. Nor was this the only advantage which the King received from this unexpected incident. The Duke of Britanny, harraſſed with the turbulent diſpoſition of his ſubjects, and deſirous of ſecuring to himſelf the protection of ſo powerful a monarch, betrothed his daughter and only child, who was yet an infant, to Geoffrey, the King's third ſon, alſo a child. Conan died about ſeven years after this tranſaction; and Henry being meſne lord, and alſo natural guardian to his ſon and daughter-in-law, took poſſeſſion of that principality, and for the

the preſent annexed it to his other extenſive dominions.

The King, not yet ſatisfied with the acceſſion of power which he had juſt obtained by the acquiſition of Nantz, now determined to revive the pretenſions of the Queen to the county of Thouloufe. Theſe were founded on the right of her grandmother Philippa, Dutcheſs of Guienne, who was the only iſſue of William the Fourth, Count of Thouloufe; and who muſt have inherited his dominions, had not that prince, from an anxiety to preſerve the ſucceſſion in the male-line, conveyed the principality to his brother, Raymond De St. Gilles, whoſe grandſon of the ſame name was now Count of Thouloufe. But when Lewis the Seventh married Eleanor, he maintained that the conveyance was a mere colluſion between the two brothers to defraud the lawful heir; and that the conſent of William the Ninth, Count of Poitiers, the huſband of Philippa, which had been obtained by a ſum of money, was wholly inſufficient to render it valid: he therefore alledged, that the whole tranſaction was illegal, and conſequently null; and that his conſort Eleanor was entitled to the inheritance of her grandmother Philippa, on reimburſing the ſum which had been paid to the Count of Poitiers for the confirmation of the fictitious conveyance.

Raymond, who was then in poſſeſſion of the county, had in vain pleaded preſcription; the French monarch was ſufficiently powerful to enforce his pretenſions, and threatened to invade the territories of the Count: but a negotiation was entered into; which terminating in the marriage of Raymond with Conſtance, the ſiſter of Lewis, and widow of Euſtace, the ſon of Stephen, induced the King to deſiſt from his claims. Theſe pretenſions, however, Henry, by his marriage with Eleanor, thought himſelf authorized to renew; but, finding that Raymond was determined to oppoſe them, and had engaged the French King to ſupport him, he proceeded to make ſuch formidable preparations as he thought the oppoſition he was likely to experience rendered neceſſary.

An army compoſed of feudal vaſſals was generally intractable, being little accuſtomed to diſcipline and ſubordination. This proceeded from the independent ſpirit of the perſons who ſerved in it, and from the command not being conferred, either by the ſovereign's choice, or from the ſkill and experience of the officers. Each baron conducted his own vaſſals; and the rank which he bore in the army was regulated by the extent of his property. Even the ſupreme command under the prince was frequently attached to birth; and as the military vaſſals were obliged to ſerve only forty days, though their expeditions, if diſtant, were attended with great expence, the prince derived but little advantage from their attendance.

Henry, ſenſible of theſe inconveniences, levied upon his vaſſals in Normandy, and other provinces which were remote from Thouloufe, a ſum of money, in lieu of their perſonal ſervices; and this commutation, by reaſon of the great diſtance, was ſtill more advantageous to his Engliſh vaſſals. He therefore repaired to England, at the commencement of the year 1159; and convened a great council of his prelates, barons, and military tenants, who chearfully conſented to pay the ſtipulated ſum, rather than ſerve in perſon in an expedition ſo remote from home.

We are told by Gervaſe, a contemporary author, that the ſum exacted by Henry, and agreed to by the council, was three pounds for every knight's fee; which would have amounted to the enormous ſum of one hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, equal in weight of ſilver to five hundred and forty thouſand pounds, and in efficacy to more than two millions ſeven hundred thouſand pounds of our preſent money. This ſcarcely appears credible, as ſuch an impoſt would amount to conſiderably more than half the rent of all the land in the kingdom ſubject to the payment. The Norman Chronicle ſays, that Henry raiſed only ſixty Angevin ſhillings on each knight's fee in his foreign dominions; and it is not probable that he ſhould have made a diſtinction ſo much to the detriment of his Engliſh ſubjects. We are therefore inclined to believe that the account of Gervaſe is groſsly exaggerated.

Whatever the ſum might be, it enabled the King to raiſe an army of foreign mercenaries, with which he reſolved to invade the earldom of Thouloufe. He accordingly repaired to the continent, in the ſummer of the year 1159; and being aſſiſted by Berenger, Count of Barcelona, and Trincaval, Count of Niſmes, whom he had gained to his party, made an incurſion into Quercy, and took the city of Cahors. He then directed his march towards Thouloufe; and having taken Verdun, Caſtlenau, and many other places of importance, prepared to inveſt the capital: but the French monarch advancing before the arrival of the main body, threw himſelf into the town with a ſmall reinforcement of troops. Henry was adviſed by his miniſters, and particularly by the celebrated Thomas à Becket, who is deſtined to cut ſo conſpicuous a figure in the hiſtory of this reign, and who was then Chancellor of England, to proſecute the ſiege with redoubled vigour; that, by making Lewis priſoner before the approach of his army, he might be enabled to impoſe his own terms in the pacification. But the ſtrict attention which intereſt prompted him to afford to the principles of feudal government, to which he was indebted for the ſecurity of his own extenſive poſſeſſions, compelled him to reject advice ſo replete with political prudence, and to declare, in the moſt poſitive terms, that no conſideration ſhould induce him to attack a place that was defended by his ſuperior lord in perſon. Purſuant to this declaration, he deſiſted from beſieging the capital, and marched into Normandy, to protect that province from the incurſions of Robert, Count of Dreux; who, at the inſtigation of his brother Lewis, the French monarch, had advanced to invade it, in order to divert the attention of Henry from his deſigns upon the city of Thouloufe.

The King now proſecuted the war with equal vigour and ſucceſs. Having entered the Beauvoiſis, he took and demoliſhed the ſtrong fortreſs of Gerberoy,

beroy, and reduced ſeveral towns and villages to aſhes. He obtained poſſeſſion of all the caſtles of Simon de Montfort, Count of Evreux, and ſupplied them with numerous garriſons, which extended their ravages to the vicinity of the metropolis; and, by laying waſte the intermediate country, cut off the communication of Paris with Orleans and Etampes; ſo that Lewis was obliged to propoſe a ceſſation of arms, that was ſoon followed by a peace, which ſecured to Henry the poſſeſſion of all thoſe places which he had taken in the earldom of Thouloufe. Before the concluſion of this treaty, ſome miſunderſtanding aroſe between the two rival monarchs that retarded the ratification of it till the month of October, in the year 1160; when Prince Henry did homage to the King of France for the dutchy of Normandy.

A circumſtance ſoon occurred to diſturb the tranquillity which this accommodation was intended to eſtabliſh. It had been ſtipulated in the marriage contract between Prince Henry and Margaret of France, that the towns of Giſors, Neufle, and Neufchatel, which were conſigned to the cuſtody of the Knights-Templars as the dowry of that princeſs, ſhould be delivered into the hands of the King of England immediately after the celebration of the nuptials. Henry, fearing that the French monarch, who within twelve days after the death of his ſecond queen had eſpouſed a princeſs of the Houſe of Blois, might change his mind, and being eager to obtain poſſeſſion of the dowry of his daughter-in-law, prevailed on the Pope's legate to celebrate the marriage, though the prince was only ſix years of age, and the princeſs but five. As ſoon as the ceremony was performed, the Knights-Templars, in compliance with the ſtipulations of the treaty, delivered up the three towns to Henry; which ſo incenſed Lewis, that he baniſhed them his kingdom, and commenced hoſtilities againſt the King.

No event of any importance occurred during the operations of this war, which was ſpeedily terminated: for, after the two Kings had been ſome time in ſight of each other, without diſcovering the ſmalleſt inclination to decide their quarrel by a general engagement, the reſtoration of tranquillity was effected by the interpoſition of mutual friends, who perſuaded them to renew the terms of the late treaty; which were accordingly confirmed, about Midſummer, in the year 1161.

The eſtabliſhment of peace afforded the Kings of France and England an opportunity of attending to the affairs of the church; and particularly to the violent conteſt for the papacy, that had taken place after the death of Adrian the Fourth, which happened on the firſt of September, in the year 1159. The cardinals, being divided in their choice, had nominated two different perſons to the papal dignity: Octavian, who aſſumed the appellation of Victor the Fourth, was choſen by one party; while the other gave their voices in favour of Roland, who took the name of Alexander the Third.

Henry and Lewis, after much deliberation, agreed to acknowledge the latter, who had lately eſtabliſhed his reſidence at Clermont, in Auvergne. This pontiff had an interview with the two Kings in the autumn of the year 1162, at the caſtle of Torcy, on the Loire; and they treated him with ſuch marks of humiliating reſpect, that both diſmounted to receive him; and, each of them holding one of the reins of his bridle, walked by his ſide, and in that ſubmiſſive manner conducted him into the fortreſs—"A ſight," exclaims Baronius, in an ecſtacy, "worthy the attention of gods, angels, and men! "and ſuch a one as the world had never before ex-"perienced!" It is difficult to decide which, in this inſtance, was moſt deſerving of cenſure; the affected humility of the princes, or the oſtentatious pride of the prieſt!

The reign of Henry had hitherto been totally exempt from moleſtation, and undiſturbed by domeſtic commotions: but an enterprize which he undertook about this period involved him in difficulties and danger; was productive of great anxiety to the kingdom; and, though conducted with infinite ſagacity, was not wholly unattended with diſgrace to himſelf. The occurrences we are about to relate more immediately appertain, indeed, to the Hiſtory of the Church; but they are ſo intimately connected with the civil and military tranſactions of this important reign, that it would be highly improper to paſs them unnoticed.

The inſidious attempts of the court of Rome to eſtabliſh the independency of the church, and to ſeparate the eccleſiaſtical from the civil power, had at firſt been made with that prudent caution which generally attends the commencement of an enterprize founded in flagrant injuſtice: but theſe dangerous encroachments now began to advance with ſuch rapidity, that open war was declared in England between the crown and the mitre; and it became abſolutely neceſſary to decide the violent conteſt for the ſovereign authority, which the Primate openly diſputed with the King. The mind of Henry was not framed for ſubmiſſion: with a juſt ſenſe of the extent of his power, he ſcorned to be governed by thoſe whom he was born to rule; and every action of his life evinced a wiſe determination to maintain thoſe legal prerogatives that had been tranſmitted to him by his predeceſſors.

During the ſchiſm of the papacy between the rival pontiffs, Alexander and Victor, he had reſolved for ſome time to obſerve a perfect neutrality; and when he received intelligence that the Archbiſhop of Rouen, and the Biſhop of Mans, had taken upon them to acknowledge the ſuperiority of Alexander's pretenſions to the papal dignity, he was ſo enraged at their preſumption, that, although he ſpared the Archbiſhop on account of his age, he gave immediate orders for the demolition of the houſes of the Biſhop of Mans and Archdeacon of Rouen. This, indeed, appears a violent exertion of deſpotic power; but, in thoſe days, it was ſo far from being extraordinary, that it was ſanctioned by frequent examples. We are told by Fitz-Stephens, that Henry's own father, Geoffrey of Anjou, when he was in poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Normandy, ordered the puniſhment of caſtration to be inflicted on the whole chapter of Seez, for having dared to proceed to the election

election of a Biſhop without his conſent. In England, the mild and peaceable character of Theobald, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, added to the conſideration of his loyalty in refuſing to crown Euſtace, the ſon of Stephen, prevented Henry, at the commencement of his reign, from adopting any forcible meaſures for the repreſſion of clerical uſurpations: but, after the death of that Primate, which happened on the eighteenth of April, in the year 1161, he determined to exert his authority, in order to impede the rapid progreſs of thoſe encroachments which, if they were ſuffered to advance without moleſtation, it might ſoon be impoſſible to reſtrain. For this purpoſe he reſolved to raiſe Thomas à Becket to the primacy; who, being ſolely indebted for his elevation to the favour of his ſovereign, might juſtly be ſuppoſed to coincide with his views, and promote the ſucceſs of his ſchemes.

Thomas à Becket was the ſon of a citizen of London, at which place he was born in the year 1119. Being of an active diſpoſition, and poſſeſſed of ſome talents, he attracted the notice of Archbiſhop Theobald; and, having found the means of inſinuating himſelf into the good graces of that Prelate, obtained from him ſome offices and preferments, the profits of which enabled him, after the completion of his ſtudies at Oxford, to travel for improvement in France and Italy. He reſided ſome time at the univerſity of Paris; from whence he repaired to Bologna, where he applied himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of the civil and canon law: and, on his return to his native country, the proficiency he had made in thoſe branches of learning induced his patron to promote him to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, an office of great truſt and emolument. Being peculiarly qualified for the tranſaction of buſineſs in the court of Rome, he was employed in ſeveral negotiations of great intricacy, which he conducted with ſuch ſkill and addreſs as endeared him ſtill more to Theobald; who, on the acceſſion of Henry the Second, recommended him to that monarch as a perſon worthy of farther preferment. In conſequence of this recommendation, and of the King's knowledge of his ſpirit and ability, he was appointed Chancellor of England, in the year 1158.

The office of Chancellor was, in that age, one of the firſt civil offices in the kingdom: the privileges annexed to it were extenſive; the emoluments that accrued from it immenſe. The Chancellor, beſides the cuſtody of the great ſeal, had poſſeſſion of all vacant prelacies and abbies: he was the guardian of all ſuch minors and pupils as were the King's tenants; all baronies, which devolved to the crown by eſcheat, were entruſted to his adminiſtration; he was entitled to a ſeat in council, even though not particularly ſummoned; and, as he alſo exerciſed the office of ſecretary of ſtate, and counterſigned all commiſſions, writs, and letters-patent, he might be conſidered as a kind of prime-miniſter, without whoſe knowledge or concurrence no buſineſs of importance could be diſpatched.

Beſides the enjoyment of this important poſt, Becket was allowed to retain a conſiderable number of eccleſiaſtical preferments. He was made Provoſt of Beverley, and Dean of Haſtings: he was alſo created Conſtable of the Tower, and put in poſſeſſion of the honours of Eye and Berkham, extenſive baronies, comprehending together three hundred knights fees, which had eſcheated to the crown. To compleat the grandeur of this aſpiring ſubject, the education of Prince Henry, the King's eldeſt ſon, and heir to the throne, was entruſted to his care.

The revenues ariſing from theſe numerous preferments were incredibly great; yet were they far from being adequate to his expences. Every article of luxury that could gratify the palate of an epicure was to be found at his table, which was open to perſons of all ranks: his houſes, or rather palaces, were adorned with a profuſion of furniture the moſt coſtly and ſumptuous; his apartments glittered with gold; the magnificence of his equipage exceeded belief; the very bridles of his horſes were compoſed of ſilver; and the munificence of his preſents, and the pomp of his retinue, correſponded to the œconomy of his houſhold. He employed two and fifty clerks to keep the accounts of vacant prelacies, and of his own eccleſiaſtical preferments; and his favour and protection were continually courted by conſiderable gifts either of money or plate. Fitz-Stephens, who was his ſecretary, mentions, among other particulars, that his apartments throughout the winter were daily covered with clean ſtraw or hay, and in ſummer with green buſhes or boughs, that the gentlemen who attended his table might not ſoil their elegant cloaths by ſitting on a dirty floor, where, on account of their numbers, many of them were obliged to dine.

Becket retained a prodigious number of knights in his ſervice; and noblemen of the firſt rank ſent their ſons to be educated as pages in his family. The King, pleaſed with the ſplendour he diſplayed, and fond of his converſation, often viſited his table; and frequently partook of his amuſements, which chiefly conſiſted of hawking, hunting, gaming, and horſemanſhip. This extraordinary man was likewiſe ſo expert in military exerciſes, that, while he ſerved in Normandy, he unhorſed a French cavalier of approved proweſs, and bore off his courſer in triumph. When he croſſed the channel, he was conſtantly attended by five veſſels; and when Henry undertook the expedition to Thouloufe, Becket attended him with ſeven hundred knights, whom he maintained at his own charge. In the ſubſequent wars on the frontiers of Normandy, he ſupported, during forty days, twelve hundred knights and four thouſand of their train; and, when he was ſent on an embaſſy to Paris to negotiate the marriage of the Princeſs Margaret, he aſtoniſhed the French court by the number and magnificence of his retinue, which conſiſted of more than a thouſand perſons.

Henry was in Normandy when he received the news of Theobald's death; and he immediately determined upon beſtowing the vacant primacy on his Chancellor, who was well acquainted with his maſter's intentions to repreſs the dangerous uſurpations of the clergy, and had ever evinced a ready

diſpoſition to enforce their execution. But Henry's mother, the Empreſs Matilda, endeavoured to diſſuade her ſon from the adoption of a meaſure which, in her apprehenſion, would be productive of infinite miſchief; and, her entreaties being ſtrenuouſly ſeconded by the clergy and prelates of England, retarded the promotion of Becket for more than a year. The King's partiality to his favourite, however, at length overcame every obſtacle; and the Chancellor was elected Archbiſhop, at Weſtminſter, on the third of June 1162, and was conſecrated at Canterbury three days after.

The unhappy conſequences which ſucceeded this promotion plainly demonſtrate, that either Henry was under the influence of infatuation the moſt extraordinary, or that Becket had conſtantly exerted hypocriſy the moſt conſummate.

Becket was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of this elevated ſtation than his whole deportment and manner of life underwent a change as ſudden as compleat: he immediately quitted the luxurious gaiety of a courtier for the auſtere ſolemnity of a monk, determined to acquire that character of ſanctity to which his paſt life could afford him ſuch ſlender pretenſions. The firſt conſequence of this reſolution, which was calculated to conceal the inſidious projects of ambition beneath the proſtituted maſk of piety, was the reſignation of his office. He ſent the ſeals to the King, who had not yet returned from his continental dominions, under the ſpecious pretence of appropriating his whole time to the diſcharge of his ſpiritual duties; but, in reality, with the view to eſtabliſh his independence, by breaking off all immediate connections with his ſovereign. That pomp and magnificence which had hitherto diſtinguiſhed him, were now laid aſide as foreign to his purpoſe, or were only to be ſeen in his retinue and attendants, which he retained in their ancient ſplendour, as being well adapted to ſtrike the minds of the vulgar with awe. With the ſame view he practiſed all the ſeverities of church-diſcipline, and ſubjected himſelf to the moſt rigid mortification. He wore ſack-cloth next his ſkin; and, by a ſtudied affectation to conceal it, was careful to render it an object of remark to the whole world: he changed his garment ſo ſeldom, that it was filled with dirt and vermin. His uſual diet was bread, and his drink water, which he made unpalatable by the infuſion of unſavoury herbs. His back was torn with ſtripes, which he inflicted on himſelf. He daily waſhed on his knees, in imitation of our Saviour, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards diſmiſſed with preſents. By his munificence to the convents and hoſpitals, he ſought to gain the affection of the monks; and, that his humility and devotion might become the ſubject of public commendation, he received all ſuch as made the ſmalleſt profeſſions of ſanctity, endeavouring by his converſation to impreſs their minds with a due ſenſe of his own merits. His time ſeemed to be ſolely devoted to purpoſes of religion, to the recital of prayers and pious exhortations, or the peruſal of religious diſcourſes. His aſpect wore the appearance of deep reflection and ſecret devotion. In ſhort, his whole conduct convinced every man of penetration that he was meditating ſome deep deſign; and that his ambition, diverted from it's primitive courſe, had taken a more dangerous direction.

When Henry returned to England, Becket waited on him at Southampton, where he experienced a reception that convinced him of his ſovereign's diſpleaſure. Inſtead of that cordiality and friendſhip to which he had been accuſtomed, he was received with the moſt diſtant civility; and, to afford him a ſtill plainer proof of his diſſatisfaction, the King ordered him to reſign the Archdeaconry of Canterbury: a command which Becket was obliged to obey, though with infinite reluctance. The Primate, however, was more ſtudious to confirm than avert the reſentment of his royal benefactor; and his preſumption ſoon increaſed to an inſupportable degree.

In the month of April, in the year 1163, he attended a general council of the clergy, which had been convened at Tours for the purpoſe of enforcing the pretenſions of Alexander the Third, the validity of whoſe claims to the papacy had been lately acknowledged by the Kings of England and France. He there met with a reception from the Pope and Cardinals very different to that which he had experienced from Henry. Conſcious that vanity and the love of admiration were the predominating paſſions of his mind, thoſe ſagacious prieſts paid him every poſſible mark of reſpect and attention; and it is highly probable, that at this interview Becket was encouraged by the ſovereign Pontiff to perſiſt in his deſigns of ſtanding forth as the champion of the clergy, to protect their rights, and extend their immunities: at leaſt, it is certain that, immediately after his return from the Council of Tours, he proceeded to the open proſecution of his ſcheme, and evinced a determination to provoke his ſovereign by the moſt flagrant violations of reſpect and contempt of his authority. He knew that Henry had formed projects for confining the eccleſiaſtical power within due bounds; and, had he waited till an attempt had been made to put them in execution, he might have had a plauſible pretence for the commencement of hoſtile meaſures: but, reſolved to evince his independence, he made himſelf the aggreſſor, and endeavoured to intimidate the King by the boldneſs and intrepidity of his enterprizes. He firſt deſired Henry to give up the caſtle of Rocheſter, and the manors of Saltwode and Hethe, as appertaining to the ſee of Canterbury. He likewiſe laid claim to an eſtate in Kent that was in the poſſeſſion of William de Ros, which Stephen had granted to the church, but which the King had reſumed at his acceſſion among the other alienations. He ſummoned Roger, Earl of Clare, to ſurrender the barony of Tunbridge, which had been granted by William the Firſt to his great grandfather, Richard Fitz-Gilbert, in exchange for an equal extent of land in Normandy: but as, prior to that period, it had belonged to the ſee of Canterbury, Becket pretended that his predeceſſors were by the canons expreſsly prohibited to alienate it. The Earl of Clare, beſides the conſequence which he derived from the

ſplendour

ſplendour of his own birth, and the extent of his poſſeſſions, was allied to the firſt families in the kingdom. His ſiſter, who was celebrated for her perſonal charms, had farther extended his credit among the nobility; and was even ſuppoſed, if Fitz-Stephens may be credited, to have made an impreſſion on the heart of the King: ſo that Becket could not better diſcover his intentions of vigorouſly aſſerting the rights and defending the encroachments of the clergy, than by making this daring attack. He next beſtowed the church of Eynsford, in Kent, upon Laurence, one of his dependants; maintaining, that it was the prerogative of the Archbiſhop to appoint ſucceſſors to all vacant churches in the manors of his military tenants, as well as in thoſe which belonged to the monks of Canterbury: and William de Eynsford, Lord of the manor, who was patron of the living, having violently expelled Laurence, Becket immediately pronounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt him; although a law, which was paſſed in the reign of William the Firſt, and had ever ſince been ſtrictly adhered to, expreſsly declared that no military tenant, who held *in capite* of the crown, ſhould be ſubjected to that terrible puniſhment without the knowledge and previous concurrence of his ſovereign.

Henry, who had now broken off all perſonal intercourſe with the Primate, ſent him a letter, containing peremptory orders for the abſolution of Eynsford, but Becket returned an arrogant anſwer, importing, that it did not belong to the King to point out to him the objects either of abſolution or of excommunication. After ſome altercation, however, he thought it prudent to comply with the King's commands, rather than incur the penalties of a law, the breach of which amounted to high-treaſon.

Though Henry found himſelf thus grievouſly miſtaken in the character of the perſon whom he had promoted to the primacy, he ſtill determined to perſiſt in his deſigns of repreſſing the uſurpations of the clergy. His authority was firmly eſtabliſhed throughout the whole of his extenſive dominions; and the prudence and vigour of his government had enſured him the reſpect of his ſubjects, and excited the fear of his enemies. The power of the court of Rome was likewiſe conſiderably diminiſhed by the conteſt between the rival Popes: urged, therefore, by theſe powerful inducements, he reſolved to embrace the preſent opportunity to aſſert the rights of the crown; wiſely judging, that if he ſuffered it to eſcape, the prevalence of ſuperſtition might render it irretrievable.

Nothing could be more diametrically oppoſite than the ſentiments and projects of the King and the Primate, in reſpect to the immunities and independence to which the clergy began to lay claim. The former, whoſe ſpirit was equal to his power, determined to be the ſovereign, as well of his eccleſiaſtical as of his lay-ſubjects; to compel an equal attention to the laws of the realm; and to inflict, without favour or diſtinction, the penalty annexed to every violation of them: while the clergy maintained that they were wholly exempted from all civil juriſdiction; ſubject only to the laws of the church; liable, when accuſed, to be tried but in the ſpiritual courts; and, when convicted, to be puniſhed but by eccleſiaſtical cenſures. By thus renouncing all immediate ſubordination to the civil magiſtrate, they ſought to eſtabliſh an independence that muſt have proved wholly deſtructive of every principle of regular government.

Tempted by theſe extravagant immunities, great numbers of people, many of them of the lower claſs, had in the preceding reign applied to be admitted into holy orders; and, by the criminal indulgence of their Biſhops, their applications had met with ſucceſs. By this means the clergy had conſiderably increaſed; and, their reſpectability being deſtroyed by indiſcriminate admiſſion, they paid little regard to the preſervation of their characters. Crimes of the deepeſt dye, aſſaſſinations, robberies, adulteries, and rapes, were daily committed by them with impunity. Though pluralities were expreſsly condemned by the canons, a clergyman was frequently allowed to poſſeſs ſix or ſeven churches and prebends, beſtowed on him by prelates who ſhould have been the firſt to enforce a rigid obſervance of the laws.

The infliction of penance, as a neceſſary atonement for ſin, afforded the clergy an opportunity of again introducing the diſgraceful practice of receiving a ſum of money as a commutation for the remiſſion of thoſe penances, by which means the ſins of the people had become a ſource of emolument to the prieſts; and, according to Fitz-Stephens, it was computed that, by this pernicious invention, the clergy levied more money than was paid by funds and impoſts into the Royal Exchequer. In order to relieve his ſubjects from a tax ſo enormous and arbitrary, the King required that a civil officer, appointed by himſelf, ſhould be preſent in all eccleſiaſtical courts; and that his conſent ſhould in future be obtained before any compoſition with ſinners for their ſpiritual offences ſhould take place. Henry had complained of theſe diſorders to the Biſhops, previous to the death of Theobald; but his remonſtrances were little attended to: for the maxims of independence had been adopted; and to have liſtened to any complaint from the crown, however juſt, would have been a deviation from thoſe principles on which they were founded.

An exemption from puniſhment cannot fail to promote an augmentation of crimes. Thus were the moſt flagrant enormities continually committed in England at this period, when the miniſters of religion rather tended to encourage than repreſs them. It had been found, on enquiry, that, ſince the King's acceſſion to the throne, no leſs than a hundred murders had been perpetrated by eccleſiaſtical ruffians; who, ſcreened from the penalties of the law, were ſuffered to paſs unpuniſhed. A clerk having debauched the daughter of a gentleman in Worceſterſhire, proceeded to murder the father. A crime of ſuch magnitude exciting univerſal indignation, the King was induced to attempt the remedy of an abuſe that had now become intolerable; and accordingly inſiſted that the criminal ſhould be delivered

livered to the civil magiſtrate, that he might receive the puniſhment annexed by law to his offence: but Becket refuſed to yield him up, and even ſent him to the Biſhop's priſon, to ſcreen him from the purſuit of the King's officers; maintaining, at the ſame time, that no greater puniſhment than degradation could be inflicted on him.

Another prieſt, who had committed ſacrilege by ſtealing a ſilver chalice from a church in London, was alſo demanded by the King, and refuſed in a ſimilar manner by the Primate.

When matters were arrived at this alarming height, the friends of Henry obſerved to him, that he muſt either put an immediate ſtop to the encroachments of the clergy, or ſubmit to reſign the ſovereign authority into their hands. This afforded him a plauſible pretence for bringing the queſtion to a ſpeedy iſſue: he therefore ſummoned a council of the nobility and clergy to aſſemble at Weſtminſter; where he addreſſed them in an excellent ſpeech, in which he enumerated the many diſorders that had ariſen from the groſs corruption and venality of the ſpiritual courts; and expatiated largely on the conſequent increaſe of crimes of the moſt dangerous tendency, equally deſtructive of public peace and perſonal ſafety. He concluded with a requiſition, that the Prelates ſhould conſent that, after a clerk ſhould have ſuffered degradation for any crime, he might be immediately delivered to the civil officers of juſtice, that he might receive the puniſhment appointed by the laws of the land. Becket, fearing that his brethren would comply with ſo reaſonable a demand, earneſtly entreated that they might be permitted to hold a private conference together before they returned an anſwer. This being granted, the Prelates retired to deliberate on the propoſal of their ſovereign; which appeared ſo unexceptionable to all but Becket; ſo truly conſiſtent with every principle of Reaſon, as well as with the doctrine of Scripture, that they unanimouſly expreſſed their determination to comply with it. But the imperious Primate oppoſed to Reaſon and Juſtice papal decrees and eccleſiaſtical canons: he affirmed, that it was iniquitous to try a man twice upon the ſame accuſation, and for the ſame offence; that they were expreſsly forbidden to interfere in ſentences of blood; and that he, therefore, would never conſent to expoſe any eccleſiaſtical criminal to the infliction of a capital puniſhment. By this obſtinacy of Becket, the Biſhops were induced to alter their opinions, and reject the propoſal of Henry; who then put to them this laconic but comprehenſive queſtion, Whether or not they were willing to ſubmit to the ancient laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom? The Archbiſhop replied for his brethren, that they would pay them a ſtrict obedience in all points that did not interfere with the rights of their order. The King, juſtly diſſatisfied with this evaſive anſwer, inſiſted that they ſhould engage, without qualification or reſerve, to obey the laws of the realm. This they peremptorily refuſed; and Henry departed from the council with viſible marks of diſpleaſure. He required the Primate inſtantly to ſurrender the honours and caſtles of Eye and Berkham, which, though he had reſigned the office of Chancellor, he had thought proper to retain. The Biſhops, who were terrified, and expected ſtill farther effects of his reſentment, beſought Becket to appeaſe him by ſubmiſſion; but the Primate reſiſted all their importunities, till he was aſſailed by Robert de Melun, his own almoner, and Philip, the Pope's legate, who exhorted him ſo ſtrenuouſly to the adoption of pacific meaſures, that he began to relent; and, at length, was prevailed upon to repair to Oxford, where the King was, and promiſe obedience to the laws of the kingdom, without reſerve or prevarication.

But even this general and abſolute promiſe of obſerving the ancient laws and cuſtoms was not ſufficient to content the mind of Henry: he determined, ere it was too late, to proceed to an expreſs definition of thoſe cuſtoms with which he required compliance; and to impede the progreſs of clerical encroachments, before the plea of antiquity could be offered in ſupport of them. The claims of the church were aſcertained with a degree of preciſion that could not admit of miſtake. After a gradual and imperceptible advancement during ſeveral centuries, the maſk of Humility had been at laſt removed; and many eccleſiaſtical councils, by their canons, which were irrevocable, and which even pretended to infallibility, had poſitively defined thoſe privileges and immunities, which created ſuch univerſal diſguſt, and appeared ſo pregnant with danger to the civil magiſtrate. Henry, therefore, judged it prudent to define, with a ſimilar preciſion, the limits of the civil power; to oppoſe his legal cuſtoms to their divine ordinances; and to determine the exact boundaries of the rival juriſdictions. For this purpoſe he ſummoned a general council of the nobility and prelates, on the feſtival of St. Hilary, in the year 1164, at Clarendon, to whom the deciſion of this great and important queſtion was ſubmitted. But, in the interim, Becket had altered his reſolution, and retracted the promiſe which he made to the King at Oxford: and, when the council was aſſembled, he abſolutely refuſed to comply with the requiſitions of Henry, notwithſtanding the repeated entreaties and remonſtrances of the principal nobility, who endeavoured to intimidate him into ſubmiſſion by inſpiring him with apprehenſions for his perſonal ſafety; repreſenting to him, that his royal maſter was endued with a lofty ſpirit that was impatient of controul, and unable to brook the repetition of inſult. This gave riſe to the moſt violent debates between the Biſhops and Barons, which laſted three days; when the Primate was ſoftened into compliance by the tears and ſupplications of Richard of Haſtings, and Hoſteus of Bologna, two Knights-Templars, for whom he entertained a particular eſteem. He then appeared before the council; and, together with all the other Prelates of the kingdom, entered into a ſolemn engagement, ratified by an oath, *legally, with good faith, and without fraud or reſerve*, to pay obedience to all the regal laws and cuſtoms that had been eſtabliſhed in England during the reign of his ſovereign's grandfather, Henry the Firſt; and, as theſe cuſtoms had never been

been committed to writing, a committee was appointed to draw them up in ſixteen articles; which, being unanimouſly approved, were enacted into laws, under the denomination of *The Conſtitutions of Clarendon*. Three copies of them were immediately tranſcribed; one of which was delivered to the Primate, another to the Archbiſhop of York, and a third was depoſited among the records of the kingdom.

By theſe laws it was enacted, that all ſuits concerning the preſentation and advowſon of eccleſiaſtical benefices ſhould be determined in the civil courts: that the churches appertaining to the King's ſee ſhould not be alienated without his conſent: that the King's Court ſhould take cognizance of crimes committed by perſons in holy orders, without encroaching upon the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; but a clerk, convicted by trial or confeſſion, ſhould forfeit this privilege and the protection of the church: that no prelate nor clergyman ſhould depart the kingdom without the King's licence, nor obtain that licence until he had given ſecurity that he would abſtain from any attempt againſt his ſovereign or country: that excommunicated perſons ſhould not be compelled to make oath, or give ſecurity, for remaining in their preſent place of abode: that no laic ſhould be accuſed in an eccleſiaſtical court, except by legal and reſpectable promoters and witneſſes, in preſence of the Biſhops; that no chief tenant of the crown ſhould be excommunicated, or have his lands laid under an interdict, without the previous concurrence of the King; or, in his abſence, of the Juſticiary, whoſe immediate province it was to take cognizance of the crime if it belonged to the King's Court, and to remit it to the Spiritual Court if it came within the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction: that all appeals in ſpiritual cauſes ſhould be made from the Archdeacon to the Biſhop, from the Biſhop to the Primate, from him to the King, to be determined by his precept in the Archbiſhop's Court; and ſhould be carried no farther without the King's conſent: that all diſputes which might ariſe between laymen and eccleſiaſtics, relative to tenures, ſhould be tried before the King's Juſticiary, by the verdict of twelve reſpectable men; and if the tenure ſhould be found to be an eccleſiaſtical fee, the ſuit ſhould be referred to the Spiritual Court; but if a lay fee, it ſhould be determined in the King's courts, unleſs both parties held of the ſame lord, whether ſpiritual or temporal, in which caſe the ſuit ſhould be tried in his court; but the perſon ſeiſed of the diſputed tenement ſhould not, on account of ſuch verdict, be diſſeiſed, until the final determination of the ſuit: that no tenant of the King's demeſnes ſhould be excommunicated for non-appearance in a ſpiritual court, till the chief officer of the place in which he reſides be conſulted, that he might compel him, by the civil authority, to give ſatisfaction to the church: that all Archbiſhops, Prelates, and other ſpiritual dignitaries, whoſe dignities and benefices were held of the King *in capite*, ſhould be regarded as barons of the realm; ſhould poſſeſs the privileges, and be ſubject to the burdens, annexed to that rank; ſhould appear before the King's juſtices and miniſters to anſwer the duties of their tenure; obſerve and perform all the royal cuſtoms, rights, and ſervices; and, like other barons, ſit as judges in the King's Court, until ſentence of death or loſs of member be awarded againſt the criminal, when they ſhould be at liberty to retire: that the King ſhould be entitled to the poſſeſſion of all vacant ſees, abbies, and priories, of royal patronage and foundation; and that, in appointing ſucceſſors to ſuch vacancies, the chapter or convent ſhould be aſſembled, and the election be made in the royal chapel with the King's conſent; and that the Biſhop-elect ſhould, previous to his conſecration, do homage and ſwear fealty to the King: that if any baron, or tenant *in capite*, ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to the legal deciſions of the Spiritual Court, the King ſhould employ his authority in obliging him to make ſuch ſubmiſſions; and any perſon refuſing to abide by the ſentence of the King's Court, ſhould be purſued by eccleſiaſtical cenſures until he made proper ſatisfaction: that goods and chattels forfeited to the King ſhould not be protected in churches or church-yards; that the clergy ſhould give up their pretended right of enforcing payment of debts contracted by oath or promiſe, and leave theſe law-ſuits, equally with others, to the determination of the civil courts: and that the ſons of villains, or copyholders, ſhould not be admitted into holy orders without the conſent of the lord of the manor in which they were born.

The King, thinking that he had now finally prevailed in this important enterprize, ſent the conſtitutions to Pope Alexander, who ſtill reſided in France, and required that Pontiff's ratification of them: but Alexander, who, though he had owed the moſt eſſential obligations to the King, plainly ſaw that theſe laws were calculated to eſtabliſh the independency of England on the papacy, and of the royal power on the clergy, condemned them in the ſtrongeſt terms of reprobation—abrogated, annulled, and rejected them. There were only ſix articles of the ſixteen, and thoſe of the leaſt importance, which, to preſerve an appearance of reaſonableneſs, he would conſent to ratify.

The Primate no ſooner found that he might depend on ſupport in an oppoſition than he expreſſed the deepeſt compunction for his compliance with the Conſtitutions of Clarendon: he inveighed againſt them as dangerous encroachments on the legal prerogatives of the church; and endeavoured to engage all the other Prelates in a confederacy to maintain their common rights, and to ſupport the eccleſiaſtical privileges, in which he repreſented the honour of the Almighty, and the intereſt of the Chriſtian religion, to be deeply concerned. He redoubled his auſterities, in order to puniſh himſelf for his own criminal aſſent: he proportioned the diſcipline to the magnitude of his ſuppoſed offence; and, as a penance, abſtained from the exerciſe of his archiepiſcopal functions, till he had ſolicited and obtained abſolution from the Pope.

Henry, informed of the change which had taken place in the mind of the Primate, reſolved to exact vengeance for his refractory conduct, and made an

attempt to promote his deſtruction by means of that very power which Becket had been ſo anxious to ſupport. He applied to the Pope, requeſting that he would grant the commiſſion of Legate in his dominions to Roger, Archbiſhop of York: but Alexander, not leſs politic than the King, though he could not refuſe to comply with his requeſt, annexed a clauſe to the commiſſion, which deprived the Legate of the power to execute any act in prejudice of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and Henry, knowing that he could derive no poſſible advantage from an authority thus limited, ſent back the commiſſion to the Pope by the ſame meſſenger that brought it.

Though the bull which Becket had obtained from Alexander to releaſe him from the obligation of his oath had perfectly reconciled his conſcience to the violation of it, it was not able to diſpel his fears of the royal indignation; to avoid the effects of which, he reſolved privately to withdraw himſelf from the kingdom. With this intention he repaired to the port of Romney, accompanied only by two faithful friends, and there embarked for the continent; but, having been twice driven back by contrary winds, he landed, and returned to Canterbury.

Henry, being determined to puniſh him for his criminal obſtinacy, inſtigated John, Mareſchal of the Exchequer, to ſue Becket in the Archiepiſcopal Court for ſome lands in the manor of Pageham, and to carry the cauſe by appeal from thence to the King's Court. On the day appointed for the trial, the Primate ſent four knights to make his excuſes for not attending in perſon, which he pretended that he was unable from ſickneſs to do; and, at the ſame time, to point out certain irregularities in the proceedings on the part of the plaintiff. His excuſe, however, was not admitted; and his neglect to obey the ſummons he had received was conſtrued into a contempt of court: in conſequence of which, the four knights were menaced with impriſonment; and the King ſummoned a great council to aſſemble at Northampton, to fix on a puniſhment equivalent to the offence of the Primate.

This is the account which Fitz-Stephens gives of this tranſaction; but that of Folliot, who was at that time Biſhop of London, is eſſentially different. The Prelate's account gives us to underſtand, that the ſuit commenced againſt Becket by the Mareſchal of the Exchequer was not adopted at the inſtigation of Henry; that it was not vexatory, but juſt; that it proceeded by a regular proceſs through the Archbiſhop's Court, and was carried from thence in due courſe of law, by an appeal, to the King's Court; that Becket's ſickneſs was pretended, and his contempt marked and deſigned.

To which of theſe authors moſt credit is due, the reader muſt decide for himſelf. There are certainly ſtrong reaſons for rejecting them both. Fitz-Stephens was ſecretary to Becket; and muſt, therefore, be ſuppoſed to have entertained a ſtrong partiality for him. On the other hand, the enmity of Folliot can as little be doubted, ſince that Prelate was engaged in a ſharp controverſy with the Primate, who had iſſued a ſentence of excommunication againſt him: but whether friendſhip or hatred can have the greateſt influence on the mind of man, remains to be decided. For the honour of human nature, we are induced to hope, nor is the hope unſupported by experience, that the paſſion which is moſt congenial to our ſouls would impel us to the moſt powerful exertions.

The council met at Northampton, in conſequence of the writs which had been iſſued for the purpoſe, on the ſeventeenth of October, in the year 1164; and, as every thing which related to the conteſt between the crown and the mitre was deemed of the greateſt national importance, it was attended by extraordinary numbers. On the firſt day of the meeting, the King in perſon accuſed the Archbiſhop of a contempt of the royal authority, and a breach of allegiance, in having refuſed to appear in his court when ſummoned. The defence offered by Becket againſt this accuſation appeared to the council ſo frivolous and weak, that he was convicted by the unanimous voice of the whole aſſembly, all the ſpiritual as well as the temporal barons concurring in the ſentence of confiſcation; which, to compleat the mortification of the Primate, was ordered to be pronounced by Henry, Biſhop of Wincheſter.

Becket was compelled, notwithſtanding his arrogance and pride, to acquieſce in this deciſion; and the King, having conſented to accept the ſum of five hundred pounds in lieu of his goods and chattels, all the Prelates, except Folliot, Biſhop of London, became ſureties for him.

It is worthy remark, that ſeveral Norman barons were permitted to vote in this council; which affords ſtrong reaſon for believing that a ſimilar practice had obtained in many of the national councils poſterior to the acceſſion of William the Firſt: for Fitz-Stephens, who has tranſmitted to poſterity an ample account of theſe tranſactions, does not mention this circumſtance as remarkable for it's ſingularity; and Becket, in all his ſubſequent remonſtrances concerning the ſeverity of the treatment he had experienced, never founded any objections on an irregularity, which to every modern reader muſt appear palpable and flagrant. "A certain proof," ſays a late hiſtorian, "that there was but little order "and preciſion, at that period, in the government "and conſtitution of England!"

After this conviction, the King, on the ſecond day of the council, proceeded to exhibit another charge againſt Becket for having embezzled the ſum of three hundred pounds, which he had levied upon the honours of Eye and Berkham while they were in his poſſeſſion. The Primate, in anſwer to this ſecond accuſation, alledged that he had expended a more conſiderable ſum in the repairs of thoſe caſtles, and of the royal palace at London; and moreover obſerved, that he was not obliged to anſwer to this ſuit, becauſe it was not expreſſed in his ſummons. But the firſt allegation being confuted by Henry, who alſo demanded that immediate judgment might be awarded, he conſented to refund the money, and prevailed on five of his vaſſals to become his ſureties, as the Biſhops declined

clined to be reſponſible for any farther ſum. On the ſucceeding day, the King made a demand of five hundred marks, which he affirmed he had lent Becket during the expedition to Thouloufe; and another ſum, to an equal amount, for which he had been ſurety for the Primate to a Jew. He likewiſe preferred a third claim of much greater importance: he required Becket to deliver a ſpecial account of the revenues of all prelacies, abbies, and baronies, which had become vacant during the time he enjoyed the office of Chancellor, and which, conſequently, had been ſubjected to his management. To this the Primate made the ſame reply as to the former article, viz. that as this charge had not been contained in the ſummons, he had not come prepared to anſwer it. Henry, however, was not ſatisfied with this evaſion; but required that the council ſhould oblige him to account for thoſe ſums, which he had appropriated to his own uſe, and which the King averred amounted to two hundred and fifty thouſand marks.

Becket, aſtoniſhed at this peremptory demand, and being wholly unable to find ſureties for a ſum of that magnitude, deſired leave to conſult his ſuffragans. His requeſt being granted, he retired to a ſeparate apartment with the Prelates, whoſe opinions, as to the mode of conduct he ſhould adopt in this dangerous emergency, differed moſt eſſentially. The Biſhop of Wincheſter adviſed him to make an offer of two thouſand marks to the King as a general ſatisfaction for all demands: but this offer was rejected by Henry. Some Prelates exhorted him to reſign his ſee, on condition of receiving an acquittal; while others were of opinion that he ought to ſubmit himſelf entirely to the mercy of his ſovereign, as the only means of appeaſing his wrath, and preſerving himſelf from deſtruction: but this was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, as eſtabliſhing a precedent of a dangerous tendency, and as too implicit an act of ſubmiſſion to the civil power. After much debate, he determined to defend himſelf by a ſtrenuous aſſertion of the eccleſiaſtical privileges; to advance, as a plea, that his promotion to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury had virtually diſcharged him from all civil actions to which he might have been liable previous to his elevation to the primacy, and had releaſed him likewiſe from all the debts which he had contracted while he was Chancellor. It was late in the evening before this ſtrange determination was adopted; and Becket, therefore, deſired that a farther delay might be granted him. As the next day was Sunday, the council was, in conſequence of his requeſt, adjourned to Monday; when he was ordered to appear, and make his defence: but when the day came he was ſeized with a violent colick, which confined him to his apartment. He ſent, however, to inform the court that he would attend on the next day, though he ſhould be carried thither in his bed.

Early on Tueſday morning, many of the Biſhops waited on him in his chamber, and earneſtly entreated him to reſign his office; aſſuring him that, if he did not, an accuſation of perjury and high-treaſon would be preferred againſt him. But, inſtead of complying with their requeſt, he reproached them, with great aſperity, for having left him to ſuſtain the conteſt alone and unſupported; and aſſured them, that no dread of puniſhment ſhould induce him to abandon his ſtation, or forſake his flock. He now endeavoured to intereſt the people in his behalf by a pompous diſplay of ill-timed oſtentation, and to faſcinate their judgment by appealing to their paſſions. As ſoon as the Prelates had left him, he went to church and celebrated maſs, having previouſly commanded that the introit to the communion ſervice ſhould begin with theſe words—"*Princes ſat and ſpake againſt me:*" the paſſage appointed for the Martyrdom of St. Stephen, whom the Primate thereby tacitly pretended to reſemble in his ſufferings for the ſake of righteouſneſs. To render the ceremony more awful and impreſſive, he officiated in his pall; and propoſed to walk barefoot to court in his pontificals, carrying the croſs of Canterbury in his hand, as a token that the church was threatened with perſecution: but, being diverted from this extravagant deſign by the remonſtrances of the clergy, he laid aſide his pall and mitre, and proceeded to court, arrayed in his ſacred veſtments, with a conſecrated hoſt in one hand, and the croſs carried before him. As ſoon as he arrived within the palace-gate, he took the croſs from the bearer, bore it aloft as his protection, and marched in that poſture into the royal apartments. The King, who was in an inner room, was aſtoniſhed at this parade, by which the Primate ſeemed to menace him and his court with a ſentence of excommunication; and he complained aloud to the barons of Becket's audacious behaviour. They immediately replied, that the arrogance and vanity of the Primate had ever appeared to them inſupportable, and ought to have deterred the King from raiſing him to ſo elevated a ſtation; and the whole council joined in expreſſions of indignation at this freſh inſtance of his pride, which they juſtly regarded as an unpardonable breach of reſpect to his ſovereign. But Henry, before he would proceed to extremities, ſent ſome of the Biſhops to remonſtrate with him on the indecency of his conduct. Theſe complained to Becket that, by ſubſcribing himſelf to the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, he had ſeduced them to follow his example; and that now, when it was too late, he evinced an intention of renouncing all obedience to the civil power, and ſeemed determined to involve them in the guilt which muſt inevitably reſult from any violation of thoſe laws, eſtabliſhed by their conſent, and ratified by their ſubſcriptions. Becket replied, that he had indeed ſubſcribed to the Conſtitutions of Clarendon *legally, with good faith, and without fraud or reſerve*; but in theſe words a ſalvo for their eccleſiaſtical rights was virtually implied; which, being intimately connected with the cauſe of God and his church, no engagements nor oaths could ever compel them to relinquiſh: that if he and they had been guilty of an error in reſigning the privileges of their order, a retractation of their conſent, which in that caſe could not be deemed obligatory, would be the moſt effectual atonement they could poſſibly make: that he plainly ſaw the oppreſſion

preſſion of the church was reſolved on, and that an abrogation of all ſpiritual immunities would be the infallible conſequence: that he ſtrictly inhibited them, who were his ſuffragans, from ſitting in judgment upon their Primate; he put himſelf and his ſee under the protection of the ſovereign Pontiff, and appealed to him from any ſentence which his iniquitous judges might be induced to pronounce againſt him: and that, however dreadful the reſentment of ſo powerful a monarch as Henry might appear, his ſword could only kill the body, whereas that of the church, entruſted into the hands of the Primate, could deſtroy the ſoul, and throw the diſobedient into everlaſting perdition.

This reply of Becket diſplayed a fixed determination to promote a double violation of the laws of the realm. By prohibiting the Biſhops from aſſiſting at his trial, he laid them under the neceſſity of acting in direct oppoſition to the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, by one of which they were expreſsly bound to ſit in judgment with the temporal Barons. Appeals to the Pope, even in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, had likewiſe been aboliſhed by thoſe Conſtitutions, and were become criminal by law: but an appeal in a civil cauſe, ſuch as that which was depending between the King and Becket, was a practice hitherto unheard of; it was pregnant with the moſt dangerous conſequences to the ſtate, and directly tended to ſubvert the conſtitutional principles of government.

When the Biſhops returned with the anſwer, the Barons were ſo exaſperated at ſuch an inſtance of deliberate diſobedience, that they declared him guilty of high-treaſon, and demanded that he ſhould be immediately puniſhed as a traitor. Their clamours againſt Becket became ſo loud and vehement, that Roger, Archbiſhop of York, apprehenſive that they would proceed to acts of violence, haſtily retired from the council. The Biſhop of Exeter, equally alarmed, repaired to the great hall, where the Primate was ſitting; and, throwing himſelf at his feet, earneſtly conjured him to avert his own deſtruction, and that of his brethren, by an inſtant compliance with the will of his ſovereign: but Becket, with a ſtern countenance, commanded him to be gone. The Biſhops, at a loſs how to act in this critical emergency, deſired leave to hold a private conſultation among themſelves, which was granted. After ſome deliberation, they agreed to renounce all ſubjection to Becket as their Primate; to proſecute him for perjury before the Pope; and, if poſſible, to procure his depoſition. This reſolution they made known to the King and his Barons; who, being ignorant that Becket had already obtained a bull from the ſovereign Pontiff to abſolve him from his oath, indiſcreetly gave their conſent; when the Prelates, repairing in a body to the hall, intimated their intentions to the Archbiſhop, who would not condeſcend to anſwer them.

In the mean time, the council came to a determination to declare the Primate guilty of perjury and high-treaſon, in caſe he ſhould perſiſt in his refuſal to deliver his accounts; and ſome of the Barons went to him to communicate the ſentiments of the court. The Earl of Leiceſter, one of the Juſticiaries of the kingdom, who was at the head of them, advancing to Becket, told him it was the King's pleaſure that he ſhould either appear before his majeſty's court and acquit himſelf of the crimes laid to his charge, or ſubmit to his ſentence, which he was ready to pronounce.

The Archbiſhop, riſing haſtily from his ſeat, replied, that he ſhould ſubmit to no ſentence; that, when he was promoted to the primacy, he was diſcharged from all claims which he might previouſly have given riſe to, and that he therefore would never conſent to give in any account: that he being their father, they were forbidden, both by law and reaſon, to judge him; he declined their juriſdiction, and appealed to God and the Pope, by whom alone he would ſubmit to be tried: that he ſummoned all the Prelates to appear before the ſovereign Pontiff, to be judged by him for having paid obedience to men rather than to the Almighty: that he placed himſelf, the church of Canterbury, and every thing that appertained to it, under the immediate care of God and the Pope, beneath whoſe protection he would now depart.

Having ſaid this, he walked out of the hall in great ſtate, leaving the whole aſſembly ſo diſconcerted by his audacity, that no one had the courage to ſtop him. As he paſſed through the yard of the caſtle, he was hailed by the ſurrounding multitude as a perjured traitor, which induced him to turn his head, and with a ſtern countenance and elevated voice to declare, that if the ſanctity of his character did not forbid ſuch a mode of proceeding, he would by arms defend himſelf againſt the charge of treaſon and perjury: nor could he refrain from retorting the opprobrious language which was beſtowed on him, by reminding a nobleman of diſtinction that his kinſman had been hanged for felony; and by reproaching Earl Hamelin, the King's natural brother, with being a baſtard and a catamite.

The conduct of Henry on this trying occaſion is highly deſerving of commendation. He was no ſooner informed of the abrupt departure of Becket, and the indecent altercation which had ſucceeded it, than, apprehenſive that the Barons might be urged by exceſs of indignation to the commiſſion of ſome act of illegal violence, he ordered proclamation immediately to be made through the town, that no perſon ſhould preſume to inſult or maltreat the Archbiſhop, or any of his retinue.

In the evening, the Primate ſent three Prelates to the King, to crave his permiſſion to retire from the kingdom; but Henry anſwered, that he would conſult his Barons as to the propriety of according his requeſt on the ſucceeding day. Becket, however, who never intended to wait the reſult of their deliberation, aroſe about midnight, and paſſing through a poſtern, retired from Northampton, accompanied only by two monks. He firſt directed his courſe to Lincoln, in order to elude any purſuit; but afterwards he changed his route: and, after lurking in different places for a fortnight, only venturing to travel by night, he at length arrived at Sandwich; where he embarked on board a fiſhing-

boat,

boat, very early in the morning of Tueſday the tenth of November, in the year 1164, and landed ſafe the ſame evening near Gravelines, on the Flemiſh coaſt.

Henry has been highly cenſured by Hume, in imitation of Hoveden, for violence and injuſtice in preferring an accuſation againſt the Primate, which he knew to be ill-founded: for he obſerves, that if the King had not been convinced of his integrity as Chancellor, he never would have promoted him to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury. But it ſhould be remembered, that when Henry raiſed him to that elevated ſtation, he had a favourite object in view, which the duplicity of Becket afforded him the ſtrongeſt grounds for believing would be greatly forwarded by the meaſure he was about to adopt. On that account, therefore, he might be willing to overlook errors, however culpable; embezzlements, however enormous: but when he found that Becket had deceived him by a diſplay of the moſt conſummate hypocriſy, and continued to inſult him by daily exertions of ingratitude, he experienced the deepeſt indignation; and, what motives of intereſt or partiality had induced him to connive at, reſentment would not permit him to overlook, nor could juſtice refuſe to ſubſtantiate. The King's conduct, therefore, cannot afford the ſmalleſt proof of the Primate's innocence; and when the immenſity of Becket's expences, while he enjoyed the office of Chancellor, is conſidered, we muſt conclude that the revenues of his employment, though confeſſedly great, were inadequate to ſupport them, and that the charge of embezzlement was therefore founded in fact.

The greateſt error committed by Henry, in the management of this intricate buſineſs, was the permiſſion which he accorded the Biſhops to appeal to the Pope, inſtead of concurring in the ſentence of the temporal Barons againſt the Primate. That appeal, indeed, was made in conſequence of the Primate's: but it was equally offenſive to the dignity of the kingdom, and injurious to the prerogative of the crown; as it admitted the competency of the Pope to decide in a matter of which he had no legal cognizance, and afforded him an opportunity of reviving and rejudging what ought to have been finally determined in England by the law of the land and the judgment of the Barons. But Henry was unwarily induced to it, by his earneſt deſire to ſecure the Biſhops in his favour, and by the belief that they would eaſily prevail upon the Pope to conſider the diſpute merely as a pecuniary cauſe between him and his late Chancellor, in which the church had neither intereſt nor concern; and if, through their mediation, the ſovereign Pontiff could be perſuaded to depoſe the Archbiſhop, he thought his purpoſe would be as effectually anſwered as by the adoption of violent meaſures.

Henry was no ſooner informed of Becket's departure than he aſſembled the council, to aſk their advice as to the line of conduct it would be moſt prudent to purſue; and lenient meaſures being reſolved on, it was determined not to ſequeſter the revenues of the ſee of Canterbury, nor to remove the officers appointed by Becket: but, to prevent the miſchiefs that might reſult from the Primate's miſrepreſentations, and to ſupport the accuſation which the King had imprudently permitted to be preferred againſt him, a deputation was ſent to Rome, compoſed of the Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhops of London, Worceſter, Chicheſter, and Exeter, two Earls, as many Barons, and three of the King's own chaplains. Henry, at the ſame time, wrote letters to Lewis, King of France, and Philip, Count of Flanders; in which he largely expatiated on the inſolent and treaſonable behaviour of Becket; and particularly requeſted that they would neither ſhew him countenance nor protection. But theſe remonſtrances were of little avail; for both Lewis and Philip, being jealous of the riſing greatneſs of the Engliſh monarch, were glad to find an opportunity for interrupting the repoſe of his government: and, forgetting that this was the common cauſe of ſovereigns, affected a diſplay of generous compaſſion for the forlorn condition of the baniſhed Primate; and Lewis even condeſcended to honour him with a viſit at Soiſſons, in which city he had invited him to eſtabliſh his reſidence. Nor did Henry's embaſſy experience greater ſucceſs in their repreſentations to the Pope, who then reſided at Sens. Though they had made ſuch expedition as to arrive there before Becket, the Pontiff refuſed to enter into an inveſtigation of the buſineſs till the Archbiſhop ſhould be preſent in perſon to defend himſelf; but the ambaſſadors inſiſting on an immediate anſwer, as they had received expreſs orders from the King not to ſtay longer than three days, his Holineſs was involved in the greateſt perplexity. Some of the Cardinals, who had been ſecretly gained to eſpouſe the cauſe of Henry, pleaded with great earneſtneſs in favour of his petition; and, as the ſchiſm in the papacy ſtill ſubſiſted, the Pope was apprehenſive that a peremptory refuſal might induce the King of England to abandon his party, and embrace that of his opponent. On the other hand, to relinquiſh the intereſts of the Archbiſhop, who had proved himſelf ſo warm a champion for the immunities of the clergy, appeared equally inconſiſtent with ſound policy and ſtrict honour. The Pontiff, therefore, after ſome deliberation, declared his fixed determination to perſiſt in his refuſal to give any deciſion till the arrival of Becket; on which the ambaſſadors took their leave, and haſtened back to England, where they arrived about Chriſtmas, in the year 1164.

The Archbiſhop, however, experienced a very different reception from the Pope. Having been treated with the greateſt hoſpitality by the King of France, who compelled him to accept an unlimited order on the royal treaſury to defray his expences, he proceeded with a numerous retinue to Sens, where the inhabitants received him with loud acclamations; and the Pope, riſing from his ſeat as he approached, embraced him in the moſt affectionate manner. On the day after his arrival, a great council of Cardinals and Prelates was held, in which he was ſeated on the right-hand of the Pope, and deſired to explain his cauſe without riſing. He accordingly addreſſed the council in a very artful

ſpeech, in which he dwelt with great energy on the high eſtimation in which he had long ſtood with the King of England; whoſe favour, he ſaid, he could eaſily recover, by forſaking the cauſe of the church, and ſubmitting to the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, a copy of which he produced, and deſired might be read. Becket could have adopted no meaſure ſo effectual as this to ſecure the favour of the Pontiff and Cardinals, as ſeveral of theſe Conſtitutions were expreſsly calculated to impoſe ſalutary reſtrictions on their power, and wholly to aboliſh their dangerous uſurpations. The peruſal of them was no ſooner compleated than the whole aſſembly burſt forth into the moſt violent expreſſions of abhorrence of them, and into the moſt flattering encomiums on the Primate, whoſe cauſe they declared to be the cauſe of God, and therefore deſerving of their utmoſt ſupport.

Henry was juſtly incenſed at the report of this favourable reception; and reſolved to make both the Pope and the Primate experience the effects of his reſentment. In purſuance of the advice of his Barons, aſſembled for the purpoſe at Marlborough, he prohibited the future payment of Peter-pence; and ordered the puniſhment of impriſonment to be inflicted on all eccleſiaſtics who ſhould dare to appeal to the ſovereign Pontiff: he alſo ſequeſtered the revenues of Canterbury, and confiſcated all the goods and chattels of Becket. He proceeded ſtill farther: he baniſhed all the adherents, friends, and domeſtics, of the Primate, to the number of four hundred; and compelled them, before their departure, to take an oath that they would immediately join their patron; hoping that the ſight of ſo many perſons, whom his own imprudent obſtinacy had reduced to ruin, would urge that arrogant Prelate to forego his inſolent pretenſions, and ſubmit to the terms preſcribed by his ſovereign. But the effect of this policy was loſt: for the Pope, when they arrived on the continent, abſolved them from their oaths, and diſtributed them among the convents of France and Flanders. A reſidence was alſo aſſigned to Becket himſelf in the monaſtery of Pontigny, in the province of Burgundy; where he lived for ſome years in great magnificence, which he was enabled to ſupport, partly from a penſion granted him on the revenues of that abbey, and partly from the bounty of the French monarch, whoſe remittances were regular and profuſe.

The more to ingratiate himſelf with the Pope, Becket, in a private conſiſtory that was held the day after the Council of Sens, reſigned the ſee of Canterbury into his hands; artfully pretending, that his conſcience was greatly diſquieted at the idea of having been uncanonically elected by the influence and authority of the King. Some of the Cardinals, who ſecretly favoured the intereſt of Henry, and who by the hiſtorians of thoſe times are diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Phariſees, urged the Pontiff to accept his reſignation, as the beſt mode of terminating the diſpute: but the majority rejected this prudent propoſal with evident diſdain; aſſerting that, if Becket was abandoned, no Prelate would dare to reſiſt the mandates of his ſovereign, and the ruin of the church would be the inevitable conſequence. This opinion coinciding with the ſentiments of the Pope, the archbiſhopric was reſtored to the Primate, with the higheſt commendations of his piety and fortitude.

While affairs were in this ſituation, an interview took place at Giſors between the Kings of France and England, about Eaſter, in the year 1165; when the diſpute with Becket formed the chief ſubject of their negotiations: but Henry inſiſting on the previous ſubmiſſion of the Primate to the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, and Lewis refuſing to withdraw his protection, no terms of accommodation could be fixed on.

Alexander being now invited by the proſperous ſtate of his affairs to return to Rome, the King was anxious to obtain an interview with him previous to his departure, that he might have an opportunity of effacing thoſe impreſſions which Becket had excited to his prejudice; and, if poſſible, to effect a termination of this tedious and perplexing conteſt. But Henry having propoſed that Becket ſhould not be preſent at the conference, the Pope refuſed to ſee him; arrogantly obſerving, that no man had a right to exclude another from the preſence of the ſovereign Pontiff, whoſe prerogative it had always been to protect oppreſſed exiles from the violence of the wicked, and even from the rancour of princes.

The Archbiſhop ſtill continued to reſide in the abbey of Pontigny; where, according to Gervaſe and his other hiſtorians, his time was employed in the peruſal of the Scriptures, and in different exerciſes of devotion. Strange that, by an attention to the ſacred page, he ſhould never have learned that doctrine of humility which it is ſo admirably calculated to inſtil! But, though his biographers have thus charitably diſpoſed of his time, there is ſufficient evidence to prove that no inconſiderable portion of it was allotted to the promotion of his ſecular intereſts: for, during this interval, he maintained a correſpondence with different perſons in England, ſome of whom he reproached for their apoſtacy; while he commended others for their adherence to the cauſe of God, with which honourable appellation he dignified his own cauſe. His preſumption went ſtill farther: he compared himſelf to Chriſt, who had been condemned by a lay-tribunal, and who had experienced a ſecond crucifixion in the oppreſſions under which his church at preſent laboured. He likewiſe engaged the Pope to write to ſeveral perſons in England, to employ exhortations, and even commands, to induce them to eſpouſe his intereſt. He had agents alſo in the courts of Rome and France, as well as in England, who were employed for purpoſes of rebellion, in augmenting the number of his own friends, and in raiſing up enemies to his ſovereign. At his inſtigation, a bull was publiſhed by the ſovereign Pontiff, which annulled the ſentence pronounced againſt Becket for contumacy by the Council of Northampton, on the inſolent pretence that inferiors could not judge their ſuperiors. In the ſame ſtrain of arrogant preſumption did the Primate pen ſeveral epiſtles to the King; in which he aſſumed the character of champion for the

patrimony

patrimony of the Divinity; and told his ſovereign, in plain terms, that kings were indebted for all their power to the church; while that of prieſts, being derived from Chriſt himſelf, rendered them the undoubted fathers and maſters of monarchs and princes.

Henry, finding that a rupture with the apoſtolic ſee was abſolutely inevitable, determined to prepare for the worſt conſequences that could reſult from it. Beſides the prohibition of appeals to the Pope or Primate, he iſſued orders to his Juſticiaries to forbid any one to receive any mandates from them, or to make application to their authority in any caſe whatever; declaring it treaſonable to bring from either of them an interdict upon the kingdom, and puniſhable in ſecular clergymen by the loſs of their eyes, and by caſtration; in regulars, by amputation of their feet; and in laics, with death; and menacing with confiſcation and baniſhment the perſons themſelves, as well as their kindred, who ſhould pay obedience to any ſuch interdict: and he farther compelled all his ſubjects to ſwear to the obſervance of thoſe orders. In order to intimidate the ſovereign Pontiff, he made advances towards an alliance with the Emperor, Frederic Barbaroſſa, who was at that time engaged in a violent conteſt with Alexander; and, in a letter to the Archbiſhop of Cologne, he intimated his intentions of acknowledging Paſcal the Third, the Anti-pope, who was protected by that Emperor.

The King now found it neceſſary to quit his continental dominions, and return to England, in order to repel the incurſions of the Welch, who had committed great depredations in the county of Cardigan. He therefore committed the adminiſtration of Normandy to his Queen; and having raiſed a ſtrong body of forces, tranſported them from the continent; and, being joined by his Britiſh troops, marched into Wales, took the ſtrong caſtle of Cardigan, together with many priſoners of rank, among whom were two ſons of Rheeſe, Prince of South-Wales; routed the natives with great ſlaughter; and repaired the fortreſs of Baſinwerk.

When he had quelled theſe diſturbances, he received an embaſſy from the Emperor of Germany, with propoſals of marriage from Henry, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, ſon of the late Emperor Conrade, to his eldeſt daughter Maude; and, the alliance being approved by the King, he ſigned the contract, and ſent ambaſſadors the following year into Germany, to aſſiſt at the ratification of the treaty in the Diet at Witzburgh.

Having paſſed the winter in England, he returned to the continent about Lent, in the year 1166, where his preſence was requiſite to quell an inſurrection that had taken place in his abſence. Some of the factious Barons of Britanny and Le Maine having formed an aſſociation againſt the government of Queen Eleanor, Henry raiſed a powerful army, and marched into Le Maine; and, by taking and demoliſhing many of their caſtles, reduced the malcontents to ſubmiſſion. From thence he advanced into Britanny, where the nobility had harraſſed the country with continual depredations during the adminiſtration of Conan; who, finding himſelf unable to keep them in awe, determined to reſign his dutchy into the hands of Henry, for the benefit of his ſon Geoffrey, who had been betrothed to Conſtantia, the daughter of Conan. In conſequence of this reſignation, Henry made a progreſs through Britanny, and received the homage of all the barons and military tenants of that country, who laid down their arms at his approach.

When he had compleated his tour, he repaired to Mont St. Michael, in Normandy; where he was viſited by William, ſurnamed the Lion, King of Scotland, who had lately mounted that throne, on the death of his brother, Malcolm the Fourth.

The affairs of the Chriſtians in Paleſtine being at this period involved in the greateſt diſtreſs, the King, in imitation of the French monarch, reſolved to contribute to their relief; and accordingly impoſed a tax of two-pence in the pound for one year, and one penny in the pound for the four ſucceeding years, on the property of all his ſubjects, as well Engliſh as continental.

Henry's conteſt with his rebellious Primate now became more violent and ſerious. That Prelate, finding that his letters to the King, though replete with admonitions and menaces, had been wholly diſregarded, expreſſed his intention of proceeding to the laſt exertion of eccleſiaſtical rancour, by iſſuing a ſentence of excommunication againſt his ſovereign and benefactor: but from this he was at preſent reſtrained by the prudence of Alexander, who was not yet ſo firmly ſeated in the papal chair as to ſet the power of Henry at defiance. He, however, obtained permiſſion to uſe his diſcretion with others; and in conſequence thereof he excommunicated John of Oxford, Dean of Saliſbury; and ſuſpended the Biſhop of that dioceſe for having admitted him into the deanry. He likewiſe iſſued ſentences of excommunication againſt Richard de Lucy, the chief juſticiary; Joceline de Baliol; Ralph de Broc; Hugh de St. Clare; and Thomas Fitz-Bernard: the two former, for having been chiefly concerned in the promotion of the Conſtitutions of Clarendon; and the three latter, for having ſeized the revenues and poſſeſſions of the church of Canterbury, in compliance with the orders of the King.

The prelates and clergy, juſtly alarmed at the violence of theſe unprecedented meaſures, and ſtill more at the menaces which accompanied them, entreated the Biſhop of Saliſbury to write to the Primate. A letter was accordingly addreſſed to Becket, in which that Prelate ſtrongly reproached him for his ſignal ingratitude to Henry; repreſented to him the informality of the ſevere cenſures which he had already pronounced, and the danger and injuſtice of thoſe which he meditated againſt his ſovereign; concluding with an appeal to the Pope. But this epiſtle, inſtead of operating as a reſtraint on Becket, only tended to urge his imperious mind to the execution of his threats; and he wrote to the ſovereign Pontiff, to acquaint him with his final reſolution of excommunicating the King.

When Henry received intelligence of Becket's deſign, he ſummoned a council of his Barons and Prelates

Prelates at Chinon, in Touraine, to conſult on the meaſures to be adopted in order to prevent his excommunication, or to obviate the evil conſequences that might naturally be expected to reſult from it. The only expedient they could deviſe was an appeal to the Pope himſelf, by which Henry was compelled to acknowledge the competency of a tribunal whoſe authority he had attempted to abridge in this very article of appeals. This certainly was a degrading meaſure; though it appears to have been the only one that could with prudence be purſued in this critical conjuncture. As it was neceſſary to notify the appeal to the Primate, two Prelates were diſpatched to Pontigni for that purpoſe; but, on their arrival, they were informed that the Archbiſhop had a few days before ſet out for Soiſſons, to perform his devotions at the ſhrine of St. Dranſius, the patron of combatants, to invoke the favour and implore the protection of that martial ſaint in the dangerous conflict in which he was engaged with the King of England. This circumſtance prevented him from receiving a regular notification of the appeal; and Henry, being apprehenſive that nothing could ſtem the impetuous torrent of his zeal, ſent orders into England to guard the ſea-coaſt with all poſſible care, and to ſearch all who arrived from the continent, that if any interdict, or letters of excommunication, were found upon any one, he might receive the puniſhment annexed to his offence by the late regulations. So formidable did the ridiculous thunders of the church appear even to the moſt powerful monarch in thoſe unhappy times, when the primitive purity of the Chriſtian religion was polluted by the peſtiferous breath of Fanaticiſm!

Becket, on his return from the ſhrine of St. Dranſius, on whoſe protection he firmly relied, ſtopped at Vizelay, where it was his intention to pronounce the dreaded anathema againſt his ſovereign, on Whitſunday, in the year 1166; but he there received a meſſage from his friend and protector, the King of France, to inform him that the object of his indignation was dangerouſly ill; and adviſing him, on that account, to delay the execution of his purpoſe till the reſult of his diſorder was known. Though the Primate was not pleaſed with this advice, he was too prudent to diſregard it. Determined, however, to do ſomething deciſive, he mounted the roſtrum on the appointed day, and before a crouded congregation promulgated ſentences of excommunication againſt all the miniſters and chief confidents of Henry, whom he named; and declared, at the ſame time, that he would ſoon proceed to publiſh a ſimilar ſentence againſt the King himſelf, if he did not ſpeedily repent, and repair thoſe flagrant injuries which the church had experienced from him. He alſo iſſued general cenſures againſt all that had obeyed, favoured, or executed, the impious Conſtitutions of Clarendon, which he annulled and abrogated; and abſolved all men from the oaths which they had taken to obſerve them.

This additional inſtance of Becket's imperious preſumption gave ſuch offence to the King, that he threatened to expel all the monks of the Ciſtertian order from his dominions, if they continued to afford a reſidence to his enemy at their convent of Pontigni. Thus the Primate, being compelled to remove, repaired to Sens; where the French monarch had been careful to provide him a ſafe aſylum.

During theſe tranſactions, the agents both of the King and Primate were buſily employed at the court of Rome. Thoſe of Becket ſo far prevailed in their negotiation as to obtain for their maſter a legantine commiſſion over the province of Canterbury, ſigned by the Pope on the twenty-ſecond of October, in the year 1166. This ſignal mark of the Pontiff's favour was highly flattering to Becket; who was preparing to exert the authority he had thus acquired with his accuſtomed ſeverity, when a ſudden revolution in the politics of Rome changed the face of affairs. An alteration ſo unexpected was occaſioned by a concurrence of circumſtances which are but imperfectly known. The Emperor had, about this period, obtained ſome advantage in Italy, which rendered the enmity of the King of England an object of more formidable apprehenſion to the ſovereign Pontiff: and the Marquis of Montferrat, an ally on whoſe aſſiſtance the Pope placed the firmeſt reliance, had lately aſked one of the daughters of Henry in marriage for his ſon; and had, for that reaſon, been induced to ſecond with great warmth the ſolicitations of the royal agents, who were alſo better provided with money—that moſt potent of all arguments in a court of corruption—than thoſe of the Archbiſhop. With theſe advantages, they were enabled to obtain from the Pope a ſoothing letter to Henry, dated the twentieth of December 1166; in which he informed that monarch, that he had given a commiſſion to two Cardinals finally to determine all controverſies between him and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as well as between the Primate and the other Prelates of England; that theſe legates would depart from Rome in the month of January, with full power to abſolve all the miniſters and friends of the King who had been excommunicated; and that he had inhibited the Archbiſhop from iſſuing any cenſures, either againſt him or any of his ſubjects, while this cauſe was depending.

The conſternation of Becket on the receipt of this intelligence was greater than can be deſcribed; eſpecially as it was accompanied with the information that the agents of Henry, John of Oxford, John Cumin, and Ralph Tamiwurde, had obtained copies of all the letters that he and his friends had written to the Pope with the view of increaſing his reſentment againſt the King. Unwilling to give credit to ſuch unpleaſant news, he wrote to John of Poitou, his own agent at the court of Rome, to urge him to diſcover the truth, and convey it to him without delay. He alſo informed his agent, that ſince the circulation of theſe reports, the Engliſh prelates and clergy, regarding his depoſition as unavoidable, paid no reſpect to his commands; and that the French nobility and dignified eccleſiaſtics, who had hitherto afforded an hoſpitable reception to his houſhold and friends, now began to withdraw their protection.

The affairs of Becket, at this period, moſt certainly

to death. Having thus laid their plan, without imparting their intentions to any one, they left the court at different times, and took different routes, in order to avoid ſuſpicion; but being, as we are informed by the monkiſh hiſtorians, conducted by the devil, they all arrived on the ſame day—the twenty-eighth of December—and almoſt at the ſame hour, at the caſtle of Ranulph de Broc, at Saltwode, about ſix miles from Canterbury.

Notwithſtanding the precautions they had obſerved, their departure was not unnoticed by the King; and ſome looſe expreſſions of a menacing import which they had careleſsly dropped, excited ſome ſuſpicions of their deſign. Henry, therefore, with the utmoſt expedition, diſpatched a meſſenger in purſuit of them, with the ſtricteſt orders to make no attempt againſt the perſon of the Primate; but they arrived too late. The conſpirators having on the day of their arrival fully arranged the plan of their proceedings, departed for Canterbury the next morning, accompanied by a body of reſolute men, with arms concealed beneath their cloaths: theſe they poſted in different parts of the city, in order to prevent any interruption from the inhabitants in the execution of their deſign. The four Barons then repaired, unarmed, with twelve of their company, to the archiepiſcopal palace, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, where they gained admiſſion into an apartment in which the Primate was engaged in converſation with ſome of the clergy. After a ſhort pauſe, Reginald Fitz-Urſe informed the Archbiſhop that they were ſent by the King to command him to abſolve the Prelates and others againſt whom he had lately iſſued ſentences of excommunication, in open contempt of the law, and in defiance of the regal authority; and afterwards to repair to Wincheſter, and make due ſubmiſſions to the young King, whom he had ſought to depoſe, by propagating a malicious report that his coronation was not valid. With theſe commands Becket having peremptorily refuſed to comply, they proceeded to accuſe him of having violated the terms of reconciliation ſo recently concluded; and then ordered him, in the name of his ſovereign, to depart the kingdom. On this a long and violent altercation enſued; in the courſe of which they gave him frequent hints that the preſervation of his life depended on his compliance: but, as he ſtill perſiſted in his refuſal, they at length departed; and, as they went out, ſtrictly enjoined his ſervants not to ſuffer him to eſcape; which injunction being overheard by Becket, he exclaimed, with great impetuoſity, that he would never flee from any man, but would boldly remain to brave the rage of impious aſſaſſins. When they were gone, his friends cenſured him for the unguarded temerity of his expreſſions, which, they obſerved, would inevitably increaſe the fury of his enemies; but he treated their remonſtrances with diſdain, and declared his reſolution to purſue the dictates of his own mind. During this interval, Becket might certainly have eſcaped; his attendants urged him with great earneſtneſs to attempt it: and we have the ſtrongeſt grounds for believing that the conſpirators departed for the expreſs purpoſe of affording him a favourable opportunity; and the injunctions delivered to his ſervants, *in his hearing*, were moſt probably intended, by operating on his fears, to render him more eager to embrace it; for had it been their intention to place a guard over him, his own domeſtics, who were devoted to his ſervice, and attached to his perſon, were certainly the laſt they would have ſelected for that purpoſe. The circumſtance, too, of their going *unarmed*, tends ſtrongly to confirm this belief. Becket, however, obſtinately rejected the prudent advice of his attendants: either, as ſome imagine, from the ſuppoſition that the ſacredneſs of his character would ſecure him from violence; or, what from the whole tenour of his conduct appears more conſiſtent with probability, from the vain hope of being conſidered as a martyr.

The Barons having waited till evening, in order to give him time for reflection, and finding that he was neither to be convinced by arguments, nor intimidated by threats, reſolved to proceed to extremities. They accordingly armed themſelves, and again repaired to the palace, the gates of which had been previouſly barred, to impede their entrance: they ſoon, however, found means to gain admiſſion; but, in the interim, the clergy had compelled the Archbiſhop to retire to the church, where the evening ſervice was then performing, not ſuſpecting that the conſpirators would dare to violate the houſe of God by the commiſſion of murder. Thither the Barons purſued him, and again commanded him, in the name of their ſovereign, to abſolve the excommunicated Prelates; but, receiving the ſame anſwer as in the morning, one of them called out to him to ſave his life *by flight*. Becket ſternly replied—"I will never flee!" They then advanced towards him, as he ſtood near the altar, with the intent, as they afterwards declared, of forcing him out of the church, and bearing him to the King as a captive; or, if they ſhould find that impoſſible, to deprive him of his exiſtence in a place leſs ſacred. With this view, William de Tracey laid hold of his robe, and ſaid—"You are my priſoner; come "along with me." But Becket, inſtead of anſwering him, thruſt him away from him with ſuch violence, that he had nearly fallen on the pavement; and then, clinging to one of the pillars of the choir, a ſtruggle enſued, during which Becket abuſed, with great virulence, Reginald Fitz-Urſe, who preſſed harder upon him than the others, and branded him with the appellation of Pimp. Fitz-Urſe, who was a man of a violent temper, enraged at the reſiſtance they experienced, and ſtill more ſo at the opprobrious term beſtowed on him by Becket, raiſed his arm, and aimed a blow at his head; which the Primate perceiving, he bowed his neck, and joining his hands in a poſture of prayer, recommended his ſoul and the cauſe of the church to God, and to the ſaints of that cathedral. A monk, named Edward Grim, interpoſing his arm to ward off the blow, it was almoſt cut off, and the Archbiſhop received at the ſame time a ſlight wound in the head. The blow was immediately repeated,

and he received it in the ſame devout poſture, without motion, word, or groan; but the third blow brought him proſtrate to the ground; and the conſpirators preſſing to partake in the murder, his ſcull was almoſt cloven in two, and his brains were ſcattered about the pavement.

Such was the tragical end of Thomas à Becket. It happened on the twenty-ninth of December, in the year 1170, which was the fifty-third of his age. That he was a man of extenſive abilities we are not permitted to doubt, as the concurring accounts of all ancient hiſtorians evidently tend to confirm the fact; but the actions of his life moſt certainly afford not the ſmalleſt proof of ſuperior wiſdom. If we believe that, during his enjoyment of the high office of Chancellor, his oſtentatious diſplay of extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and his avowed fondneſs for ſcenes of diſſipation, were wholly affected, and that he had adopted a regular ſyſtem of hypocriſy, in order to attain to that elevated ſtation to which he was afterwards promoted; we muſt indeed allow him to have been poſſeſſed of acute penetration and conſummate art: but if from thence we are induced to admit the ſincerity of his conduct as Primate; to believe that he was truly of opinion the cauſe of religion could be promoted by the encouragement of clerical uſurpations, the protection of eccleſiaſtical culprits, a contempt for the laws of the realm, a violation of ſolemn oaths, and an attempt to excite a rebellion; if we are led to ſuppoſe that Becket could really entertain ſuch ſentiments, notwithſtanding the prevalent ſpirit of ſuperſtition; we muſt ſtrenuouſly maintain that his talents were marked with the ſtrongeſt traits of imbecility. On the other hand, if we transfer his hypocriſy from the Chancellor to the Primate—for the ſuſpicion to which every ſudden and violent tranſition is juſtly liable, renders it impoſſible to exempt him wholly from the charge of diſſimulation—we are equally at a loſs to diſcover any veſtige of his wiſdom. In either caſe, we find that Thomas à Becket was deſtitute of the grand requiſite in every miniſter, but more eſpecially in the chief miniſter of religion—that is, Virtue. He was, however, poſſeſſed of thoſe inferior qualities which too frequently cauſe the want of it to be overlooked. His perſonal accompliſhments were great: he was deeply ſkilled, like moſt of the dignified clergy of that age, in all the inſidious arts of ſophiſtry; which, being decorated with the ſpecious embelliſhments of erudition, wore the appearance, and had too often the effect, of ſolid argument. He was endued with a conſiderable portion of native cunning; his ſpirit was lofty and imperious; his courage no dangers could daunt: his deſigns, though ſeldom adopted with prudence, were, from his inflexible perſeverance in their proſecution, ſometimes crowned with that ſucceſs which ſhould be the ſole reward of wiſdom and integrity. His favourite ſchemes were of a moſt pernicious tendency, being calculated to emancipate the miniſters of religion from the neceſſary reſtraints of law, and to ſubject his king and country to the domination of a foreign power. His vanity was exceſſive; he was obſtinate and implacable, equally unmoved by the entreaties of his friends, or the threats of his enemies. His conduct was invariably marked by a ſpirit of violence, revenge, and ambition; ſtrangely derogatory to his ſacred character, as it evinced a more anxious ſolicitude in the purſuit of terreſtrial objects than in the attainment of religious conſolation. Among the numerous vices of this extraordinary man, his ſignal ingratitude to his royal benefactor holds a conſpicuous place, and has fixed an indelible ſtain upon that character which, ſtripped of the vain garb in which the weak ſons of ſuperſtition have arrayed it, is now expoſed to poſterity in it's native colours, and diſcovers the ſinner in the ſaint.

Though the murder of Thomas à Becket was attended with every aggravating circumſtance that could operate on the weak minds of the people, yet no tumult enſued in any part of the kingdom; not a ſingle attempt was made to inflict vengeance on the aſſaſſins, or even to bring them to juſtice. They paſſed the night in the neighbourhood of Canterbury, wholly free from moleſtation; from whence they ſoon after departed, without endeavouring to ſee the young King or any of his miniſters, or daring to return to the continent to Henry: ſo far were they from entertaining hopes that their ſovereign would ſcreen them from the puniſhment due to their guilt. They retired to the caſtle of Knareſborough, in Yorkſhire, which belonged to Hugh de Moreville, where they remained ſeveral months in perfect ſolitude; but, being at length commanded by the King to ſubmit to the judgment of the Pope, they repaired to Rome, from whence they were ordered to undertake a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem.

Henry, when he firſt received intelligence of Becket's violent proceedings, had adopted the reſolution to have him arreſted, and had even taken ſome ſteps towards putting his deſigns in execution: but the news of his murder threw him into the greateſt conſternation; he immediately foreſaw all the miſchievous conſequences that would reſult from it; perceived that the guilt of it would infallibly be laid to his charge; and that Becket, now dead, would be even productive of greater trouble than he had occaſioned him when alive. Theſe melancholly conſiderations, together with the horror that every virtuous mind muſt experience at the commiſſion of an act of barbarity, operated ſo powerfully on the mind of Henry, and inſpired him with ſuch unaffected concern, that he burſt out into the moſt bitter lamentations; and ſo deep was his affliction, that he ſhut himſelf up in his chamber for the ſpace of three days, and rejected every kind of ſuſtenance or conſolation. At length, his courtiers, being juſtly apprehenſive that his deſpair might be attended with fatal effects, broke in upon his ſolitude, employed every topic of comfort, perſuaded him to accept of nouriſhment, and ſought to divert his grief by ſuggeſting precautions to be taken in order to avert thoſe dangerous conſequences that might naturally be expected to reſult from the murder of the Primate.

The King was not miſtaken in his opinion that the

the chief guilt of this unfortunate tranſaction would be imputed to him: the world in general ſeemed to be convinced of his criminality, and repreſented the deed as the moſt execrable that had ever been perpetrated. The King of France, the Count of Blois, the Archbiſhop of Sens, and ſeveral other dignified eccleſiaſtics, ſent accounts of the affair to the ſovereign Pontiff, drawn up in the moſt tragical ſtile, exhorting him to unſheath the ſword of St. Peter, and inflict ſome dreadful puniſhment on "that horrible perſecutor of the Almighty, who "exceeded Nero in cruelty, Julian in perfidy, and "Judas in treachery!" The taſk of Henry, whoſe point of chief importance was to convince the Pope of his innocence, was by this means rendered extremely difficult. He reſolved, however, to attempt it; and accordingly diſpatched the Archbiſhop of Rouen, the Biſhops of Worceſter and Evreux, with five perſons of inferior rank, to Italy; and ordered them to perform the journey with the utmoſt expedition. When theſe ambaſſadors arrived at Freſcati, where the Pope then reſided, they experienced the moſt diſcouraging reception: they found that the partizans of Becket were continually ſtimulating Alexander to revenge; that the French monarch perſiſted in his exhortations to fulminate the cenſures of the church againſt the dominions of Henry; and that the very mention of their ſovereign's name before the ſacred college was received with every expreſſion of horror and execration. The Pope at firſt refuſed to admit the ambaſſadors into his preſence; but at length, the Abbot of Valaſſe, and the Archdeacon of Liſieux, were admitted to an audience; though, when they firſt ſaluted his Holineſs in the name of their maſter, the loud clamours of the whole aſſembly prevented them from proceeding. In the evening, however, they obtained from Alexander a private and quiet hearing; when they endeavoured to excuſe that ſudden tranſport of paſſion, which they confeſſed had betrayed Henry into a haſty exclamation that had given riſe to the commiſſion of the murder of which he was perfectly innocent: but the indignation of the Pope againſt Henry had been too powerfully excited to ſuffer that Pontiff to give implicit belief to their aſſertions.

The Thurſday before Eaſter, on which feſtival it was cuſtomary for the Pope to iſſue his cenſures againſt offenders of public notoriety, was now approaching; and the ambaſſadors of Henry were alarmed by the intelligence that his Holineſs then deſigned to publiſh a ſentence of excommunication againſt their maſter, and an interdict againſt his dominions. To avert theſe dreadful cenſures, they exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour, and by the judicious application of a conſiderable ſum of money acquired ſo many friends, that they obtained ſeveral audiences of the Pontiff, in which they pleaded the cauſe of their ſovereign with ſuch energy, that they prevailed on his Holineſs to forego his intentions; and the anathemas were accordingly pronounced only in general terms againſt all the actors, accomplices, and abettors, of Becket's murder. Before they could obtain this important indulgence, four of the ambaſſadors were compelled to take a ſolemn oath, in preſence of a full conſiſtory, that the King would abide by the deciſion of the Pope, who engaged to ſend two legates into Normandy to ſettle the terms of his reconciliation to the church. In ſhort, the diſpoſitions of the papal court appear to have undergone ſo total a change, that Alexander was prevailed upon to write a very friendly epiſtle to the King, and to abſolve ſuch of the Engliſh Prelates as Becket had excommunicated.

The clergy, meanwhile, though by this means they were fortunately diverted from venting their rage on Henry, did not fail to magnify the ſanctity of Becket; they extolled the merits of his ſufferings, and placed him foremoſt in the liſt of martyrs. His virtues formed the ſubject of endleſs panegyrics; and the miracles pretended to be wrought by his reliques were more numerous and abſurd, and atteſted with more impudence, than any which ever diſgraced the legend of the moſt credulous confeſſor. Gervaſe of Canterbury ſays that, when he wrote, two volumes of theſe miracles were to be ſeen at Chriſt-church, in Canterbury, equal to any which we read of in the Goſpel: for not only diſeaſes of all kinds were inſtantly healed by the ſimple invocation of his name, but amputated members, and eyes removed from their ſockets, were reſtored to the bodies from which they had been ſeparated; and even the dead were raiſed to life. To compleat the catalogue, we are told by Matthew Paris, that dead birds and other animals were alſo, by this means, reſtored to animation. Two years after his death, Becket was canonized by the Pope, without the uſual proceſs, or any formal examination of his pretended miracles; and a jubilee was eſtabliſhed for the annual celebration of his martyrdom. His body was removed to a ſumptuous ſhrine, enriched with ſplendid gifts from all parts of Chriſtendom. Pilgrimages were performed to obtain his interceſſion with Heaven; and it was computed that, in one year, above a hundred thouſand pilgrims arrived at Canterbury, and paid their devotions at his tomb. Among theſe was Lewis, King of France; who, according to Mezeray, left "rich marks of his piety" behind him.

When Henry found that he was in no immediate danger from the thunders of the Vatican, he thought it prudent to divert the attention of his ſubjects from the death of the Primate, which appears to have made a conſiderable impreſſion on their minds: though it was an event ſo pregnant with happy conſequences to the nation, that, whatever horror the perpetration of it might have excited for an inſtant, it could not fail to form a ſubject for rejoicing to every man of cool reflection and impartial judgment. With this view he now determined to undertake the conqueſt of Ireland: a project which he had formed at the commencement of his reign, when Pope Adrian the Fourth, who was an Engliſhman by birth, had ſent him a bull, in which he ſtrenuouſly exhorted him to the enterprize; and the King actually communicated his intentions to a great council of the nobility; but was perſuaded, by the entreaties of his imperial mother, to defer the

the execution of them to ſome future period. Were the preſumption of the ſovereign Pontiffs leſs notorious, it would appear ſingular that the Pope ſhould have preſumed to transfer to Henry an authority to which he could have no poſſible title himſelf: for, by his bull, he not only exhorted the King to undertake the expedition, but authorized him to ſecure to himſelf the poſſeſſion of the iſland, in order to promote the cauſe of Chriſtianity. The ardent zeal of Adrian will, however, ceaſe to excite wonder, when it is known that he expreſsly ſtipulated for an augmentation of the papiſtical revenue, by an extenſion of Peter-pence over Ireland.

The name by which Ireland was formerly diſtinguiſhed by the natives themſelves was *Erin*; from whence are evidently derived *Jerna*, *Juverna*, *Jouernia*, *Ouernia*, *Bernia*, and ſeveral other appellations beſtowed on it by ancient writers. The early Britons called it *Yverdon*; the Romans, *Hibernia*; and the Saxons, *Iren-landt*; or, *the Country of Iren, or Erin*. The etymology of the word *Erin* has not been ſtrictly aſcertained; but the conjecture of Camden, who derives it from an Iriſh word that ſignifies *Weſt*, is the moſt conſiſtent with probability, as Ireland is, in fact, the moſt weſtern iſland of Europe.

The firſt inhabitants of Ireland are traced, by ſome of the Iriſh authors, to times of remoteſt antiquity; but there is every reaſon to believe that their accounts are wholly fabulous, and that the iſland was really peopled from Britain, as Britain herſelf had before been from Gaul.

The converſion of the Iriſh to Chriſtianity was firſt undertaken when Celeſtinus the Firſt filled the papal chair. That Pontiff ſent Palladius to inſtruct them in the doctrine of the Scriptures; whoſe untimely death ſoon made way for Patrick, a diſciple of St. Germanus. The zeal of this laſt miſſionary was attended with ſuch extraordinary ſucceſs, that moſt of the natives were ſpeedily enlightened by the rays of the Goſpel. Hence the Iriſh held Patrick in the higheſt eſtimation: they regarded him as their apoſtle; and their poſterity ſtill claim him as the tutelar ſaint of their iſland. Soon after the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, Ireland abounded in monks, who were ſo celebrated for their ſanctity as to occaſion the iſland to be termed *The Country of Saints*. They were likewiſe ſo much diſtinguiſhed for their learning, that the Saxons frequently ſent their ſons to them for their education. This country gave birth to Columbanus, Aidan, Finanus, Colman, and many other learned men, whoſe pious labours were ſucceſsfully exerted in promoting the converſion of the Scots, Picts, and Anglo-Saxons. But thoſe foreign invaſions to which Ireland was continually expoſed effected the expulſion both of civil and religious knowledge.

The inhabitants of Ireland were diſtributed into ſepts, or clans, under the command of different chieftains, who were themſelves ſubject to the juriſdiction of a ſuperior lord, whoſe authority extended over a conſiderable diſtrict. The iſland was formerly divided into five of theſe diſtricts or kingdoms, viz. Ulſter, Meath, Munſter, Leinſter, and Connaught; and of the five princes, or chieftains, who governed theſe diviſions, he who was moſt diſtinguiſhed for his wiſdom, valour, and power, had conferred on him the dignity of Monarch, or King of Ireland; whoſe authority, however, was reſtricted to the enjoyment of the ſame privileges and honours which were allowed to the chief or head of the Saxon confederacy in the times of the Heptarchy. But, beſides theſe principal ſovereigns, there were a great number of inferior potentates, who aſſumed the appellation of King, which had not ſo extenſive a ſignification in the Iriſh language as in ours, implying merely a lord or ſuperior. The people were involved in the moſt profound ignorance; and, as they had never been ſubdued, or even invaded, by the Romans, who had diffuſed the arts of civilization over the whole weſtern world, they ſtill continued in the moſt unhappy ſituation that a nation can experience in it's tardy progreſs towards refinement: too far removed from a ſtate of nature to be wholly exempt from the vices of ſociety, and not ſufficiently approached to a ſtate of civilization to profit by the advantages to be derived from it. Ireland was firſt invaded by Egfrid, King of Northumberland, who reaped nothing but diſgrace from his enterprize. The Danes, at a ſubſequent period, made various deſcents upon the iſland, though they were generally repulſed; until the celebrated Turgis landed with a powerful army, and ſubdued the greateſt part of the four kingdoms of Connaught, Ulſter, Meath, and Leinſter. That chieftain enjoyed the fruits of his conqueſt about thirty years, when he was ſlain by Melachlin, King of Meath, in the Iſle of Lochvair; and moſt of his troops, being diſperſed in different parts of the country, were cut off by the natives. The next deſcent was made by Anlaf, and his two brothers, from Norway, who tranſported a ſtrong body of forces to Ireland, and built the cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, as the capitals of three diſtinct kingdoms, comprehending a ſmall extent of territory on the coaſt, which they fortified with caſtles, and maintained with occaſional ſupplies from Norway and the weſtern iſles of Scotland. The territories of the native Iriſh monarchs conſiſted of an open country, wholly unprovided with fortreſſes, and ſecured only by woods and moraſſes; while their ſubjects gained a ſcanty ſubſiſtence, inſufficient to procure the comforts of cloathing, by the exerciſe of paſturage.

Such was the ſituation of Ireland, when Dermot Macmorrogh, King of Leinſter, made application to Henry for aſſiſtance, in the year 1168. That prince had, by his tyrannical and licentious conduct, incurred the hatred of his ſubjects, who chearfully embraced the firſt opportunity that occurred for throwing off a yoke that had become inſupportable.

Dermot had formed a deſign on the perſon of Dovergilda, daughter of Melachlin, Prince of Meath, and wife of Ororic, Prince of Breffny: and, profiting by the abſence of her huſband, who, being under the neceſſity of viſiting a diſtant part of his territories, had left his wife in an iſland ſurrounded by a bog, which he deemed a place of ſufficient ſecurity,

ſecurity, he ſuddenly inveſted the place, and carried off the princeſs. The reſentment of Ororic being excited by this unprovoked injury, he implored the aſſiſtance of Roderic O'Connor, King of Connaught; which being granted, he invaded the dominions of Dermot, and expelled him his kingdom. The baniſhed monarch had recourſe to Henry in this emergency; and offered to hold his kingdom in vaſſalage under the crown of England, provided he would aſſiſt him to regain poſſeſſion of it.

Though Henry, who was at this time in Guienne, was much pleaſed with the application, he was too greatly embarraſſed by the rebellion of his continental ſubjects, and his diſputes with the ſee of Rome, to think of undertaking an immediate expedition to Ireland. That Dermot, however, might not be diſcouraged from purſuing his enterprize, he gave him letters-patent, addreſſed to all his ſubjects both in England and France, declaring that he had taken him under his protection, and empowering them to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his dominions. With theſe letters the exiled Prince returned to England, and eſtabliſhed his reſidence at Briſtol, on account of it's contiguity to his own territories. Here, after ſome time ſpent in uſeleſs attempts to engage the Engliſh nobility in his intereſt, he at laſt formed a treaty with Richard de Clare, ſurnamed Strongbow, Earl of Strigul, or Pembroke. This nobleman, who had conſiderably diminiſhed his paternal inheritance by a life of diſſipation and pleaſure, engaged to aſſiſt Dermot, by repairing to Ireland in the ſpring of the year 1169, with a ſufficient body of forces to effect his reſtoration: in return for which important ſervice, the Iriſh prince engaged to beſtow his daughter Eva in marriage on the Earl, and at the ſame to declare him heir to all his dominions.

While Richard was aſſembling his troops, Dermot removed to St. David's, in Wales; and meeting with Robert Fitz-Stephens, Conſtable of Abertivi, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, he engaged them alſo to aſſiſt him in his undertaking. Having thus ſecured ſuccour ſufficient to enſure him ſucceſs, he returned privately to Ireland, and repaired to the monaſtery of Fernes, which he had founded, where he made every neceſſary preparation for the reception of his allies.

The troops of Fitz-Stephens being firſt ready, he embarked in the enſuing ſpring, together with his nephew Meyler Fitz-Henry, Milo Fitz-David, and Hervey de Montmorency; and landed in Bannogh Bay, in the county of Wexford, with ſixty knights and three hundred archers. This inconſiderable body of troops, apparently ſo inadequate to the purpoſe they were deſtined to accompliſh, being compoſed of men of approved courage, not wholly unſkilled in military diſcipline, and compleatly armed—an advantage to which the Iriſh at this period were almoſt perfect ſtrangers—ſtruck a terror into the minds of the natives. Maurice de Prendergaſt arriving about the ſame time, with a reinforcement of ten knights and ſixty archers, enabled Fitz-Stephens to attempt the ſiege of Wexford, one of the towns that was inhabited by the Danes, which he took, after a trifling reſiſtance. Fitz-Gerald arrived ſoon after, with ten knights, thirty eſquires, and a hundred archers; and, having effected a junction with the other troops, Dermot found himſelf at the head of an army that no force in Ireland could poſſibly withſtand. Several actions enſued, in which Roderic, the chief of the Iriſh confederacy, was conſtantly defeated; and the Prince of Oſſory was compelled to ſubmit, and give hoſtages for his peaceable demeanour. Elated with this ſucceſs, Dermot was no longer content with the ſimple completion of his original project; but, having effected his own reſtoration, he now aimed at the depoſition of Roderic, and aſpired to obtain the ſovereignty of the whole iſland.

In proſecution of theſe views, he preſſed the Earl of Strigul, by earneſt and repeated ſolicitations, to fulfil his engagements; and repreſented to him the important advantages that might be derived from an immediate and powerful reinforcement of warlike troops from England. Though that nobleman had, in compliance with his promiſe, made conſiderable preparations for the enterprize, he dared not venture to embark in it without the permiſſion of his ſovereign, ſince the object was now changed from the reſtoration of Dermot to the conqueſt of Ireland: he therefore ſent over to the King, who was ſtill in Normandy. Henry evinced a great unwillingneſs to comply with his requeſt; but, being ſtrongly ſolicited by the Earl, he ſuffered ſome expreſſions to eſcape him, which Strongbow conſtruing into a permiſſion, haſtened back to England, and prepared himſelf for the execution of his deſign. When he had collected an army of twelve hundred men, in which were two hundred knights, and a fleet ſufficient to tranſport them, he received poſitive orders from the King to deſiſt from his enterprize. He had, however, advanced too far to retreat; ſo that, after ſome little heſitation, knowing that his ruin would be the inevitable conſequence of his obedience to the orders of his ſovereign, and that if he proceeded, he had a fair proſpect of obtaining a ſplendid fortune, he reſolved to riſque the King's diſpleaſure. Accordingly, he embarked his troops at Milford Haven; and landed, on the twenty-third of Auguſt, in the year 1170, in the vicinity of Waterford, which he took by ſtorm, a few days after his arrival. He next marched to Dublin, which he likewiſe reduced in a ſimilar manner; and Roderic, in revenge, cut off the head of Dermot's natural ſon, who had been left as an hoſtage in his hands.

Strongbow now celebrated his marriage with Eva, the eldeſt daughter of Dermot; and that monarch dying at Fernes, on the firſt day of May, in the year 1171, he ſucceeded to the kingdom of Leinſter, of which he was ſuffered to take poſſeſſion without the ſmalleſt oppoſition. He now adopted the views of his father-in-law, and aimed at the reduction of the whole iſland. Roderic, and the other Iriſh Princes, being alarmed at the danger that threatened them, formed a junction of their reſpective forces, and laid ſiege to Dublin with an army of thirty

thouſand men: but Earl Strongbow making an unexpected ſally at the head of ninety knights, with their followers, put his numerous army to rout, drove them from the field, and purſued them with great ſlaughter; which ſo intimidated the Iriſh, that they gave him no farther interruption in the purſuit of his conqueſt.

Intelligence of this rapid ſucceſs having been conveyed to Henry, who was ſtill in Normandy, he expreſſed the greateſt reſentment at the preſumption of his ſubjects; who, in contempt of his poſitive orders, had dared to attempt a conqueſt which he had meant to reſerve for himſelf. In order to impede their farther progreſs, he iſſued a proclamation to prohibit any of the Engliſh from repairing to Ireland; and to command thoſe who were already there to return to England before the feſtival of Eaſter, on pain of perpetual baniſhment and the confiſcation of their eſtates. Strongbow was juſtly alarmed at the adoption of a meaſure that tended at once to deprive him of his followers, and to evince the deep diſpleaſure of his ſovereign. To avert the effects of it, he diſpatched Reymond, his chief friend, to Henry, to make him an offer of all his acquiſitions in Ireland in terms of humility and ſubmiſſion. Though the King was evidently pleaſed at this proceeding, he would make no promiſe of favour to the Earl; and Reymond was compelled to return without having been able to obtain any poſitive aſſurance of pardon.

Henry having arranged his affairs, entruſted his continental dominions to the government of his ſon; and, ſailing for England, landed at Portſmouth on the third of Auguſt. Strongbow no ſooner heard of his arrival, than he haſtened to meet him; and by the reſignation of his conqueſts, and the moſt ſubmiſſive deportment, found means to appeaſe his indignation. Henry received him into favour; reſtored him his Engliſh eſtates, which had been confiſcated in conſequence of his refuſal to comply with the terms of the proclamation; and even allowed him to retain a conſiderable part of the kingdom of Leinſter, to be held in vaſſalage of the crown: but he thought proper to take the city of Dublin, and all the towns on the coaſt, into his own poſſeſſion.

Every thing being prepared for an expedition to Ireland, the King embarked his army at Milford Haven, on board a fleet of four hundred and forty tranſports; and, ſailing from thence with a fair wind, landed, on the twenty-ſixth of October, near the town of Waterford. He found the Iriſh ſo diſpirited by their late misfortunes, that, in a progreſs which he made through the iſland, he had no other occupation than to receive their ſubmiſſions. The petty princes of the country haſtened to do homage to him as their ſovereign lord; and when he had exacted the oaths of fealty, and impoſed a trifling tribute as an acknowledgment of his ſovereignty, he diſmiſſed them with valuable preſents. From Waterford he advanced with his army to Dublin; which city he entered on the twenty-firſt of November, without having heard the ſmalleſt tidings of an enemy. In this metropolis of his new-acquired kingdom he celebrated the feſtival of Chriſtmas, in a temporary palace, compoſed of wood, that was erected for the purpoſe; and here he was viſited by many of his tributary chieftains, who could not refrain from burſting into exclamations of ſurprize at the ſight of ſuch abundance and variety of proviſions.

During his reſidence at Dublin, where he paſſed the firſt months of the year 1172, he took ſome pains to regulate the affairs of his new dominions, and to eſtabliſh a kind of police by the introduction of the Engliſh laws and cuſtoms.

The Iriſh clergy, in the acts of a council held at Caſhel, on the twenty-fifth of March this year, confeſſed their obligations to him in the moſt grateful terms; acknowledging that, previous to his arrival in Ireland, many evil cuſtoms had obtained, the abolition of which had been effected by his wiſdom and authority.

Soon after Candlemas, Henry repaired from Dublin to Wexford, where he waited in impatient expectation of news from England; but a continued ſucceſſion of violent ſtorms and contrary winds interrupted all communication between the two iſlands for ſeveral weeks. At length, however, he received intelligence, about the middle of Lent, that the two legates, Albert and Theodwin, to whom was committed the trial of his conduct relative to the murder of Archbiſhop Becket, had arrived in Normandy ſome months before; and, being impatient of farther delay, threatened to lay all his dominions under an interdict, if he did not ſpeedily appear before them. Though he was anxious to paſs the ſummer in Ireland, he was induced by this advice to make immediate preparations for his departure: accordingly, having put garriſons into all the places of importance that he had in his poſſeſſion, and appointed Hugh de Lacy, a nobleman whoſe courage, wiſdom, and fidelity, he had frequently experienced, governor of Dublin, and chief juſticiary of the kingdom, he embarked at Wexford on Eaſter Monday, and in the evening of the ſame day landed at Portfinnan, in South Wales.

It is not to be ſuppoſed that the garriſons eſtabliſhed in Ireland by Henry were adequate to retain the country in ſubjection; they could only be intended to facilitate any future operation, or to repreſs any partial revolt. The low ſtate of commerce and induſtry, during thoſe ages, rendered it impracticable for princes to ſupport regular armies of ſufficient magnitude for ſuch purpoſes; and the poverty of Ireland was ſtill more inadequate to bear ſo conſiderable an expence. The only expedient by which a conqueſt could be then maintained was by the importation of a multitude of emigrants to divide the lands of the vanquiſhed, and to occupy every office of truſt and authority; thereby tranſforming the ancient inhabitants into a new people. By this policy the northern invaders, in early times, and the firſt William at a later period, had been enabled to eſtabliſh their dominion, and to erect kingdoms, which preſerved the ſtability of their primitive foundations, and were tranſmitted to the poſterity of their firſt conquerors. But the ſtate of

Ireland

Ireland rendered that country ſo diſguſting to the Engliſh, that only a few of deſperate fortunes could be prevailed upon, from time to time, to tranſport themſelves thither; who, inſtead of cultivating the rude manners of the natives by attempts to reclaim them from their barbarous cuſtoms, became gradually aſſimilated to the ancient inhabitants, and evinced a total degeneracy from thoſe of their own nation. It was likewiſe found requiſite to beſtow great military and arbitrary powers on the officers, who had only an inconſiderable force to keep in awe ſuch hoſtile multitudes; and, in a little time, law and equity became as much unknown in the Engliſh ſettlements as they had ever been among the Iriſh tribes. Palatinates were erected in favour of the new adventurers, who were allowed to enjoy an independent authority. The natives, never fully ſubdued, retained an inveterate animoſity againſt their conquerors, which occaſioned a continued infliction of mutual injuries. From theſe various cauſes the Iriſh remained wild and untractable during the courſe of four centuries. It was not till the latter end of Elizabeth's reign that the iſland was compleatly reduced; nor till that of her ſucceſſor that it afforded hopes of becoming a conqueſt of national utility to the Engliſh.

Henry made no ſtay in England; but, proceeding with the utmoſt expedition to Portſmouth, embarked for Barfleur, in Normandy, where he arrived on the ninth of May. He had a conference with the Pope's legates at Savigny; where he found their demands ſo unreaſonable, that he threatened to break off the negotiation, and return to England. The Cardinals found that the ſeaſon was now paſt for taking an advantage of Becket's murder; which, had it been immediately followed by an interdict and excommunication, might have thrown the whole kingdom into confuſion. The time gained by Henry had fortunately appeaſed the minds of ſuch as either falſe zeal or artful malevolence had tended to influence; and the clergy, being in daily hopes of an accommodation with the King, had willingly given credit to the aſſertions of his partizans, who ſtrenuouſly maintained that he was wholly innocent of the murder, and a ſtranger to the deſigns of the aſſaſſins. The Cardinals, being aware of theſe circumſtances, perceived the neceſſity of reducing the exorbitancy of their demands; and accordingly appointed a ſecond conference, which was held at Avranches, on the twenty-ſeventh of September; where, after much altercation and debate, an accommodation was happily effected. Henry declared upon oath, before the reliques of the ſaints, that, far from being acceſſary to the death of the Archbiſhop, he had experienced the moſt heart-felt grief when he received intelligence of it. But, as the diſpleaſure which he had haſtily expreſſed at the conduct of the Primate had probably been the occaſion of his murder, he conſented to ſubmit to the following conditions, as an atonement for his offence: To give to the Knights-Templars as much money as would maintain two hundred knights, during a year, in the defence of Jeruſalem; and to aſſume the croſs himſelf at the following Chriſtmas; and, ſhould the Pope require it, ſerve three years againſt the Infidels, either in Spain or Paleſtine: not to obſtruct the regular courſe of appeals to the Pope in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, but to content himſelf with exacting ſufficient ſecurity from ſuch clergymen as left his dominions to proſecute an appeal, that they would attempt nothing againſt his legal rights and prerogatives: not to inſiſt on the obſervance of ſuch cuſtoms as were derogatory to the privileges of the church, that had been introduced ſince his acceſſion to the throne: to reſtore all the lands which had been alienated from the ſee of Canterbury ſince the exile of Becket; and that he ſhould re-eſtabliſh all perſons who had ſuffered for their adherence to that Biſhop in the full poſſeſſion of their eſtates. Both the King and his ſon ſwore, at the ſame time, that they would adhere to Pope Alexander ſo long as he ſhould continue to treat them as Chriſtian and Catholic Kings. Upon ſigning theſe conceſſions, Henry received abſolution from the legates, and a confirmation of the grant of Ireland made by Pope Adrian.

Thus terminated this celebrated conteſt between the crown and mitre, leſs to the diſadvantage of the former than, conſidering the ſuperſtitious ſpirit of the times, could have been reaſonably expected. Henry had ever maintained that the Conſtitutions of Clarendon were expreſſive of the ancient cuſtoms of the realm; and no article of his agreement with the legates compelled him to forego his pretenſions. Appeals to the Pope were, indeed, allowed by that treaty, but ſubjected to ſuch reſtrictions, in the article of ſecurity, as might render them ineffectual: and, on the whole, the Conſtitutions of Clarendon ſtill remained as the law of the realm; though the Pope and his legates appear ſo fully to have entertained the idea that the power of the King was confined by no legal reſtraint, that they were ſatisfied with his departure, by treaty, from an eſſential article of theſe Conſtitutions, without requiring any formal repeal by the ſtates of the kingdom.

During his negotiation with the legates, Henry had an interview with the French monarch, at which all their differences were apparently adjuſted; and young Henry, with his ſpouſe, the Princeſs Margaret, were ſent over to England, accompanied by the Archbiſhop of Rouen, who anointed and crowned them on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, in the church of St. Swithin, at Wincheſter; and in the November following they were permitted to pay a viſit to Lewis, who had expreſſed an earneſt deſire to ſee his daughter.

Henry at this period appears to have attained the ſummit of human grandeur and felicity: he was in the prime of life; had a numerous offspring, which prevented the danger of a diſputed ſucceſſion, and repreſſed all pretenſions of his turbulent Barons. He had alſo taken every precaution which human ſagacity could ſuggeſt to prevent any breach between the different branches of his family, by ſettling the reſpective proviſion of each of them. He had appointed his eldeſt ſon Henry to ſucceed him in the kingdom of England, the dutchy of Normandy, and the territories of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine.

His

His ſecond ſon, Richard, was inveſted in the dutchy of Guienne and county of Poictou. Geoffrey, his third ſon, inherited the dutchy of Britanny, in right of his wife; and the new conqueſt of Ireland was deſtined for his fourth ſon, John; for whom he likewiſe projected a marriage with Adelais, the only daughter of Humbert, Count of Savoy and Maurienne, whoſe dowry was to conſiſt of extenſive demeſnes in Piedmont, Savoy, Breſſe, and Dauphiny. But, though the tranquillity of Henry thus ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed on the firmeſt baſis, a ſcene of domeſtic diſquiet was preparing to poiſon the ſource of his happineſs. His own grandeur, and the exaltation of his family, excited the jealouſy of his neighbours, and induced them to employ thoſe very ſons, whoſe welfare he had been ſo ſtudious to promote, for the purpoſe of diſturbing his government, and embittering his future life.

Young Henry, who was now in his ſixteenth year, began to aſpire to independence. The good qualities of this Prince were more than counterbalanced by thoſe of an oppoſite tendency: his courage, munificence, and affability, were indeed well calculated for the acquiſition of popular eſteem; but, not being tempered with diſcretion, they were more likely to be productive of evil than of good conſequences. Vanity, ambition, and unbounded extravagance, ſtood foremoſt in the catalogue of his vices; and his immoderate love of adulation betrayed a weakneſs diſgraceful to royalty. Impatient of reſentment, he was anxious to ſhake off all dependence on his father; and the French King, during the reſidence of young Henry at his court, employed every argument his malevolence could ſuggeſt to inflame his diſcontent and encourage his ambitious ſentiments. Though, ſince the acceſſion of Hugh Capet to the French throne, it had been the conſtant practice in France to crown the ſon during the life of his father, without conferring on him any preſent participation of royalty; Lewis perſuaded his ſon-in-law that, by this ceremony, which in thoſe days was deemed ſo important, he had acquired a title to ſovereignty; and that his father could not, without flagrant injuſtice, refuſe to cede to him the whole, or at leaſt a part, of his dominions. Lewis was aſſiſted in his attempt to inculcate theſe extravagant ideas into the mind of young Henry by Queen Eleanor, the mother of that Prince, who was enraged at her huſband, on account of his gallantries; by her uncle, Ralfe de Faye; and, in ſhort, by almoſt every one who attended on the perſon or partook of the favour of the Prince. A conſpiracy was formed by theſe inſidious agents of rebellion to dethrone the King, and inveſt his ſon with regal authority. The plot was conducted with the utmoſt ſecrecy; and ſeveral foreign Princes were engaged, by promiſes of extravagant grants from young Henry, to promote it's execution. To William the Lion, King of Scotland, he promiſed the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland; to Philip, Count of Flanders, the earldom of Kent; and to Matthew, Count of Boulogne, the brother of that nobleman, the earldom of Mortaigne, in Flanders, and ſome territorial poſſeſſions in England; and to Theobald, Earl of Blois, he granted a conſiderable annuity for his life, and the eſtates of his father in Touraine. Many of the moſt powerful Barons, both in England and in the King's continental dominions, together with Richard and Geoffrey, the younger brothers of Henry, were prevailed on to join in this unnatural conſpiracy.

When the plan was finally arranged, young Henry left the court of Lewis; and, on his return, deſired his father to reſign to him the immediate poſſeſſion either of the crown of England, or of the dutchy of Normandy, together with the territories of Anjou and Maine. On the King's refuſal to comply with this inſolent demand, he openly expreſſed his diſcontent, and ſpake of him in the moſt undutiful terms. When Henry thus diſcovered his ſon's intentions, he imputed his conduct to evil advice; and therefore removed ſeveral of his attendants, and placed others in their ſtead, of whoſe integrity he entertained a better opinion. But the only effect produced by this ſage precaution was to haſten his ſon's eſcape into France, which he accompliſhed about the middle of Lent. His father purſued him as far as Alençon; but finding there was no probability of overtaking him, and beginning to be apprehenſive of the conſequences, applied himſelf with unremitting diligence to put all the towns and caſtles on the frontiers in a proper poſture of defence.

The flight of young Henry was the ſignal for rebellion to the reſt of the conſpirators. He was ſpeedily joined by his brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, and by a conſiderable number of the factious Barons of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine. Even Queen Eleanor herſelf meditated an eſcape to the court of France, and had put on man's apparel for that purpoſe; when ſhe was ſeized by orders from her huſband, and thrown into confinement. In ſhort, the defection became ſo general, that the King knew not in whom to confide; and all Europe looked on his deſtruction as inevitable.

Though ſenſibly affected by the ingratitude of his children, and the revolt of many of his ſubjects, who were indebted to his liberality for the affluence they enjoyed; though preſſed on all ſides by a multitude of foes, and almoſt deſtitute of friends; Henry did not ſuffer his courage to be diminiſhed by the depreſſion of his ſpirits; but ſought to oppoſe the dangers that threatened him by an adequate exertion of wiſdom, activity, and valour. He diſpatched ambaſſadors to the French court, to expoſtulate with Lewis on the impropriety of his conduct in encouraging and ſupporting the unnatural rebellion of his ſons. He wrote accounts of his ſituation to all the Princes of Europe; and even ſolicited the Pope to iſſue the cenſures of the church againſt his undutiful children and their infamous accomplices: he ſent orders to all the governors of his towns and fortreſſes to be upon their guard, and prepare for an attack; and enjoined all his Barons, in whom he could repoſe any degree of confidence, to be ready to attend him with their followers. He likewiſe engaged in his ſervice an army of twenty thouſand Brabançons, a kind of mercenary

mercenary banditti, who infeſted all the European ſtates; ſubſiſted upon plunder; and, like the modern Swiſs, were ready to engage in the ſervice of any Prince who would pay them with punctuality. The event ſoon evinced the ſagacity of theſe precautions: for, early in the ſpring, hoſtilities commenced, and attacks were made on many different places at the ſame time. The Counts of Flanders and Boulogne began their operations on the frontiers of Normandy, by laying ſiege to Aumale, which was ſurrendered into their hands by the treachery of it's governor, the Count of Aumale This nobleman was taken priſoner; and, under the pretence of obtaining his liberty, opened the gates of all the fortreſſes that were in his poſſeſſion to the enemy. The two Counts next beſieged and took Neufchatel and Driencourt: but the Count of Boulogne having received a mortal wound in the knee at the laſt of theſe places, his brother, the Count of Flanders, was ſo much affected with his loſs, which he was inclined to regard as a puniſhment for having engaged in an unjuſt enterprize, that he immediately withdrew all his troops from Normandy.

During this time, the factious Barons of Anjou, Maine, Aquitaine, and Britanny, had openly revolted, and laid waſte the royal demeſnes in their reſpective provinces. The King of France had entered Normandy, with young Henry, at the head of a powerful army, and laid ſiege to Verneüil. Nor was England undiſturbed during this general commotion: the King of Scotland invaded Cumberland, beſieged the city of Carliſle, and deſolated the adjacent country; while the vaſſals of the Earl of Leiceſter, and other rebellious Barons, appeared in arms in the centre of the kingdom.

Henry, having checked the progreſs of the Flemiſh arms, now marched to the relief of Verneüil, which had been vigorouſly defended by Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp, the governors: but, after a month's ſiege, the garriſon had been compelled to capitulate through want of proviſions; and had engaged, if not relieved within three days, to ſurrender the town, and retire to the citadel. On the laſt day, Henry appeared with his army on the heights above Verneüil; which induced the King of France, who had believed him to be at a conſiderable diſtance, to raiſe the ſiege, and retire with ſuch precipitation, that his camp was left a prey to the Engliſh. The vaſſals of the French crown being diſguſted with the ill ſucceſs they had experienced, and their time of ſervice being now expired, diſbanded, and retired into their ſeveral provinces.

After the retreat of Lewis, Henry diſpatched a body of Brabançons to repreſs the inſurrections in Britanny, where the defection had been more general, and attended with greater miſchief, than in the other provinces. Theſe overtook the rebel army near Dol; when an action enſued, in which the inſurgents were compleatly defeated, fifteen hundred of them being killed on the ſpot; and their leaders, the Earl of Cheſter and Count de Fougeres, compelled to take ſhelter in the town of Dol.

On the reception of this pleaſing intelligence, Henry left Rouen; and, marching all night, arrived at Dol the next morning, and preſſed the ſiege of that place with ſo much ardour, that he obliged the governor and garriſon to ſurrender at diſcretion. By the adoption of theſe vigorous meaſures, the inſurrections in Britanny were entirely quelled; and Henry, in the courſe of a few months, found the ſchemes of his numerous enemies totally inſidious proj[illegible] diſconcerted.

Theſe conſiderations induced Lewis to propoſe a [illegible]ry, hoping that the adconference; to which He[illegible]ld at leaſt enſure him vantages he had obtained wo[illegible]ted: and the two reaſonable terms, willingly conſe[illegible]ie and Giſors; monarchs accordingly met between T[illegible]rtification where the King of England had the m[illegible] inveto ſee his three ſons in the retinue of his mo[illegible]or terate enemy. As Lewis had no other pretence war than that of ſupporting the claims of the young Princes, Henry made them ſuch offers as children might be aſhamed to inſiſt on, and as nothing but parental affection could poſſibly have extorted from him. He inſiſted only on maintaining the ſovereign authority in all his dominions; but offered to young Henry half the revenues of England, with ſome places of ſtrength in that kingdom; or, if he rather choſe to reſide in Normandy, half the revenues of that dutchy, with all thoſe of Anjou. To Richard he propoſed to cede half the revenues of Guienne, with four important fortreſſes; and to Geoffrey he promiſed to reſign Britanny: and, if theſe conceſſions were not deemed ſufficient, he offered to make ſuch additions as the Pope's legates, who were then preſent, ſhould think requiſite.

The Earl of Leiceſter, who attended the conference, either from the impetuoſity of his temper, or, which is more probable, from the fear that propoſals ſo generous would not be rejected, and that his own perſonal ſafety or intereſt might be affected by a reconciliation between the King and his ſons, broke forth into the moſt violent reproaches againſt Henry, and even put his hand to his ſword, as if he intended to make an attempt on the life of his ſovereign; which threw the aſſembly into ſuch confuſion, that it immediately broke up, and put an end to the negotiation.

During theſe tranſactions, the rebels in England were making the moſt deſperate efforts; but the exertions of Richard de Lucy, whom Henry had left guardian of the realm, prevented them from being ſucceſsful. That active nobleman firſt took the town of Leiceſter, on the twenty-eighth of July, which belonged to Robert de Bellomont, Earl of Leiceſter, who was then on the continent. He then marched to the north, to repel an invaſion of the Scottiſh King, who had committed great devaſtations in Northumberland; and, having compelled that monarch to retire, purſued him into his own territories with a deſign to retaliate; when he received intelligence that the Earl of Leiceſter had landed, on the ſeventeenth of October, near Walton Caſtle, in Suffolk, with an army of Flemings. He haſtened, therefore, to conclude a truce with the King of Scotland, who was ignorant of this circumſtance; and, accompanied by Humphrey de Bohun,

High Conſtable of England, and the Earls of Arundel, Glouceſter, and Cornwall, advanced to meet the Earl of Leiceſter. The two armies came to an engagement on the firſt of November, near St. Edmondſbury; when the Flemings, who were moſtly weavers and artificers, were thrown into confuſion at the firſt onſet; ten thouſand of them were ſlain; and the Earl of Leiceſter, with his Counteſs, and ſeveral noblemen, taken priſoners.

This action terminated the campaign of the year 1173, which had been productive of great glory and advantage to Henry; who, in the month of December, concluded a truce with the King of France to the following Eaſter, and likewiſe renewed that which ſubſiſted with the King of Scotland for the ſame term.

During the winter, the moſt formidable preparations were made on both ſides for the renewal of hoſtilities at the expiration of the truce; and the following plan of operations was concerted between the confederates: The King of Scotland was deſtined to invade the northern counties; while young Henry, aſſiſted by the Count of Flanders, whoſe ambition had conquered his remorſe, was to make a deſcent on the ſouthern coaſt of England, at the head of a numerous army of Flemings. Several Engliſh noblemen, who had joined the rebels, promiſed to aſſemble their vaſſals and followers in their reſpective counties; and the King of France, with the two young Princes, Richard and Geoffrey, was to invade Normandy with all his forces, in order to deter Henry from going to the relief of his Engliſh dominions.

In purſuance of this plan, the King of Scotland, at the appointed time, entered the northern provinces with an army of eighty thouſand men, and committed the moſt terrible devaſtations: while his brother David, Earl of Huntingdon; Robert, Earl of Ferrers; Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk; Roger de Mowbray; Archetil de Mallory; Richard de Moreville; Hamo de Maſcie; together with all the numerous vaſſals of the two potent Earls of Leiceſter and Cheſter; took up arms in different parts of the kingdom. So general was the confuſion created by theſe numerous inſurgents, that had young Henry, with his army of Flemings, landed at this period, there is little doubt but that all England muſt have ſubmitted to his authority. Fortunately, however, his ill-timed delay fruſtrated all his ſchemes. Richard de Lucy, accompanied by thoſe Barons who ſtill preſerved their loyalty, oppoſed the rebels in the centre of the kingdom; while, by the courageous exertions of Geoffrey, Biſhop-elect of Lincoln, the natural ſon of King Henry by the Fair Roſamond, who placed himſelf at the head of the royaliſts of Lincolnſhire and Yorkſhire, Roger de Mowbray was defeated, and the troops of the King of Scotland compelled to retire towards the borders of their own territories.

At this juncture, Henry, who had foiled all his enemies on the continent, and placed proper garriſons on his frontiers, determined by his preſence to animate his adherents in England, which was now become the chief ſeat of danger: he therefore embarked at Barfleur, on the eighth of July, in the year 1174; and landed the ſame evening at Southampton, with the two Queens, Eleanor and Margaret, and the captive Earl of Cheſter. In order to remove every ſhadow of doubt from the minds of the clergy, and from thoſe of his ſubjects in general, as to the ſincerity of his grief for the murder of Becket, he now reſolved to make ample atonement to the aſhes of that reputed ſaint. For this purpoſe he repaired to Canterbury; and when he came in ſight of the cathedral, at the diſtance of three miles, diſmounted, and walked barefoot towards it, in a road that was ſo full of ſharp-pointed ſtones, that his feet were ſoon ſtained with blood. When he arrived at the tomb of St. Thomas, he proſtrated himſelf before it, and remained ſome time in fervent prayer; while the Biſhop of London declared to the people, in his ſovereign's name, that he had neither commanded nor adviſed, nor by any artifice or connivance, promoted the death of Becket; for the truth of which he appealed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to the teſtimony of God.

Hitherto he had done nothing inconſiſtent with true piety; but he next ſubmitted to a penance of the moſt extraordinary nature. He aſſembled a chapter of the monks, diſrobed himſelf before them, ordered each of them to take a ſcourge of diſcipline, and preſented his bare ſhoulders to the laſhes which he ordered them, as well as ſeveral Biſhops and Abbots who attended this ſingular ceremony, to inflict. When this ſcene of flagellation was finiſhed, he returned to the ſhrine of St. Thomas to renew his prayers, which he continued with great fervour the whole of that day and of the enſuing night. Early the next morning he viſited all the altars of the church, and paid his devotions to the reliques of the different ſaints who were interred beneath them: nor did he leave the cathedral till he had aſſiſted at the morning maſs.

During this time, Henry had taken no kind of ſuſtenance; and, except when he expoſed his bare ſhoulders to the ſcourge, was clad in ſackcloth. Before his departure, he aſſigned an annual revenue for the maintenance of continual lights before the tomb of Thomas à Becket. He reached London in the evening, where he found it neceſſary to be let blood, as a fever had enſued in conſequence of this ſevere penance; and to repoſe himſelf for ſome days.

It is difficult to ſay whether the conduct of Henry in this particular was influenced by motives merely political, or by a ſpirit of unaffected, though miſtaken, piety. Strong reaſons might certainly be adduced in ſupport of either conjecture. As he was indiſputably a prince of conſummate wiſdom, he could not be inſenſible to the deſpotic influence of ſuperſtition over the weak minds of the multitude; and, as he found a ſpirit of rebellion prevail throughout his dominions, he might juſtly be apprehenſive that his enemies had availed themſelves of the only circumſtance of his reign that had excited a ſingle murmur of diſcontent to promote a general diſaffection; and that the minds of his people

people being poiſoned by their artful inſinuations, had induced them to miſtruſt the ſincerity of that ſorrow which he had evinced on the death of Becket, and to entertain ſtrong doubts of his innocence. At this critical conjuncture it was eſſentially requiſite to remove ſuſpicions ſo pregnant with danger; and the mode he adopted for that purpoſe would afford the moſt compleat demonſtration of his political wiſdom. If, however, we believe him to have been ſolely influenced by motives of policy, we muſt certainly think him obnoxious to cenſure; as an affectation of piety, for whatſoever purpoſe it be aſſumed, is an inſult to the Deity.

But, in the prevalence of ſuperſtition, in the times we are now delineating, which not only infected the minds of the vulgar, but ſhed it's dreary influence over all ranks of men, we might find great reaſon to believe that the conduct of Henry originated in a ſpirit of unaffected devotion. Thus influenced, though innocent of the murder of Becket, he might deem it neceſſary to impoſe ſome exemplary penance on himſelf, as a puniſhment for yielding to that impulſe of paſſion which occaſioned his death. In this caſe, though the luſtre of his wiſdom might be ſomewhat tarniſhed, he would be exempt from the more ſerious cenſure of religious profanation.

Henry had ſcarcely recovered from the effects of his penance, when he was diſturbed, in the dead of night, by the importunity of a page, who inſiſted upon being admitted to his preſence at that unſeaſonable hour. Being, therefore, introduced to the King, he told him he was diſpatched with good tidings from Ranulph de Glanville, the celebrated Engliſh lawyer, who was at that time ſheriff of Yorkſhire, and afterwards chief juſticiary of the kingdom. Henry eagerly enquired what thoſe tidings were; and the page informed him, that Glanville had taken the King of Scotland, and then detained him a captive in the caſtle of Richmond.

When the King read the letter which contained the particulars of this intereſting event, which the clergy did not fail to aſcribe to his recent reconciliation with St. Thomas of Canterbury, he ſhed tears of joy and gratitude; and, lifting up his hands towards heaven, returned thanks to the Almighty. He then left his bed, commanded all his friends to be inſtantly ſummoned, and all the bells of London to be rung for the purpoſe of proclaiming the happy tidings. The particulars of this pleaſing intelligence were as follow.

William, King of Scots, though obliged to retreat from before the caſtle of Prudhow, which he had inveſted, and from other fortified places, had ſtill continued to commit the moſt horrible devaſtations in the northern provinces; till the approach of Ranulph de Glanville, who was ſeconded by Bernard de Baliol, Robert de Stuteville, Odonel de Umfreville, William de Veſci, and other northern Barons, together with the gallant Biſhop of Lincoln, had compelled him to retreat to Alnwick, in Northumberland; at which place he fixed his camp. Thinking himſelf ſecure from any attack of the enemy, he weakened his army very much, by ſending out different detachments, to extend their ravages over the adjacent county. But Glanville having received intelligence of his ſituation, collected a choice body of about four hundred knights, and made a haſty and fatiguing march to Newcaſtle; where they halted for a ſhort time, in order to procure the neceſſary refreſhments, both for the men and horſes; and, at the dawn of day, reſumed their march. They arrived, unperceived, in the vicinity of the Scottiſh camp, under the cover of a thick fog: and William ſo little ſuſpected the approach of an enemy, that he at firſt miſtook the Engliſh for a body of his own ravagers, who were returning with their plunder. But the ſight of their banners ſoon undeceived him: far, however, from ſeeking to ſave himſelf by flight, though only attended by an hundred horſe, he attacked them with great intrepidity, in confidence that the numerous army which ſurrounded him muſt ſpeedily arrive to his aſſiſtance. His horſe being killed in the firſt encounter, he was taken priſoner; which ſo diſcouraged his followers, that they immediately fled. The detached parties, hearing of this diſaſter, retired with the utmoſt precipitation to their own country: but diſputes ariſing between them, they vented on each other that rage which they ſhould have reſerved for their enemies. The victors returned, after the action, to Newcaſtle, with their royal captive; whom they afterwards conducted to the caſtle of Richmond, as a place of greater ſecurity.

This victory was of the utmoſt importance to Henry; and fully juſtified the exceſſive joy he evinced on the occaſion, as it diſconcerted all the projects of the confederates, and produced the almoſt immediate reſtoration of tranquillity in England. The Biſhop of Durham, who was preparing to join the rebels, made his ſubmiſſions; and reſigned his caſtles of Norham, Durham, and Northallerton, into the hands of the King. Hugh Bigod, though he had received a ſtrong reinforcement of Flemings, was compelled to ſurrender all his fortreſſes, pay a fine of a thouſand marks, deliver hoſtages for his future good conduct, and take the oath of allegiance anew. Roger de Mowbray, and the Earl of Ferrers, were obliged to follow theſe examples; and obtain their pardon by the ſurrender of the caſtles of Thirſke, Tutbury, and Duffield: the fortreſſes of Groby, Montſorel, and Leiceſter, were alſo delivered to the King by the officers of the Earl of Leiceſter; and, in ſhort, a ſpirit of ſubmiſſion appears to have been as prevalent at this period, as that of rebellion had been about a month before.

Prince Henry and the Count of Flanders had long been detained on the continent by contrary winds; and, when they received the intelligence of the defeat of the King of Scotland, their ally, and the ſubſequent ſubmiſſions of their numerous partizans, they ſaw that no attempt upon England could poſſibly be attended with ſucceſs: they therefore abandoned the enterprize, and haſtened to join the King of France; who, with a numerous army, had

had made an irruption into Normandy, and commenced the ſiege of Rouen, the capital of the dutchy.

This place was defended with great vigour by the inhabitants, and ſeveral Norman barons in the intereſts of Henry, who had thrown themſelves into the city, with their vaſſals: and Lewis, deſpairing to take it by open force, had recourſe to a ſtratagem which was juſtly deemed diſhonourable. On the eve of St. Lawrence, he proclaimed a ceſſation of arms, in his own camp, for the next day, under pretence of celebrating that feſtival; and the citizens of Rouen, glad to procure a ſhort reſpite from the incredible fatigues they had experienced during the ſiege, obſerved it with perfect ſecurity, in full confidence of the French King's ſincerity.

While they were enjoying this temporary relaxation, by diverting themſelves in tilts and tournaments, on the ſouth ſide of the river, in ſight of the enemy, ſome prieſts had aſcended the tower where the alarm bell hung, in order to indulge their curioſity with a view of the enemy's camp. The ſtillneſs that prevailed over all their quarters firſt excited their ſurprize; but ſoon perceiving detachments moving from different places to one particular ſpot, they began to ſuſpect ſome act of treachery; and their ſuſpicions were ſpeedily confirmed, by diſcovering a number of ladders, and other neceſſary implements for an aſſault. They immediately rang the alarm-bell; and gave warning to the inhabitants, who ran to their ſeveral ſtations. The French, who, on hearing the alarm, haſtened their attack, had already applied their ladders, and mounted the walls in different places; but, being repulſed by the enraged citizens, were obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs.

This treacherous ſcheme was probably concerted to anticipate the diligence of Henry; who, having been apprized of the danger to which his Norman capital was expoſed, had embarked at Portſmouth on the ſeventh of Auguſt, and landed at Barfleur, with his Brabançons, and a thouſand Welſh whom he had recently taken into his pay. He took with him the captive King of Scots, and the Earls of Cheſter and Leiceſter, whom he ſecured in the priſon of Falaiſe; and then continued his march to Rouen, which he entered in triumph, by the bridge over the Seine, on the eleventh of Auguſt; and was received by the inhabitants with every poſſible demonſtration of joy.

The morning after his arrival, the King ordered the gate that led to the enemy's camp, which had been walled up, to be thrown open; and the ditch to be filled, for the convenience of attacking the beſiegers. He ſent his Welſh troops to ſcour the neighbouring woods; and, in the courſe of their excurſions, they intercepted a conſiderable convoy of proviſions deſtined for the French camp.

Lewis now deſpairing to take the city, and finding himſelf in an enemy's country, deſtitute of ſupplies, began to be anxious for his own ſafety; and, in order to extricate himſelf from the danger that menaced him, had recourſe to another artifice, ſtill leſs juſtifiable than the laſt. He ſent ambaſſadors to propoſe a conference at Malauny; and a truce of two days, as preparatory to the adjuſtment of a general peace, which he knew Henry was anxious to obtain. The propoſals being accepted, Lewis, under the protection of the truce, marched his army through the Green Foreſt; but, inſtead of halting at Malauny to attend the conference, purſued his march, with great precipitation, into his own territories.

Though Lewis had eſcaped from a perilous ſituation by this diſhonourable ſtratagem, he began to be apprehenſive of the effects of Henry's reſentment; who, being now victorious in every quarter, and abſolute maſter of his extenſive dominions, might exact a ſevere vengeance for the dangers and diſquietudes to which the arms and intrigues of France had expoſed him. Henry, on his ſide, was anxious to terminate an unnatural conteſt in which he had been ſo long engaged with his own children. Thus the neceſſity of an accommodation being experienced by both parties, a conference was propoſed by Lewis, and accepted by Henry: a ceſſation of arms was the immediate conſequence; and the two monarchs repaired to the appointed place, between Tours and Amboiſe, on the twenty-ninth of September; where a peace was concluded, by which the formidable conſpiracy againſt the King was diſſolved, and all thoſe who had been engaged in it releaſed from their oaths. The terms he granted to his ſons, though leſs advantageous than thoſe he had formerly offered, were ſtill more favourable than their conduct had given them reaſon to expect. He aſſigned them ſtipulated penſions for their ſupport, and ſome caſtles for their reſidence; and granted them an indemnity for all their adherents, who were reſtored to their eſtates and honours; except the King of Scots, and the Earls of Leiceſter and Cheſter, who were detained till the concluſion of a ſeparate peace. A mutual oblivion of injuries was conſented to; and Prince Henry agreed to confirm all the grants that had been made by his father during the war.

Thus ended this rebellion; which, as the noble and eloquent hiſtorian of this celebrated reign has obſerved, was the firſt and laſt ever raiſed in England, without ſome diſpute on the King's title to the crown, ſome difference of religion, or the pretence of ſome grievance, injurious to individuals or hurtful to the public. Yet, ill-founded as it was, it ſhook the throne: but Divine Providence ſo aſſiſted the rightful cauſe of the King, that his enemies fell before him, almoſt without human means; and their malice only ſerved to make his virtues more conſpicuous, and his power more extenſive.

The lenity and moderation of Henry, when he had thus attained the object of his wiſhes, were not leſs conſpicuous than his wiſdom and courage during the dangerous purſuit. He delivered from confinement, without exacting any ranſom, no leſs than nine hundred and ſixty-nine noblemen and gentlemen; but William, King of Scotland, was obliged to purchaſe his liberty by the ſacrifice of the ancient independence of his crown. Indeed, he was the more inclined to make this ſacrifice, from the ſtate

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of anarchy and confuſion to which his kingdom had been reduced during his captivity. It was therefore agreed, that both he and his nobles ſhould do homage to the King of England, and acknowledge him and his ſucceſſors for their ſuperior lord. On theſe terms a peace was concluded at Falaiſe, on the eighth of December; when William, having delivered hoſtages for the due performance of the articles contained in the treaty, was ſet at liberty. This was the firſt material advantage obtained by England over Scotland, which was now reduced to a ſtate of feudal ſubjection: nor was it obtained by any undue exertion of power; for the King of Scots had been taken priſoner in battle, when he was wantonly and unjuſtly engaged in a war againſt Henry, in which all the neighbours of that Prince, and even his own children, were without the ſmalleſt provocation combined againſt him; and had therefore juſtly incurred the reſentment of the King, whom he had in a manner obliged to exact ſuch terms as would effectually tend to ſecure his future ſafety and repoſe.

When the time approached for the King's return to England, Prince Henry began to evince ſome ſuſpicions of his father's ſincerity—which are ſaid to have been infuſed into his mind by Lewis—and to betray fears that he intended to keep him in a ſtate of captivity: but, his father having effectually diſpelled theſe ill-grounded apprehenſions, the Prince repaired to the caſtle of Bure, near Caen, where the King then was; and, throwing himſelf at his feet, profeſſed his ſorrow for his paſt conduct, and requeſted that, as a token of his forgiveneſs, he would permit him to do homage and ſwear fealty to him, like the reſt of his ſubjects. This requeſt was complied with; and, after he had paid a farewel viſit to his father-in-law, he accompanied the King to England, where they arrived on the ninth of May.

Soon after their arrival, the terms of the late pacification were read and ratified, in a great national council held at Weſtminſter, in which young Henry renewed his homage, and repeated his oath of fealty, to his father. They then made a progreſs together through thoſe parts of the kingdom where the defection had been moſt general, to ſuperintend the demolition of the caſtles which had been taken from the factious nobles, and to impoſe ſevere fines on them for their tranſgreſſions of the foreſt-laws. In this the King appears to have had two objects in view: the repleniſhing his own treaſury, which the expences of the late war had nearly exhauſted; and the impoveriſhment of his rebellious ſubjects.

During this progreſs, Henry and his ſon were met at York, on the tenth of Auguſt, by William King of Scotland, accompanied by all the prelates, earls, barons, and freeholders, of his kingdom; who, in compliance with the treaty of Falaiſe, did homage and ſwore fealty to the King, and then ſwore fealty to the Prince, as his ſucceſſor: after which their hoſtages were reſtored. Thus was the execution of that important treaty compleated, which eſtabliſhed the feudal ſubjection of Scotland to the crown of England.

On the King's return from his tour, a council was held at Windſor, about Michaelmas; at which a treaty was concluded with the ambaſſadors of Roderic O'Connar, King of Connaught, by which that prince agreed to do homage to Henry for his kingdom, and to impoſe on himſelf a tribute, conſiſting of the tenth hyde of all the cattle killed in his dominions.

Henry, having enforced every political arrangement that the ſafety of his kingdom required, now turned his attention to the formation of new laws and regulations for the more equal diſtribution of juſtice throughout the realm. The principal grievances had ariſen from the ignorance and partiality that were frequently diſplayed by the Sheriffs and Barons in the adminiſtration of juſtice in the inferior courts; and to procure relief from an iniquitous ſentence pronounced by theſe Judges, was a matter of extreme difficulty, from the great diſtance and unſettled ſtate of the King's Court, which conſtantly attended his perſon. To remedy theſe inconveniences, Henry ſummoned a great council of his Prelates, Earls and Barons, to meet at Northampton, in the year 1176. It was here determined to divide the whole kingdom into ſix circuits; and to appoint three judges, learned in the law, to hold courts in each of them, by a commiſſion from the King, empowering them to hear and decide all cauſes not exceeding the value of one half of a Knight's fee, except ſuch whoſe peculiar intricacy or importance required the deciſion of the ſuperior court. Theſe itinerant juſtices had likewiſe authority to judge in all criminal cauſes and pleas of the crown. On entering into office, an oath was exacted from them to adminiſter juſtice to all perſons with equal impartiality.

This excellent inſtitution experienced a trifling change in the year 1179, by a reduction of the circuits to four, and an augmentation of the number of judges to be employed in each of them. By this eſtabliſhment, which placed the execution of the laws in the hands of men of talents and integrity, the injuſtice of the inferior courts received an effectual check. But the honour of introducing itinerant judges is not to be aſcribed to Henry, as there is ſufficient evidence to prove that ſuch courts were occaſionally held in more ancient times: ſtill, however, he had the merit of defining the limits of their authority, rendering them general, and giving them a certain degree of permanence.

The King, at this period, enacted ſevere penalties againſt robbery, murder, coining, and arſon; and ordained, that theſe crimes ſhould be puniſhed by the amputation of the right hand and right foot. By the ſame laws, the total abolition of the ſcandalous practice of pecuniary commutation for capital offences, which had gradually fallen into diſuſe, appears to have been effected. The ſuperſtitious modes of trial by fire and water ordeals ſtill ſubſiſted, though condemned by the church; but Henry ordained, that any man accuſed of murder, or any heinous felony, by the oath of the legal knights of the county, ſhould, even though acquitted by the ordeal, be obliged to abjure the realm. He likewiſe attempted to diſcourage the abſurd and barbarous

barous trial by duel or battle, by endeavouring to introduce the more rational trial by juries, or by the oaths of twelve freeholders of the vicinage, called *The Grand Aſſize*. With this view he enacted a law, which gave to the defendant, in a plea of right, the option of ſupporting his title by ſingle combat, or by a Grand Aſſize: "Which," ſays Glanville, "is a benefit granted to the people by "the clemency of the King, in tenderneſs of the "lives of his ſubjects, whereby men might decline "the doubtful award of battle, and try the right "to their freehold by a more rational mode of de-"ciſion."

The trial by battle, however, was never formally aboliſhed by law in England. So late as the year 1571, a ſimilar trial was appointed under the inſpection of the Judges in the Court of Common Pleas: and, though it was not carried to extremities, Queen Elizabeth having interpoſed her authority, and enjoined the parties to compound the matter; yet, in order to preſerve their honour, the liſts were marked out, and all the forms previous to the combat were obſerved with great ceremony. The inſtitution enforced by Henry being found, however, more reaſonable, and better adapted to the ideas of a civilized people, obtained a gradual preference over it.

The King, fearing the ſtrength of the kingdom might be diminiſhed by the demolition of thoſe numerous fortreſſes which he had judged it prudent to deſtroy, fixed an aſſize of arms, by which all his ſubjects were obliged to put themſelves in a ſituation to act in their own defence, and in that of the realm. Every man poſſeſſed of one or more knights fees, was ordained to have for each fee a coat of mail, a helmet, a ſhield, and a lance; every free layman, poſſeſſed of goods to the value of ſixteen marks, was to be armed in a ſimilar manner; every one that poſſeſſed to the amount of ten marks was obliged to have an iron gorget, a cap of iron, and a lance; all burgeſſes were to have a cap of iron, a lance, and a *wambais*; that is, a coat quilted with wool, tow, or ſuch like materials.

It appears that archery, for their ſkill in which the Engliſh were afterwards ſo renowned, had not at this time become very common among them: the ſpear was the chief weapon employed in battle.

Henry paſſed an equitable law, that tended to emancipate vaſſals from one of the numerous marks of ſlavery impoſed on them by the rigours of the feudal tenures. It enacted, that the goods of a vaſſal ſhould not be ſeized for the debt of his lord, unleſs the vaſſal had become ſurety for the debt; and that the rents of vaſſals ſhould be paid to the creditors of the lord, and not to the lord himſelf. It is remarkable, that this law was paſſed by the King, in a council which he held at Verneüil, and which conſiſted of ſeveral Prelates and Barons of England, as well as ſome of Normandy, Poictou, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Britanny; and the ſtatute was obſerved in all theſe laſt-mentioned territories, though wholly unconnected with each other. A certain proof of the irregularity of the ancient feudal government, and of the uncertain authority of the ſovereign, which in ſome reſpects bordered on deſpotiſm, while in others it appeared but a mere nominal dower.

Notwithſtanding the King's affectionate treatment of his ſon, that prince ſtill entertained an averſion to his father's government, which was cheriſhed by thoſe paraſites who had inſinuated themſelves into his confidence. Diſguſted with his reſidence in England, he requeſted his father to ſuffer him to make a pilgrimage to St. James of Compoſtella. The King long reſiſted his ſolicitations; but they at length became ſo frequent and importunate, that he was induced to accord the deſired permiſſion; and the Prince had proceeded as far as Portſmouth, where he was waiting for a fair wind, when his brother Richard arrived from the continent, to ſolicit ſuccours for reducing the refractory Barons of Poitou, who had refuſed to ſurrender their caſtles in obedience to the orders of Henry. The arrival of his brother induced the Prince to return to court, where his father prevailed on him to poſtpone his pilgrimage, and accompany Richard to the continent; and the two Princes accordingly ſailed from Portſmouth on the nineteenth of April. But Henry, inſtead of aſſiſting his brother, repaired to the court of France, and left Richard to purſue his martial operations alone. He joined him, indeed, at the ſiege of Chateauneuf; but, after ſtaying about a fortnight in his camp, repaired to Poitiers, where he took into his ſervice a number of French and Norman Knights, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their inveterate enmity to his father. Liſtening to their ſuggeſtions, he was once more induced to renounce his duty and allegiance, and to prepare for another revolt; but the King, apprized of his intentions, adopted ſuch meaſures as rendered his projects abortive.

In order to ſtrengthen his power by foreign connections, he gave his daughter Eleanor in marriage to Alphonſo, King of Caſtile; and another daughter, whoſe name was Jane, he married to William, King of Sicily; to whom Cardinal Huguezun had made a very favourable report, both of her mental and perſonal accompliſhments. This legate had come over to England in order to abſolve Henry from the vow he had taken to go to the Holy Land; and he was ordered by the Pope to exerciſe his legatine authority in a viſitation of the Engliſh churches, and by inſiſting upon the execution of thoſe conditions annexed to the abſolution of Henry after the murder of Becket. The King, he averred, had conſented that no clergyman ſhould be ſummoned to anſwer before a lay-judge, for any crime or tranſgreſſion, except a violation of the foreſt-laws, and in caſe of lay fees which owed ſervice to the ſovereign or ſuperior lord. He had promiſed that no prelacy ſhould be kept vacant longer than one year, and exempted the clergy from the obligation of deciding their right by ſingle combat; an exemption which, as we have before obſerved, he had lately extended to the laity, by the wiſe inſtitution of the Grand Aſſize. Hitherto the murders of clergymen had only been ſubject to eccleſiaſtical cenſures; but the King now enacted a law, which ordained

ordained that ſuch aſſaſſins ſhould be tried in his own court, before the juſticiary of the realm, in preſence of the Biſhop of the dioceſe or his official; and that, in addition to the uſual puniſhment incurred by thoſe who were convicted of murdering a layman, they ſhould forfeit, for themſelves and heirs, all their real eſtates and lands of inheritance.

In return for theſe conceſſions in favour of the clergy, the Pope reſigned the pretended exemption inſiſted on by Becket when he refuſed to plead in the King's Court; and, in a bull, dated at Freſcati, expreſsly declared that all cauſes which related to eſtates and poſſeſſions were alone cognizable by the royal tribunal.

At the commencement of the year 1177, Henry convened a grand national council at Northampton; at which the captive Earl of Leiceſter appeared to anſwer the allegations of William de Cahaines, one of his vaſſals, who pretended that he held his barony of the King, whoſe favour and protection he hoped by that means to acquire. But the Earl's ſubmiſſive and modeſt deportment had ſuch an effect on the mind of Henry, ever more awake to the dictates of mercy than to thoſe of revenge, that he reſtored to him all his ancient territorial poſſeſſions; he extended the ſame indulgence to Hugh, Earl of Cheſter; and likewiſe beſtowed upon William de Albiny the earldom of Arundel, or Suſſex. With the Pope's conſent, he converted the college of ſecular clergy at Waltham Croſs into an abbey of regular canons; and, at the ſame time, depoſed the abbeſs of Ambreſbury for incontinence.

In a ſubſequent council held at Marlborough about Candlemas, Henry ordered an inquiſition to be made by the ſheriffs of the different counties into the number of divided fiefs, their tenures *in capite*, and the ſervices annexed to them; the report of which was accordingly delivered into the Exchequer. Orders were then iſſued to all the Earls, Barons, and Knights, who held of the King *in capite*, to attend him at London on the firſt of May, to accompany him on an expedition to Normandy. The ſtate of continental politics, at this period, probably rendered ſuch a precaution neceſſary: but timely and vigorous preparations frequently preclude the neceſſity of applying them; and thus it proved in the preſent circumſtance, when they enabled Henry to diſpenſe with the ſervice of his nobles till a future opportunity.

Henry's reputation for wiſdom and juſtice had by this time rendered him famous over all Europe. This induced Alphonſo, King of Caſtile; and his uncle Sanchez, King of Navarre; to ſubmit to his arbitration the final deciſion of thoſe diſputes which had engaged them in a tedious war, and had occaſioned a vaſt effuſion of blood. Theſe monarchs ſent ſeveral prelates and noblemen to England, to ſupport their reſpective pretenſions; who were accompanied by the moſt learned and eloquent advocates, to plead their cauſe before the King; and two champions for ſingle combat, in caſe he ſhould chuſe to adopt that mode of deciſion. A great council was accordingly held at London, on the thirteenth of March, to inveſtigate the merits of this ſingular appeal; and, after a ſolemn and candid hearing, Henry made an award ſo conſonant to ſtrict juſtice, that it incurred the approbation of both parties: a tranſaction which reflects more honour on his memory, and doubtleſs afforded greater gratification to his mind, than the moſt brilliant of his numerous victories.

Since the ſuppreſſion of the great rebellion, Henry appears to have adopted no meaſure of importance without the concurrence of the great council of the nation, which he aſſembled almoſt every month. At one of theſe aſſemblies, held at Oxford in the month of May, Rheeſe ap Griffith, and David ap Owen, princes of North and South Wales, with the principal nobility of thoſe countries, attended and did homage for their reſpective territories and eſtates. Henry beſtowed his natural ſiſter, Emma, in marriage, upon David, and gave him the territory of Elleſmere as her dower; at the ſame time he declared his youngeſt ſon, Prince John, Lord of Ireland, which kingdom was to be held by him and his heirs as a fief of the Engliſh crown; ſuch parts of the iſland as had been conquered by the Engliſh he diſtributed to ſuch of his Barons as he deemed moſt deſerving his favour, and beſt able to defend their poſſeſſions and extend their conqueſts.

By this time, the mutual jealouſy and diſguſt which could not but ſubſiſt between the Kings of England and France, began to portend an approaching rupture. By one of the articles of the peace concluded between the monarchs at Montmirail on the ſixth of January, in the year 1169, it was ſtipulated that Prince Richard, Henry's ſecond ſon, ſhould eſpouſe the Princeſs Adelais, the youngeſt daughter of Lewis; and ſhe was ſoon after delivered to Henry, that ſhe might receive her education at the Engliſh court. As both the parties had now attained the age of puberty, Lewis inſiſted that the conſummation of their marriage ſhould no longer be protracted. The King, however, who had already experienced the evil effects of an alliance with France, in the conduct of his eldeſt ſon, evinced a reluctance to comply with the requeſt of Lewis that no motives of prudence or policy could urge him to forego. The French monarch, finding all his remonſtrances ineffectual, made application to the Pope, who interpoſed his authority, by threatening to lay all the dominions of Henry under an interdict, if he did not allow the marriage to be immediately conſummated. To avert the impending danger, he thought it neceſſary to repair to the continent; and, embarking at Portſmouth on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, arrived ſafe in France. Here he had an interview with the French King on the twenty-firſt of the following month, at which a legate from the Pope attended; and Henry found means to prevent the interdict, and likewiſe to elude the immediate conſummation of his ſon's marriage, on condition that he ſhould aſſume the croſs, and accompany Lewis in an expedition to the Holy Land. Henry's reluctance to fulfil this article of the treaty has been aſcribed by ſeveral hiſtorians to an affection which he is ſaid to have himſelf conceived for the deſtined conſort of his ſon; and moſt of them intimate that the

the young princeſs was ſeduced to comply with the King's criminal deſires. But he had ſo many motives, founded in juſtice and policy, to influence his conduct in this particular, that it is needleſs to ſeek for an extraordinary cauſe; beſides, his advanced age, and conſummate prudence, render it highly improbable that he ſhould have been guilty of an action that muſt have expoſed him to univerſal deteſtation.

Though Henry had engaged to lead an army againſt the Infidels, it is probable that he only made ſuch a promiſe to anſwer the purpoſe of the moment; for, whenever he was urged to fulfil his engagement, he found ſome excuſe to protract it's performance. In the ſummer of the year 1178, he returned to England; and, on the ſixth of Auguſt, knighted his third ſon Geoffrey, with great ſolemnity, at Woodſtock: and that Prince ſoon after repaired to the continent, to diſplay his valour and dexterity in tournaments; being ambitious to emulate the fame which his two elder brothers, Henry and Richard, had acquired in thoſe faſhionable exercities.

The King was again called to the continent, in the following year, by ſome important changes in the politics of France. Lewis the Seventh, on his return from a pilgrimage which he had made to the ſhrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, was ſeized with an apoplexy; which being ſucceeded by a paralytic affection, rendered him incapable of managing the affairs of his kingdom. His ſon Philip was therefore crowned, with his conſent; and, though but a youth of fifteen, took on him the adminiſtration of the national concerns. This Prince, being wholly directed by the advice of his nameſake and godfather, the Count of Flanders, exerciſed divers acts of oppreſſion; and, by the ſeverity of his treatment, compelled his mother, Queen Adelais, and her three brothers, the Counts of Blois and Sancerre, and the Archbiſhop of Rheims, to leave the kingdom, and retire into Normandy, where they implored the protection of the King of England. Henry, on this occaſion, diſplayed uncommon generoſity. Inſtead of embracing the favourable opportunity which now offered to retaliate thoſe injuries which he had ſuſtained from Lewis, by fomenting his domeſtic inquietudes, he interpoſed his good offices for the reſtoration of peace to his divided family. With this view he repaired to Normandy; and, at an interview which he had with Philip at Giſors, effected a reconciliation between him and his mother and uncles, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the Count of Flanders. At the ſame time, he renewed with that monarch the treaty of peace which he had formerly concluded with his father, and formed an alliance for the mutual defence and protection of their dominions.

Another circumſtance occurred ſoon after, which afforded Henry a freſh opportunity for diſplaying the benevolence of his diſpoſition. His ſon-in-law Henry, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, having been expelled from his territories by the Emperor Frederic, had retired to Normandy, with his wife and family, and a few faithful adherents, the companions of his misfortunes. Henry not only received them with the utmoſt tenderneſs, but aſſigned an appointment to the Duke and Dutcheſs ſuitable to their rank; and beſtowed ſumptuous preſents on their attendants, for whom he obtained permiſſion from the Emperor to return to their native country.

About the ſame time, Prince Henry, who had paſſed the laſt three years in frequenting tilts and tournaments, attended by a numerous retinue of knights, found his income inadequate to ſupport ſuch expenſive amuſements; and therefore renewed to the King, in terms more importunate than reſpectful, his demand of the ceſſion of Normandy, that he might be enabled to reward his followers. Meeting with a refuſal, he entreated the aſſiſtance of the King of France, to enforce his demand by the adoption of violent meaſures: but Philip not being diſpoſed to eſpouſe his quarrel, he was compelled to liſten to terms of accommodation. His father generouſly agreed to aſſign him an appointment of one hundred Anjouvine pounds a day for himſelf, and ten for his conſort; and to beſtow ſuitable rewards on one hundred of his knights.

After this accommodation, Geoffrey, by the King's deſire, did homage to his elder brother for the Dutchy of Britanny: Richard was requeſted to do the ſame for Aquitaine; but he rejected the propoſal with ſuch evident marks of pride and reſentment, as occaſioned an immediate and moſt violent animoſity between him and young Henry. Equally impetuous, they had recourſe to arms to decide their diſpute; and the conteſt was purſued with ſuch malevolent fury, that no quarter was given on either ſide. The King, at length, with great difficulty, compoſed this difference, and prevailed on the contending parties to ſign a treaty of peace near Limoges; but ſoon found that his eldeſt ſon was engaged in a conſpiracy, and preparing to take arms againſt himſelf.

While young Henry was planning theſe criminal projects, he was ſeized with a fever at Martel, a caſtle in the vicinity of Turenne; and, when his phyſicians informed him that they entertained not the ſmalleſt hopes of his recovery, he was ſtruck with that deep remorſe for his ungrateful conduct to the beſt of fathers, which repeated acts of generoſity and indulgence had never been able to excite. He immediately ſent a meſſage to the King, expreſſive of his repentance; and earneſtly entreated a viſit. Henry, greatly affected with his ſon's ſituation, was about to comply with his requeſt; but his friends repreſenting the danger of truſting his perſon to thoſe flagitious conſpirators who attended on the ſick Prince, he took from his finger a ring, well known to his ſon, and ſent it to him by the Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, as a token of his forgiveneſs. The Prince received it with great emotion; and, preſſing it to his lips, ſoon after expired.

When Henry received intelligence of his ſon's death, and was convinced of the ſincerity of his repentance, he was unable to ſupport the ſhock: his

his reaſon and ſtrength totally forſook him; he thrice fainted away; he accuſed his own hardneſs of heart for refuſing to comply with his dying requeſt; and, forgetting his errors, he extolled, with all the exquiſite fondneſs of an afflicted parent, the mental and perſonal accompliſhments of his departed ſon.

On the death of young Henry, who expired on the eleventh of June, in the year 1183, which was the twenty-eighth of his age, the army which he aſſembled for the purpoſe of attacking his father, immediately diſbanded; his nefarious confederates haſtened to tender their ſubmiſſions; and the reſtoration of public tranquillity enſued.

The King received no conſolation for the loſs he had ſuſtained, from the conduct of his ſurviving children. As Prince Henry had left no children, Richard had now become heir apparent to the kingdom of England, and the dutchy of Normandy; and his father intended that his third ſurviving ſon, John, ſhould inherit Aquitaine as his appanage: but Richard refuſed to reſign that dutchy, and even commenced preparations for carrying on a war, as well againſt his brother Geoffrey, who was now put in poſſeſſion of Britanny, as againſt the King himſelf. Henry, enraged at this undutiful conduct, placed his favourite ſon John, who had now attained his eighteenth year, at the head of a powerful army, in hopes of terrifying Richard into compliance: while he himſelf repaired to England, where his preſence was neceſſary to repreſs the incurſions of the Welſh; who, during his abſence, had committed ſome ravages on the borders of England.

While he was engaged in this expedition, which was ſoon ſucceſsfully terminated by the ſubmiſſion of the Cambrian Princes, he received the unpleaſing intelligence that hoſtilities had actually commenced between his ſons on the continent; on which he diſpatched meſſengers to them, to command them immediately to diſmiſs their forces, and repair to England: a command they thought proper to obey. On their arrival, the King convened a great council of his nobility and prelates at London, on the thirtieth of November; in which his three ſons were publicly reconciled. Geoffrey was then ſent back to the continent; and the other two remained in England.

The Duke and Dutcheſs of Saxony had arrived in England the preceding year, where they were maintained in a manner ſuitable to their rank by the munificence of Henry; and about this time, his ambaſſadors at the court of the Emperor procured leave for that family to return to Germany, and take poſſeſſion of their territories: a circumſtance that afforded the moſt heart-felt ſatisfaction to the King.

Prince Richard, who had repeatedly ſolicited permiſſion to return to Aquitaine, profiting by thoſe ſenſations of pleaſure which the mind of his father experienced on this joyful occaſion, obtained a compliance with his requeſt; and accordingly repaired to that dutchy.

After the departure of Richard, Henry determined to viſit the northern parts of his kingdom; and had proceeded as far as Nottingham, when he was overtaken by a meſſenger, who informed him of the arrival of Heraclius, Patriarch of Jeruſalem, and Grand Maſter of the Knights-Hoſpitallers. In conſequence of this intelligence, the King returned to Reading, to receive this illuſtrious emiſſary, who delivered him letters from the Pope, entreating him to repair in perſon to the Holy Land, to reſcue the Chriſtians from the power of their Pagan enemies. Henry deferred giving a poſitive anſwer to the Patriarch till he had aſſembled a great council; which accordingly met at London, on the firſt Sunday in Lent, in order to conſult on the propriety of complying with the Pontiff's requeſt. The reſult of their conſultations was, that the King ſhould not adopt any deciſive meaſure till he had had an interview with the King of France: the Patriarch, therefore, was compelled to wait.

At a ſubſequent council, held at Windſor, on the firſt of April this year, 1185, the King of Scotland attended, and received from Henry a grant of the county of Huntingdon. Prince John having, at the ſame time, been ſolemnly knighted, was ſent to Ireland with a fleet of ſixty ſail, and a conſiderable army, to take upon him the government of that country. When he landed at Waterford, he was received by the Archbiſhop of Dublin, and ſeveral of the Engliſh nobility, who took the oaths of fealty. Many of the Iriſh chieftains of the vicinity, who had continued to live peaceably under the Engliſh government from the time of their firſt ſubmiſſion, came to congratulate him on his ſafe arrival, and to give him *the kiſs of peace*. But the Prince, and the young noblemen of his train, treated theſe venerable chiefs with ſcorn and deriſion; and, in obedience to an impulſe of juvenile folly, plucked their beards, which were extremely long and thick. Juſtly enraged at this unprovoked inſult, they retired, and fled for refuge into the territories of Limerick, Corke, and Connaught; to whoſe princes they repreſented the treatment they had experienced in ſuch ſtrong terms as excited their reſentment, and urged them to projects of revenge. All thoughts of ſubjection to the Engliſh government were now ſcornfully rejected: the petty princes of the country, hitherto at variance, now reſolved to ſuppreſs their private animoſities, the more effectually to enforce the aſſertion of their ancient liberty. Thus all the authority which the courteſy and prudence of Henry had acquired over the minds of the Iriſh, during his abode in their iſland, was forfeited, by the folly and imprudence of the Prince and his youthful companions; whoſe mad conduct occaſioned a war, in which John loſt almoſt the whole of his army before the expiration of the year; when the King thought it neceſſary to recall him, and truſt the direction of affairs in Ireland to John de Courcy, whoſe valour and prudence he had frequently experienced.

Henry's preſence on the continent was now requiſite to extinguiſh the flames of war which had again broken out between his two turbulent ſons, Richard and Geoffrey. For this purpoſe he embarked at Dover, on the ſixteenth of April; and

landing at Whitſand, purſued his journey to Normandy, where he immediately collected an army: but, being willing to prevent, if poſſible, the neceſſity of a forcible interpoſition, he diſpatched a meſſenger to Prince Richard, to command him to lay down his arms, and reſign the diſputed territory to his mother, Queen Eleanor, to whom it belonged; threatening, in caſe of a refuſal, to aſſert her rights at the head of his army. This remonſtrance had the deſired effect. Richard, by the advice of his friends, paid obedience to his command; and, coming to his father, was again received into favour.

Soon after this accommodation, Geoffrey, who was perhaps the moſt vicious of all Henry's children, demanded Anjou to be annexed to his dominions of Britanny; and, on meeting with a refuſal, fled to the court of France; levied forces to be employed againſt his father; and is ſaid to have propoſed to the French King an invaſion of Normandy. Henry, however, was freed from the danger of theſe criminal projects by the death of his ſon, owing to a fall he had received ſome time before in a tournament at Paris; from which he was apparently recovering, when a fever came on, ſuppoſed to be the conſequence of ſome internal injury he had ſuſtained, and put an end to his exiſtence.

This Prince was diſtinguiſhed from his two elder brothers by the ſuperior degree of cunning which he poſſeſſed. In him, the fire of youth was checked by the coolneſs of hypocriſy: he was deeply verſed in all the intricate mazes of political deception; and endued with that perſuaſive eloquence ſo admirably calculated to render that dangerous knowledge a ſource of advantage to it's poſſeſſor. His projects of ambition were never repreſſed by the interference of filial affection, or ſentiments of remorſe. His father's continued indulgence had excited no impulſe of gratitude in his boſom; and, even in the hour of death, he evinced no ſigns of repentance for his unnatural conduct. Henry, therefore, who was well acquainted with his ſon's character, expreſſed no concern at his death, though an exceſs of paternal fondneſs was one of his principal failings.

Geoffrey left one daughter, an infant of about eight months; and, after his deceaſe, his widow, Conſtantia, was delivered of a poſthumous ſon, who, at the requeſt of the nobles of Britanny, received the name of Arthur; and was inveſted in the dutchy, under the guardianſhip of his grandfather, who, as Duke of Normandy, was alſo ſuperior lord of that territory. This gave riſe to a conteſt between Henry and the King of France; who, as lord paramount, aſſerted his own title to the wardſhip. Some ill news, however, that was received about this period from the Chriſtians in Paleſtine, induced them to ſuſpend their mutual animoſities, and turn their thoughts to an object which now engaged the attention of all Europe.

The aſtoniſhing ſucceſs of the firſt cruſaders had tended to inflame the enthuſiaſtic zeal of the Chriſtians to ſuch a degree, that it was long ere ſubſequent misfortunes could operate a contrary effect, and confine it within any tolerable bounds of moderation. The firſt efforts of valour, animated by enthuſiaſm, had proved irreſiſtible; part of the Leſſer Aſia, all Syria and Paleſtine, were wreſted from the Infidels; the banner of the Croſs was diſplayed on Mount Sion; Conſtantinople, the capital of the Chriſtian empire in the Eaſt, was ſeized by a body of theſe fanatical adventurers; and a Count of Flanders, and his deſcendants, kept poſſeſſion of the imperial throne during half a century.

But, though the firſt impreſſion of the cruſaders was ſo unexpected, that they effected their conqueſts with great facility; yet the preſervation of them was attended with infinite difficulty. Eſtabliſhments, ſo diſtant from Europe; ſurrounded by warlike nations, animated with fanatical zeal ſcarcely inferior to that of the cruſaders themſelves; were perpetually in danger of being deſtroyed. The Saracens, recovered from their conſternation, attacked the Chriſtians in every quarter: the rapid tide of ſucceſs was ſpeedily turned; and the cruſaders were compelled to apply, for freſh ſuccours, to the Weſt. A ſecond cruſade, commanded by the Emperor Conrade, and Lewis the Seventh, King of France, in which more than two hundred thouſand men were ſacrificed to their frantic enthuſiaſm, procured them but a temporary relief; and thoſe Princes, after loſing ſuch immenſe armies, and ſeeing the flower of their nobility periſh by their ſide, returned, with little honour, to Europe.

But the frequent repetition of diſaſters, which had nearly depopulated the Weſtern world, and exhauſted it's treaſures, were yet inſufficient to check the folly of theſe ſpiritual Knights-errant: and a new occurrence rekindling the torch of fanaticiſm, inſpired the adventurers, both eccleſiaſtical and military, among the Latin Chriſtians, with additional fury.

Saladin, a prince equally diſtinguiſhed for his perſonal courage and greatneſs of ſoul, having, at the death of the Caliph Alad, eſtabliſhed himſelf on the throne of Egypt, began to extend his conqueſts over the Eaſt. After the reduction of Syria, Arabia, Perſia, and Meſopotamia, finding the ſettlement of the Chriſtians in Paleſtine an invincible impediment to the progreſs of his arms, he exerted all his valour and political ſkill to ſubdue that territory; which, though barren, and of little extent, was to him of the utmoſt importance. Profiting by the diſſenſions that were prevalent among the champions of the Croſs, and having corrupted the fidelity of the Count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, he invaded the frontiers with an army of fifty thouſand men. A deſperate action enſued at Tiberiade, which was diſputed with great obſtinacy for two whole days; when Saladin obtained a moſt compleat victory, that totally annihilated the force of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, whoſe monarch, Guy de Luſignan, was taken priſoner.

The loſs moſt lamented by the Chriſtians, in this celebrated battle, was the real croſs on which our Saviour was crucified, that fell into the hands of

of the Infidels. Bigord, a contemporary hiſtorian, aſſerts, with great gravity, that, after this diſmal event, all the children who were born throughout Chriſtendom had only twenty, or two and twenty teeth, inſtead of thirty, or two and thirty, which was their former complement. The ſame miraculous author affirms, that about this period, during his reſidence at the monaſtery of Argenteuil, one moon-light morning, a little before the break of day, the moon, which was then in the full, quitted it's ſtation in the firmament; deſcended upon the earth; and, after reſting there ſome time, as if to recover it's ſtrength, returned very leiſurely to the place aſſigned it by the Creator. This was certainly an hiſtorian worthy the cruſaders!

After the battle of Tiberiade, the city of Jeruſalem ſurrendered to the conqueror; the kingdom of Antioch was almoſt entirely reduced; and, except ſome maritime towns, but little remained of all thoſe boaſted acquiſitions which, near a century before, it had required the efforts of all Europe to obtain.

This dreadful reverſe of fortune threw all the Weſtern Chriſtians into the utmoſt amazement and conſternation. Pope Urban the Third was ſo much affected with the news, that he is ſaid to have died of grief; and his ſucceſſor, Gregory the Eighth, employed the whole time of his ſhort pontificate in urging all the Chriſtians who acknowledged his authority to take up arms, and haſten to repair the diſgrace they had ſuſtained. The general cry was, that thoſe were unworthy of enjoying any inheritance in heaven who did not reſcue from the domination of the Infidels the inheritance of God upon earth, and deliver from ſervitude that country which the preſence of their Redeemer had rendered ſacred.

William, Archbiſhop of Tyre, ambaſſador from the Chriſtians in the Holy Land, having procured a conference between Henry and Philip near Giſors, on the twenty-firſt of January, in the year 1188, enforced theſe various topics; gave a pathetic deſcription of the ſtate of the Eaſtern Chriſtians; and employed every argument to excite the ruling paſſions of the age, ſuperſtitious zeal, and a ſpirit of chivalry. The two Kings immediately took the croſs from the hands of the Archbiſhop; the Counts of Flanders and Champagne, with many other powerful noblemen, followed the example; and, as the Emperor Frederick the Firſt joined the confederacy, ſome well-grounded hopes of ſucceſs were entertained; and men flattered themſelves, that an enterprize which had failed through the diſcord of independent leaders, or the temerity of imprudent princes, might at laſt, by the joint efforts of monarchs ſo potent, be brought to a happy termination.

Henry haſtened his return to England, where he landed on the thirty-firſt of January, to prepare for his intended expedition to Paleſtine. He convened a great council of the Prelates and Barons, on the eleventh of February, at Gritington, in Northamptonſhire; in which a tax was impoſed, amounting to a tenth of all rents for one year; and a tenth of all moveable goods, on ſuch as remained at home; for the purpoſe of defraying the neceſſary expences. But, as moſt of the regular clergy were exempted from this impoſt, the ſecular aſpired to the ſame immunity; pretended that their duty obliged them to afford no other aſſiſtance to the Cruſade than their prayers; and it was with ſome difficulty that they were prevailed upon to deſiſt from an oppoſition, which could not but reflect diſgrace upon them who had been the firſt inſtigators of thoſe ſpiritual enterprizes.

This backwardneſs of the clergy affords a reaſonable preſumption that the enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of cruſading had abated ſomewhat of its popular ardour; and that the frenzy was now chiefly ſupported by that rage for military fame which diſtinguiſhed the monarchs of the age. Notwithſtanding, however, the exemption of the clergy, and of all thoſe who aſſumed the Croſs, one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds were raiſed in England; an enormous ſum! equal in efficacy to two millions of our preſent money.

Baldwin, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, preached before the Council, on the myſtery of the Croſs; and, by his perſuaſive eloquence, impelled a conſiderable number of Prelates, Nobles, Knights, and their vaſſals, to enliſt in this Holy War. He afterwards made a progreſs through Wales with the ſame view, and met with equal ſucceſs.

But, while theſe immenſe preparations were making, an unexpected war broke out on the continent. Philip, jealous of the power of Henry, had entered into a private confederacy with his ſon Richard, whoſe ambitious mind was too eaſily duped by his artful inſinuations. He perſuaded that Prince that he was now of an age to enjoy unlimited power; that nothing but firmneſs was requiſite to eſtabliſh his independence on his father; and that he might rely on his aſſiſtance to promote the ſucceſs of his attempts. In order, therefore, to afford a plauſive pretext for the commencement of hoſtilities, Richard made an irruption into the territories of Raymond, Count of Toulouſe; who immediately complained to the King of France, as his ſuperior lord. Philip affected to remonſtrate with Henry; but received for anſwer, that Richard had confeſſed to the Archbiſhop of Dublin, that his enterprize againſt Raymond had been undertaken at the inſtigation of Philip himſelf, and was conducted by his authority. The King of France, whom this flagrant detection, had he poſſeſſed any ſenſe of ſhame or principle of rectitude, muſt have overwhelmed with confuſion, continued the proſecution of his deſign; and invaded the Engliſh territories of Berri and Auvergne, under pretence of exacting vengeance for the violence offered to his vaſſal the Count of Toulouſe. Henry now found his preſence requiſite on the continent: he accordingly landed in France on the eleventh of July; and immediately retaliated on Philip, by making inroads on the French frontiers, and burning the town of Dreux.

This war being highly diſagreeable to the Count of Flanders, and many other noblemen, who were impatient

impatient to proceed on their expedition to the Holy Land; at their particular requeſt, a conference was held, in the month of October, between the two monarchs, at the accuſtomed place between Giſors and Trie, for the purpoſe of adopting ſome effectual means of accommodation: but, inſtead of promoting a reconciliation, it only ſerved to encreaſe their mutual enmity; and, when it broke up, Philip, to ſhew his diſguſt, ordered a great elm, under which the conferences had been uſually held, to be cut down, as if he had renounced all deſire of peace, and was reſolved to carry the war to extremities. But the cauſe in which he was engaged appeared ſo infamous, that even his own vaſſals refuſed to ſerve in it: he was therefore compelled to invite Henry to a ſecond conference, which was accordingly held in the enſuing month. Here the conditions propoſed by the French King as the baſis of an accommodation, were ſuch as effectually convinced Henry of his ſon's perfidy, which he had hitherto been willing to doubt. Philip inſiſted, that the marriage between Richard and his own ſiſter Adelais ſhould be immediately conſummated; and that Richard ſhould be crowned King of England in the lifetime of his father, and be inveſted in all his continental dominions. Theſe inſolent propoſals being rejected by Henry with a proper degree of reſentment, Richard, in the preſence of all the nobles who attended the conference, immediately revolted from his father; did homage to the King of France for Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Berry, and Aquitaine; and received the inveſtitures, as if he had already been the lawful poſſeſſor. This unexpected occurrence being naturally productive of infinite confuſion, the conference broke up.

Cardinal Albano, who had been ſent by Pope Clement the Third to effect a peace between the two monarchs, excommunicated Richard, as the chief obſtacle to the treaty: and this Prelate dying, the ſovereign Pontiff, who was anxious to accelerate the expedition to Paleſtine, inveſted the Cardinal Anagni with the legatine power, and gave him inſtructions to promote a reconciliation; but the unprincipled obſtinacy of Richard rendered all conciliatory endeavours ineffectual. That prince had found means to ſeduce from their allegiance many noblemen of Normandy, Anjou, and Guienne; who embraced this favourable opportunity to pay their courtly adoration to the riſing Sun, whoſe fervid beams diffuſed a heat, pregnant with deſtruction, by a baſe deſertion of that benignant Planet whoſe genial influence they had long experienced, whoſe zenith had been diſtinguiſhed by the moſt vivid coruſcations, and whoſe wane was not marked by the ſmalleſt diminution of ſplendor.

The turbulent Barons of Britanny, ever ripe for revolt, likewiſe declared for Richard; who derived great advantage from a dangerous diſtemper that ſeized the King at this critical conjuncture; which, while it filled every loyal breaſt with the deepeſt affliction, and inſpired every true friend to his country with the beſt-grounded fears for the national welfare, infuſed freſh ſpirits into the minds of thoſe rebellious miſcreants, who could only hope to thrive by the deceaſe of virtue.

Several noblemen, whoſe ſagacious prudence had hitherto impelled them to the obſervance of a ſtrict neutrality, underſtanding that the King's life was in imminent danger, now ventured to obey the cautious dictates of intereſt; and haſtened to ingratiate themſelves with the heir; whoſe party became more and more formidable, by the daily acceſſion of new adherents, and a well-concerted plan of operations, deviſed and ſupported by his perfidious ally the King of France. The King, however, being ſufficiently recovered from his illneſs to place himſelf at the head of his troops, prepared to oppoſe the progreſs of his enemies, who had commenced hoſtilities. But the good fortune which had ſo long attended this great Prince, now totally forſook him. Ferté-Bernard was firſt reduced; Mans was next taken by aſſault; and Henry, who had thrown himſelf into that place, eſcaped with difficulty. Amboiſe, Chaumont, and Chateau de Loire, ſucceſſively opened their gates on the appearance of Philip and Richard; Tours was inveſted; and the King, who had retired to Saumur, and witneſſed continual inſtances of the cowardice or treachery of his governors, ſaw no proſpect of a happy termination to the conteſt.

While he was reduced almoſt to a ſtate of deſpondency, the Count of Flanders, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Archbiſhop of Rheims, propoſed terms of accommodation; and the intelligence which Henry received of the ſurrender of Tours, rendering him fully ſenſible of the deſperate ſituation of his affairs, ſo ſubdued the native vigour of his mind, that he ſubmitted to all the rigorous conditions which his enemies impoſed on him. He conſented to renew his homage to Philip, which he had renounced at the commencement of the war; and to deliver the Princeſs Adelais into the cuſtody of five perſons, to be nominated by Richard, who was to marry her on his return from Paleſtine, whither he had engaged to go. He agreed that Richard ſhould receive the homage and oath of fealty of all his ſubjects, as well in England as his continental dominions: that he himſelf ſhould pay twenty thouſand marks to the King of France, towards defraying the expences of the war; that his own Barons ſhould engage to make him obſerve this treaty by force; and, in caſe of his violating any of the articles it contained, ſhould promiſe to join Philip and Richard againſt him; and that ſuch of his own vaſſals as had ſupported the cauſe of Richard, ſhould be indemnified for the offence.

Henry, who had hitherto been accuſtomed to dictate the terms of treaties, had now the mortification of ſubmitting to theſe humiliating conditions: nor was this the leaſt he experienced on this occaſion. When he demanded a liſt of thoſe Barons whom he had conſented to pardon for their treaſonable connections with Richard, he was aſtoniſhed to find, at the head of them, the name of his ſecond ſon, John; who had always been his favourite; whoſe intereſts he had ever been anxious to promote; and who had even, on account of his

aſcendant

aſcendant over him, often excited the jealouſy of Richard. The more his heart was diſpoſed to friendſhip and affection, the more he reſented the ungrateful and barbarous return which his four ſons had ſucceſſively made to his paternal care; and this laſt event, by depriving him of every comfort of life, wholly ſubdued his ſpirit, and threw him into a lingering fever.

The day after ſigning the treaty, the King was removed from Saumur in a litter to the caſtle of Chinon, where he immediately took to his bed. Geoffrey, his natural ſon, had obtained his permiſſion to be abſent when the treaty was ſigned, that he might not witneſs his father's humiliation: but, being informed of his illneſs, he haſtened to Chinon; repaired to his bed-ſide; and, finding him unable to ſit up, raiſed his head, and ſupported it on his boſom. Henry, moved by this mark of his affection, ſighed deeply; and, turning his languid eyes on his ſon, thus addreſſed him—"My deareſt "ſon, as you have, in all the dangers I have ex-"perienced, behaved yourſelf moſt dutifully and "affectionately to me, doing all that the beſt of "ſons could do; ſo will I, if the mercy of God "ſhall permit me to recover from this ſickneſs, "make you ſuch returns as the beſt of fathers can "make, and place you among the greateſt and "moſt powerful ſubjects in all my dominions: but, "if death ſhall prevent me from fulfilling this in-"tention, may God, to whom the recompence of "all goodneſs appertains, reward you for me!"

Geoffrey, unable to reſtrain the ſtrong emotions of his ſoul, burſt into tears, and retired from the apartment: but, hearing that no hopes of life remained, he returned to perform the laſt ſad duties to his dying parent; who, rouzed by the lamentations of Geoffrey from a kind of trance, opened his eyes, which had been for ſome time cloſed, and recognizing his ſon, endeavoured to ſpeak to him; but he could only, in a faint voice, expreſs his deſire that he ſhould obtain either the biſhopric of Worceſter, or archbiſhopric of York. Then taking a ring of great value from his finger, he gave it him, with his laſt bleſſing; and ordered that another, which was kept in his treaſury as the moſt precious jewel he poſſeſſed, ſhould alſo be delivered to him. He then ſunk down, and in a ſhort time expired.

The next day, Richard came to ſee the dead body of his father—which had been conveyed by Geoffrey to the nunnery of Fontrevrault, where it lay in ſtate in the abbey-church—and was ſeized with horror and remorſe at the ſight. This, indeed, was conſiderably augmented by an accident which the ſuperſtition of the times conſtrued into a preternatural omen. At his approach, the blood iſſued from the mouth and noſtrils of the corpſe; which induced him to exclaim, that he was the murderer of his father; and to expreſs a juſt, though tardy, ſenſe of that conduct which had brought ſo indulgent a parent to an untimely grave. He aſſiſted at the funeral with marks of the deepeſt contrition; and, after the obſequies were performed, received from Geoffrey the great ſeal of the kingdom, which had been carefully depoſited under the ſeals of all the Barons who were preſent at his father's deceaſe.

Thus died Henry the Second, on the ſixth of July, in the year 1189, which was the thirty-fifth of his reign and fifty-ſeventh of his age. This monarch left two legitimate ſons by his queen Eleanor: Richard, who ſucceeded him in the government of all his dominions; and John, who, though it had been the intention of his father to make Ireland a monarchy, and give it him as his appanage, was left wholly deſtitute of territorial poſſeſſions, and from thence received the appellation of *Lackland*. Henry had likewiſe three legitimate daughters: Matilda, born in 1150, and married to Henry, Duke of Saxony; Eleanor, born in 1162, and married to Alphonſo, King of Caſtile; and Jane, born in 1165, married to William, King of Sicily; and, after the deceaſe of that monarch, to Raymond the Sixth, Count of Thouloufe.

The perſon of Henry, as we are told by Lord Lyttleton, whoſe account is extracted from different contemporary writers, who have entered into a minute deſcription of it, was maſculine and robuſt, excelling rather in ſtrength of limbs and dignity of aſpect than in delicate or exact proportions of beauty: yet were his features good; and, when his mind was ſerene, his eyes had great ſweetneſs; but, when angry, they ſeemed to ſparkle with fire. His paſſionate temper, pourtrayed in his countenance, was his greateſt imperfection. Upon any ſudden provocation, he was unable to reſtrain the firſt emotions of his rage; though, at other times, he poſſeſſed an extraordinary degree of prudence and judgment. Yet this conſtitutional infirmity was never known to betray him into actions of cruelty; it was ſimply confined to words: nor was his anger of any duration; his mildneſs and humanity returned with his temper. His compaſſion to objects of diſtreſs was conſpicuouſly great; and the principal end of his ſtrict œconomy appears to have been the proviſion of means for the more ample exertion of his charity. Beſides the expences incurred by occaſional acts of munificence, ſome of which were remarkably extenſive, he aſſigned the tenth part of the proviſions of his houſhold to be daily diſtributed in alms to the poor.

All men of merit had acceſs to his treaſures; but his liberality to foreigners, in particular, who, attracted by the ſplendour and univerſality of his fame, repaired to his court from all parts of Europe, was unlimited. His affability extended to the meaneſt of his ſubjects; ſo that his miniſters would have found it a taſk of extreme difficulty to conceal from him any truth, the knowledge of which could have been productive of the ſmalleſt utility: yet was his heart never open to calumny; nor did any ſervant of approved fidelity, through the whole of his long reign, experience any diminution of favour or confidence from the ſecret whiſpers of malevolence, or the vain a d groundleſs clamours of popular report.

He was ſo conſtant in his friendſhip, and was ſo much guided by diſcretion in the choice of his miniſters, that not one of thoſe in whom he repoſed any

any conſiderable degree of confidence ever incurred diſgrace, if we except Becket, who rather reſigned than loſt that place which he had obtained in the affections of his ſovereign: but the ſteadineſs of his attachments was generally equalled by the firmneſs of his antipathies. Thus the objects of his averſion ſeldom regained admiſſion to his favour: yet, by the exertion of extraordinary clemency, he frequently pardoned the agents of rebellion, and overlooked offences of a leſs ſerious nature committed againſt himſelf. Some of his courtiers being accuſed in his preſence of having, at the inſtigation of the Biſhop of Worceſter, taken indecent liberties with his character, they did not attempt to deny the charge; but alledged, as a palliation, that the words complained of were ſpoken at a time when their ſenſes were diſordered by drinking. Henry, accepting this apology, diſmiſſed them all without any puniſhment; and retained not the leaſt enmity either againſt them, or the Biſhop himſelf: a ſtriking proof of true magnanimity, and ſuch as is rarely to be found in princes, whoſe anger is often more ſtrongly excited by reflections on their perſons than by acts of high-treaſon againſt their crown!

Of Henry's piety, Fitz-Stephens has mentioned a remarkable inſtance. He ſays that the King would frequently watch, with the monks of Morton Abbey, three nights before Eaſter; and that, after the evening ſervice of Good Friday, he was accuſtomed to paſs the remainder of the evening till nine o'clock, when the ſervice of Eaſter-eve commences, in walking, muffled up in a cowl, with only one companion, to viſit all the poor churches in the neighbourhood, and perform his devotions in them. The ſtrong ſenſe of religion which theſe practices appear to indicate, however tinctured with harmleſs ſuperſtition, were deſerving of the higheſt commendation; particularly in a monarch who diſplayed ſo much ſpirit in defending the temporal rights of the ſtate againſt the illegal encroachments of the church.

There was no man of the age who excelled Henry in politeneſs; and none whoſe converſation was more affable and entertaining. His wit was lively, but never deſcended to illiberal ſatire or mean ſcurrility. He was endued with an extraordinary memory; and a vaſt flow of natural eloquence, which he was ſtudious to improve by intenſe application to learning; conſtantly appropriating a great part of his leiſure time to private ſtudy, or to the converſation of churchmen, with whom he delighted to reaſon, and whoſe opinions on points of ſcience and literature he was ever anxious to hear.

With thoſe whom he admitted to his friendſhip he lived on terms of the moſt eaſy familiarity; and, indeed, many of his amuſements appear to have been deemed by the public too frivolous and unimportant for a monarch. But it ſhould be remembered, that the ideas of the multitude are too confined to ſuffer them to perceive that, to find ſubject for amuſement in objects apparently trifling, is a ſtrong mark of a philoſophic mind. Beſides, the notions of decorum were not in thoſe days carried to that ridiculous height which they have ſince attained; nor could, indeed, the military life then led by our monarchs be rendered conſiſtent with all that pride of ſtate, and pomp of royalty, which the forms of a ſettled court are thought to require: yet, though Henry was not too proud to partake of the innocent diverſions of his nobles, it is certain that he was not mean enough to degrade his dignity by the contaminating ſociety of low buffoons, or any of thoſe courtly pandars, who obtain acceſs to princes by ſoothing their follies, or miniſtring to their vices.

Henry preſerved his health, and kept himſelf from corpulency, to which he was ſomewhat inclined, by frequent exerciſe, particularly hunting, the favourite diverſion of his Norman anceſtors. The frequent progreſſes he made about England were productive of eſſential benefits to his ſubjects; as, by that means, he brought the execution of the laws, and the improvement of agriculture, manufactures, and trade, under his own immediate inſpection. In ſhort, he was the ſoul of his kingdom, pervading every part of it, and animating the whole with his active vivacity. Neither were his cares for the public interrupted by luxury, nor the powers of his mind diſordered or enfeebled by exceſs: he was conſtantly ſober, and often abſtemious both in eating nd drinking. His table was frugal, his diet plain; and his dreſs was remarkable for it's ſimplicity, as he diſliked all ornaments which could tend, in the ſmalleſt degree, to impede the free exerciſe of his limbs, or to diſplay an effeminate regard to his perſon. Yet this inattention to dreſs did not proceed from inattention to women; he was but too ſenſible of the force of their attractions, and too anxious to pleaſe them, even to the end of his life.

His firſt miſtreſs was Roſamond, daughter of Walter de Clifford, Baron of Herefordſhire, and the moſt celebrated beauty in England. Their intrigue muſt have commenced in the year 1149, during the ſhort ſtay he made in the weſt before he went to join the Scots at Carliſle, when he was but little more than ſixteen years of age; for from that time he was never in England till the year 1153; and his youngeſt ſon was almoſt twenty years old when he was elected Biſhop of Lincoln, in 1173: the eldeſt muſt, therefore, have been born in 1140, unleſs we ſuppoſe that his mother followed her lover into France, of which there is not the ſmalleſt intimation in any of our ancient authors. At Henry's return into England, in the year 1153, he renewed his amour with her; and ſhe muſt have borne him Geoffrey, her ſecond ſon, in the courſe of that year. As he was then married, it is probable he might be afraid to excite the jealouſy of Eleanor; and, therefore, ſolicitous to conceal his intrigue from her knowledge. The neceſſity of this precaution he might conceive to be ſtill greater when ſhe came with him to England, after his acceſſion to the throne: and this circumſtance may have given riſe to the romantic tradition, mentioned by Brompton, of his having formed a kind of labyrinth at his palace of Woodſtock to ſcreen his miſtreſs from the ſight and vengeance of his queen; but the tale of her

her having been poiſoned there by Eleanor, is wholly devoid of truth. Before her death, Roſamond retired to the nunnery of Godſtow, where ſhe expired. Henry beſtowed large revenues on the convent, from reſpect to the memory of his favourite miſtreſs; in return for which he required that lamps ſhould be kept perpetually burning about her remains, which were placed near the high altar, in a tomb covered with ſilk: but during the reign of his ſucceſſor, Hugh, Biſhop of Lincoln, commanded them to be taken from thence, as being unworthy ſo holy a place; in conſequence of which, they were removed to the chapter-houſe of the nunnery, and there interred. There are many other proofs of Henry's incontinence recorded by hiſtorians; but his love for Roſamond, or any other woman, was diſtinguiſhed by no other weakneſs than what was inſeparable from the paſſion itſelf, and the irregular indulgence of it: he never ſacrificed to them one hour of buſineſs, nor ſuffered them to interfere in the government of his kingdom; nor was he guilty of profuſion in the beſtowal either of honours or riches on their relations or dependents. No worthleſs man ever roſe to power by their favours: no worthy man ever incurred diſgrace by their malice. Henry, indeed, was *too frequently* a Lover; but he was *always* a King.

THE hiſtory of all the preceding monarchs of England, ſince the Conqueſt, affords evident proofs of the diſorders which reſulted from the feudal inſtitutions; the licentiouſneſs of the Barons, their ſpirit of rebellion againſt their prince, their contempt for the laws of their country, and their animoſity againſt each other. During the continuance of a government ſo inimical to the progreſs of civil liberty, the national police could not poſſibly attain to any degree of perfection. We are told by an ancient hiſtorian, that it was cuſtomary in London, at this period, for great numbers, to the amount of a hundred or more, the ſons and relations of opulent citizens, to form themſelves into a licentious confederacy to break into rich houſes, and plunder them; to rob and murder the paſſengers; and to commit, with impunity, every ſpecies of diſorder. By this means it had become ſo dangerous to walk the ſtreets by night, that the citizens were as much afraid to ſtir from home after ſun-ſet as if the country had been expoſed to the incurſions of a foreign enemy. The brother of the Earl of Ferrars having been aſſaſſinated by ſome of thoſe nocturnal rioters, a complaint was made to the King, who vowed vengeance againſt the criminals; and, from that time, became more rigorous in the execution of the laws.

There is another extraordinary inſtance mentioned by hiſtorians, which proves to what a dangerous height theſe diſorders had arrived. A band of theſe criminals had attacked the houſe of a rich citizen, with an intention of plundering it; and, after breaking through a ſtone wall with the aſſiſtance of hammers and wedges, had entered it, ſword in hand; when the citizen, armed cap-a-pée, and ſupported by his ſervants, appeared in the paſſage to oppoſe them. He cut off the right-hand of the firſt robber that entered, and continued to make ſo ſtout a reſiſtance, that his neighbours had leiſure to aſſemble and come to his relief. The man who had loſt his hand was taken; and was tempted, by the promiſe of pardon, to diſcover his confederates; among whom was John Senex, one of the richeſt and beſt-born citizens in London. He was convicted by the ordeal; and, though he offered five hundred marks for his life, the King refuſed the money, and ordered him to be hanged.

Henry ſo far aboliſhed the barbarous and abſurd practice of confiſcating ſhips which had been wrecked on the coaſt, that he ordained, if one man or animal were found alive in the ſhip, that the veſſel and cargo ſhould be reſtored to the legal owners.

This Prince was the firſt that levied a tax on the moveables or perſonal eſtates of his ſubjects, nobles as well as commons. Their zeal for the holy wars induced them to ſubmit to this innovation; and, a precedent being once eſtabliſhed, this taxation became, in ſubſequent reigns, the uſual method of ſupplying the neceſſities of the crown. The tax of Danegeld, ſo generally odious to the nation, was remitted in this reign.

It was an uſual practice of the Kings of England to repeat the ceremony of the coronation thrice every year, on aſſembling the ſtates at the three grand feſtivals. Henry, after the three firſt years of his reign, never renewed this ceremony, which was attended with great expence, and was productive of no advantage; nor did any of his ſucceſſors revive it. It is conſidered as a great act of grace in this Prince, that he mitigated the rigour of the foreſt-laws, and puniſhed any violation of them, not capitally, but by fines, impriſonment, and other more moderate penalties.

A diſpute that occurred during this reign between Roger, Archbiſhop of York, and Richard, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, will, among other detached incidents, tend in ſome meaſure to elucidate the genius of the age. Cardinal Huguezun being ſent, in the year 1176, as legate into Britain, ſummoned an aſſembly of the clergy at London; and, as both the Archbiſhops laid claim to the right of ſitting at his right-hand, a violent controverſy aroſe between them on the queſtion of precedency. The monks and retainers of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury fell upon Roger in the preſence of the Cardinal and of the ſynod, threw him to the ground, trampled him under foot, and ſo beat him, that he was taken up half dead; and it was with much difficulty he eſcaped with his life. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury was obliged to pay a large ſum of money to the Cardinal, in order to ſuppreſs all complaints that might be preferred with regard to this enormity. We may form ſome judgment of the violence of military men and laymen, when eccleſiaſtics could proceed to ſuch extremities!

We are told by Giraldus Cambrenſis, a contemporary writer of great erudition, but of greater vanity, that the prior and monks of St. Swithun once threw themſelves proſtrate on the ground, and in the dirt, before Henry, complaining, with many tears

tears and much pitiful lamentation, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who was alſo their Abbot, had cut off three diſhes from their table. "How many "has he left you?" ſaid the King. "Ten only!" cried the diſconſolate monks. "I myſelf," replied the King, "never have more than three; and I "enjoin your Biſhop to reduce you to the ſame "number."

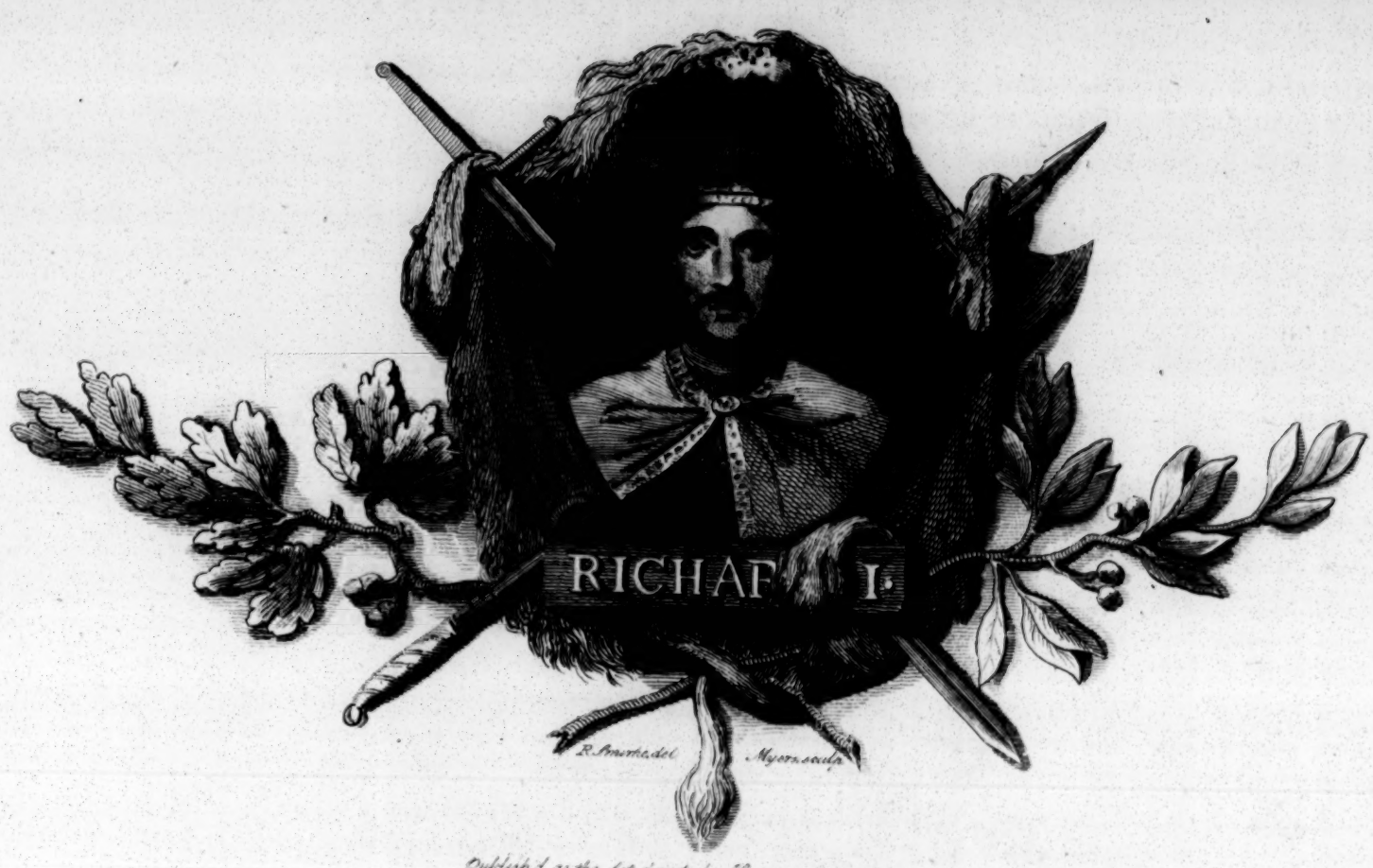
Tournaments, though the faſhionable diverſions of the age in other countries, were prohibited in England by Henry.

This monarch introduced the ſhort mantle, whence he received the ſurname of *Court-Mantel:* yet long flowing gowns, after the faſhion of the Eaſt, continued to be worn by the nobility and gentry.

The reign of Henry was alſo remarkable for a cuſtom, the introduction of which, though it cannot be termed an innovation, having been occaſionally practiſed in former reigns, has been generally aſcribed to that monarch. It was carried ſtill farther by his ſucceſſors, and was attended with the moſt important conſequences. He entertained a very natural diſguſt for that ſpecies of military force which was eſtabliſhed by the feudal inſtitutions; and which, though it was extremely burdenſome to the ſubject, rendered but little ſervice to the ſovereign. The barons, or military tenants, came late into the field; the time of their ſervice was limited to forty days: turbulent and imperious, they were averſe to the neceſſary reſtraints of ſubordination; and, conſequently, ill calculated to ſecond the efforts of their ſovereign. Henry, therefore, adopted the practice of accepting money as a commutation for their perſonal ſervices; and levied ſcutages from his baronies and knights-fees, inſtead of requiring the attendance of his vaſſals.

In the hiſtory of the Exchequer, mention is made of theſe ſcutages in the ſecond, fifth, and eighteenth year of his reign; and Tyrrel gives an account of three more of them. When the Prince had obtained money by theſe means, he contracted for a ſupply of troops with ſome of thoſe adventurers with which England at that time abounded; and they found him ſoldiers of the ſame character with themſelves, who were bound to ſerve for a ſtipulated time. Armies, thus raiſed, were leſs numerous, but more uſeful, than when compoſed of all the military vaſſals of the crown. This produced a gradual relaxation of the feudal inſtitutions: the kings became rapacious for money, on which all their power was thus made to depend; the barons, harraſſed with continual exactions, were anxious to defend their property; and, as the ſame cauſes had nearly the ſame effects in the different countries of Europe, the authority of the ſeveral crowns either increaſed or diminiſhed, according to their different ſucceſs in the conteſt.

RICHARD



RICHARD THE FIRST.

THE conduct of Richard, at the commencement of his reign, was well adapted to evince the ſincerity of his compunction for his undutiful behaviour to his father. Inſtead of laviſhing thoſe honours and rewards on his hungry dependents which the nature and extent of their ſervices had taught them to look for, he ſpeedily convinced them that he knew how to appreciate the principles which had influenced their attachment to his cauſe. He created a general ſurprize, by diſplaying contempt where confidence was expected; and beſtowing friendſhip where reſentment was dreaded. The native ſtrength of his mind enabled him to burſt through the reſtraints of habit; to perceive that men, who had baſely ſtooped to augment his vices by promoting their gratification, were unworthy to enjoy any portion of his eſteem, or to hold any office of truſt or emolument; in ſhort, it had taught him, that the pandars of a Prince muſt ever be conſidered as improper companions for a monarch. Impreſſed with theſe laudable ideas, he confirmed to all the miniſters of Henry, whoſe conduct had been ſignalized by a grateful and affectionate attachment to their maſter, and who had ſyſtematically oppoſed, with firmneſs and vigour, the illegal pretenſions and daring encroachments of his ſons, the enjoyment of thoſe reſpective offices, the duties of which they had diſcharged with honour, rectitude, and ability.

Richard was ſo little apprehenſive of any impediment to his ſucceſſion, that he remained on the continent more than a month after the death of his father; during which time he paid a viſit to the French monarch, who inveſted him in the dutchy of Normandy. He likewiſe ſent orders to England for immediately releaſing the Queen-dowager from the confinement in which ſhe had been long detained; and he entruſted her with the government of the kingdom till his own arrival. As if anxious to efface the idea, which his conduct to his father had tended to encourage, that his heart was wholly inſenſible to the ties of blood, he beſtowed on his brother John the moſt unbounded marks of his affection and munificence. Not content with conferring on him the county of Mortaigne, in Normandy; granting him a penſion of four thouſand marks a year; and marrying him to Aviſa, the daughter of the Earl of Glouceſter, by whom he inherited all the poſſeſſions of that opulent family; he increaſed this appanage, which the late King had deſtined him, by other extenſive grants and conceſſions. He conferred on him the whole eſtate of William Peverell, which had eſcheated to the crown: he put him in poſſeſſion of eight caſtles, with all the foreſts, honours, and eſtates, annexed to them; and delivered over to him no leſs than ſeven earldoms, viz. Cornwall, Devon, Somerſet, Nottingham, Dorſet, Lancaſter, and Derby. By this profuſion of favours, intended to ſecure his fidelity and affection, John was enabled to gratify the dictates of his vicious mind.

When Richard had regulated his continental affairs, he embarked for England; landed at Portſmouth on the thirteenth of Auguſt, in the year 1189; and fixed his coronation for the third of the enſuing month. At this ceremony a tranſaction occurred that was productive of infinite confuſion. The prejudices of the age had occaſioned the exaction of intereſt for the loan of money to be branded with the invidious appellation of Uſury: yet neceſſity had impelled the continuation of the practice, which was chiefly exerciſed by Jews; who, being already deemed infamous on account of their religion, had no character to loſe, and therefore did not ſcruple

to render a profeſſion, odious in itſelf, ſtill more diſgraceful by every ſpecies of rigour, and not unfrequently by rapine and extortion. The induſtry and frugality of this people had put them in poſſeſſion of all the ready-money, which the idleneſs and profuſion common to the Engliſh, with other nations of Europe, enabled them to lend at exorbitant and diſproportionate intereſt. The wiſdom and ſplendour of Henry's government is repreſented by the monkiſh hiſtorians as having experienced a conſiderable diminution by the charitable protection he had afforded to this infidel race from all injuries and inſults; but the miſguided zeal of Richard now gave the populace a pretence for venting their animoſity againſt them.

The King had iſſued a proclamation to prohibit their appearance at his coronation; but ſome of them having brought him large preſents from their tribe, thought that, without riſquing his diſpleaſure, they might venture to approach the hall in which he dined. Being diſcovered in their attempt to enter, they were aſſailed with the moſt opprobrious language, which induced them to retreat with precipitation. They were, however, purſued by the populace, whoſe minds were at this period inflamed againſt all Infidels by the ſuperſtitious harangues of the monks in favour of the cruſades. The rumour was inſtantly ſpread that the King had iſſued orders to put all the Jews to death. A command ſo agreeable experienced a prompt execution: all ſuch as were unfortunate enough to fall into the hands of the mob were immediately maſſacred; nor did thoſe who had remained at home eſcape the general danger. The people, moved by rapacity and fanaticiſm, broke into their houſes, which they plundered, after having murdered the inhabitants. Where the Jews barricaded their doors, and defended themſelves with vigour, the rabble ſet fire to the houſes, and ruſhed through the flames to exerciſe their pillage and violence. The uſual licentiouſneſs of London, which the ſovereign power was frequently inadequate to reſtrain, now raged with unexampled violence, and continued theſe outrages. The houſes of opulent citizens, though Chriſtians, were next attacked and plundered: nor could the tumult be quelled, till the rioters, wearied with ſlaughter, and loaded with booty, thought it prudent to retire, that they might ſecure their prey.

When the King empowered Glanville, the Juſticiary, to inveſtigate the origin of theſe crimes, and diſcover the perpetrators of them, ſo many of the moſt conſiderable citizens were found to be involved in the guilt, that it was deemed prudent to drop the proſecution; and very few ſuffered the puniſhment due to this flagrant enormity.

But theſe riots were not confined to the metropolis: a ſimilar maſſacre of the Jews took place in different parts of the kingdom, particularly at Lyme, Stamford, and York. At this laſt city, five hundred of them, who had taken refuge in the caſtle, finding themſelves unable to defend it againſt the numerous aſſailants, put their own wives and children to death, threw the dead bodies over the walls upon the populace, and then ſetting fire to the place, periſhed in the flames. The neighbouring gentry appear to have been urged to this perſecution rather by motives of avarice than religious zeal; for, being all indebted to the Jews, they ran to the cathedral, where their bonds were depoſited, and piling them in a heap, burnt them with great ſolemnity before the altar. The compiler of the Annals of Waverley, in relating theſe infamous tranſactions, bleſſes the Almighty for thus delivering over this impious race to deſtruction!

Richard, in whoſe breaſt the love of military glory was the prevailing paſſion, beſtowed his whole attention on preparations for an expedition to Paleſtine, which he had undertaken to perform in conjunction with the King of France, in order to effect the relief of the Holy Land, and the recovery of Jeruſalem from the Saracens. For this purpoſe it was neceſſary to raiſe a conſiderable ſum of money; which, negligent of every conſideration but his preſent object, he endeavoured to procure by the adoption of expedients equally pernicious to the public and dangerous to the royal authority. He found in his father's coffers at Wincheſter a prodigious treaſure, amounting, if Brompton may be credited, to the enormous ſum of nine hundred thouſand pounds. To this he made immenſe additions, by expoſing to ſale the revenues and manors of the crown; together with the royal parks, woods, and foreſts; the offices of greateſt truſt and power, even thoſe of Foreſter and Sheriff, which anciently were ſo important, became venal: the dignity of Chief Juſticiary, in whoſe hands the whole execution of the laws was lodged, was ſold to Hugh de Puzas, Biſhop of Durham, for a thouſand marks. The ſame Prelate likewiſe purchaſed the earldom of Northumberland for his own life; and the honour of Sudbery, for him and his ſucceſſors in that ſee for ever. The King received conſiderable ſums from the Barons of Bedfordſhire, and the Knights of Surrey, for permitting them to clear certain parts of their reſpective counties which had been converted into foreſt-ground.

When ſome of his miniſters, who were exempt from the military enthuſiaſm of their ſovereign, repreſented to him the fatal effects of thus diſſipating the revenue and power of the crown, he told them he would ſell London itſelf, could he find a purchaſer. A ſtronger proof of his readineſs to ſacrifice all views of future intereſt to his preſent purpoſe cannot be adduced than the circumſtance of his ſelling the ſuperiority of the crown of England over that of Scotland, together with the fortreſſes of Roxborough and Berwick, the greateſt acquiſition that had been made by his father during the courſe of his victorious reign, for the trifling ſum of ten thouſand marks, equivalent to about one hundred thouſand pounds of our preſent money.

Having obtained a bull from the Pope, empowering him to excuſe from the cruſade all thoſe whom he ſhould judge neceſſary to leave at home for the defence of the kingdom, many of the champions of the croſs, who repented of the vow they had been induced to take in the firſt tranſports of enthuſiaſm, were glad to purchaſe the liberty of violating

violating it. The Engliſh, of all ranks and ſtations, were oppreſſed by onerous exactions; menaces were employed to extort money alike from the innocent as from the guilty; and, where no pretence could be found to exact it from the rich, the King compelled them, by the fear of his diſpleaſure, to lend him ſums which he was conſcious it would never be in his power to repay. By theſe unjuſtifiable methods, Richard amaſſed a much greater treaſure than any one of his predeceſſors had ever been known to poſſeſs.

But though he ſacrificed every conſideration, however important, to the ſucceſs of this ſpiritual enterprize; he was ſo far from aſſuming an appearance of extraordinary ſanctity, that when Fulk, Curate of Neville, a zealous preacher in favour of the Cruſade, whoſe inſolence was privileged by fanaticiſm, inveighed againſt his vices, and adviſed him to part with his Pride, Avarice, and Senſuality, which he termed the King's three favourite Daughters; "You counſel well," replied Richard; "and "I have already provided huſbands for them all. I "give my Pride to the Templars; my Avarice to "the Monks; and my Senſuality to the Clergy."

While Richard was thus employed, Rotrou, Count of Perche, and other ambaſſadors, arrived in England, in the month of November, to notify the reſolution of the French King and his Barons; who had ſolemnly ſworn, in a general council held at Paris, that they would repair with their followers to the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy, the appointed rendezvous, before the cloſe of the enſuing Eaſter: and they required that Richard and his Barons would enter into a ſimilar engagement; which requeſt was complied with.

The King now conſtituted William Longchamp, Biſhop of Ely, and Hugh, Biſhop of Durham, regents of the kingdom in his abſence. The former of theſe Prelates was a Frenchman, of mean birth, and of a violent character; who, by art and addreſs, had inſinuated himſelf into the royal favour. Richard had created him Chancellor; and had engaged the Pope alſo to inveſt him with the legatine authority; that, by centering every kind of power in his perſon, he might the better be enabled to enſure the public tranquillity.

Having made theſe previous arrangements, he embarked at Dover on the eleventh of December, and landed the ſame evening at Gravelines; from whence he purſued his journey through Flanders into Normandy. Soon after his arrival on the continent, Richard had an interview with the King of France, at Gué St. Remi, to ſettle all the preliminaries of their intended expedition; at which the two monarchs took a ſolemn oath of mutual friendſhip and defence; and agreed that, if either of them died on the voyage, the ſurvivor ſhould be entitled to his money, and the command of his forces. Finding it impoſſible to make the requiſite preparations by the appointed time, the general rendezvous in the plains of Vezelay was deferred till Midſummer.

After this interview, Richard ſent for his mother, Eleanor, from England; together with Adelais, ſiſter to Philip; his own brother John; his illegitimate brother Geoffrey, who was now Archbiſhop of York; and all the other Prelates of the realm: in whoſe preſence he exacted an oath from John and Geoffrey, that they would not return to England for three years, the term which he thought it would require to compleat his expedition to Paleſtine; but, at the requeſt of his mother, he afterwards releaſed them from this obligation.

The numerous calamities that had befallen the leaders of former cruſades, had taught the Kings of England and France the neceſſity of trying another road to the Holy Land: and they determined to conduct their armies thither by ſea; to carry proviſions with them; and, by means of their naval power, to maintain an open communication with their own ſtates, and with the weſtern parts of Europe.

When the time appointed for the general rendezvous approached, the two monarchs placed themſelves at the head of their reſpective forces, and began their march to the plains of Vezelay, where they arrived in the laſt Week of June. From Vezelay the combined army, which amounted to one hundred thouſand men, decamped on the firſt of July, and marched in one body to Lyons: but, finding it extremely inconvenient to proceed in the ſame order, the two Kings parted at that city; Philip proceeding to Genoa, the place deſtined for his embarkation; and Richard to Marſeilles, whither he had appointed his fleet to meet him. They put to ſea; and, nearly about the ſame time, arrived at Meſſina, where they wintered: the King of France, with his army, remained in the city; and Richard eſtabliſhed his quarters in the ſuburbs.

The laſt King of Sicily and Naples was William the Second, who had married Jane, ſiſter to Richard; and who, dying without iſſue, had bequeathed his dominions to his paternal aunt, Conſtantia, the only ſurviving deſcendant of Roger, the firſt ſovereign of thoſe ſtates who had been dignified with the title of King. Henry the Sixth, the reigning Emperor, had eſpouſed this princeſs, in expectation of her ſucceeding to this rich inheritance; but Tancred, her natural brother, having acquired the affection and obtained the ſupport of the Barons, had in the abſence of Henry taken poſſeſſion of the throne, and reſiſted all the efforts of the Germans to depoſe him. The approach of the cruſaders, however, naturally inſpired him with apprehenſions for his unſtable government; and he knew not whether he had moſt reaſon to dread the preſence of the Engliſh or of the French monarch. Philip was engaged in a ſtrict alliance with the Emperor, his competitor; and Richard was diſguſted by his ſeverity to the Queen-dowager, whom the Sicilian Prince had confined in Palermo, becauſe ſhe had oppoſed, with all her intereſt, his ſucceſſion to the crown. Tancred therefore determined, if poſſible, to avert the animoſity of theſe powerful monarchs: nor were his attempts unſucceſsful. He found means to perſuade Philip that it was highly improper for him to interrupt his enterprize againſt the Infidels, by turning his arms againſt a Chriſtian ſtate. He likewiſe

appeaſed

appeaſed the reſentment of Richard, by releaſing the Queen-dowager; paying twenty thouſand ounces of gold, in lieu of a valuable legacy, bequeathed by the late King of Sicily to his father-in-law, Henry the Second; by contracting one of his daughters in marriage to Arthur, Duke of Britanny, whom Richard declared his heir, in caſe he ſhould die without iſſue; and by depoſiting twenty thouſand ounces of gold as her marriage-portion, to be reſtored, provided the marriage ſhould not take effect.

But previous to the arrangement of theſe amicable terms, Richard, equally jealous of Tancred, and of the inhabitants of Meſſina, had, as we have before obſerved, taken up his quarters in the ſuburbs; and he had alſo poſſeſſed himſelf of a ſmall fort which commanded the harbour. The citizens took umbrage at theſe proceedings, which wore an appearance of hoſtility; and this produced ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between them that only tended to augment their mutual animoſity. Philip, anxious to promote an accommodation, held a conference with Richard in the open fields: but, while they were converſing on the ſubject, the Meſſineſe made a ſudden ſally from the town, and attacked the quarters of Hugh Le Brun, one of Richard's Barons, with great impetuoſity. The King, enraged at this inſult, returned the attack; drove them into the city; and, entering with them at the gates, erected the ſtandard of England on the walls, in token of his victory; though he reſtrained his troops from exerciſing any violence on the defenceleſs inhabitants.

Philip, who regarded the whole city as his quarters, exclaimed againſt the inſult which he pretended was offered to him, and ordered ſome of his troops to pull down the ſtandard: but Richard informed him by a meſſenger, that though he himſelf would willingly remove it, ſince it was deemed a ground of offence, he would not ſuffer it to be done by any other perſons; but would oppoſe any attempt to inſult him ſo groſsly with his whole force. The French monarch, therefore, thought it prudent to countermand his orders; and the diſpute was apparently adjuſted, though the ſeeds of diſcord were thereby implanted in the breaſts of the two ſovereigns.

In order, however, to prevent the multiplication of jealouſies and complaints, they at length propoſed to obviate all future differences by a ſolemn treaty. But this expedient ſtarted a new ſubject of controverſy which was more difficult to adjuſt, as the honour of Philip's family was deeply affected by it. When Richard, in every treaty with the late King, had ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on being permitted to conſummate his marriage with the Princeſs Adelais, he had only ſought a pretence for quarrelling; it having never been his intention to take to his bed a perſon ſuſpected of a criminal connection with his own father. This was evident from his never having mentioned the ſubject after Henry's death: he even took meaſures for eſpouſing Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez, King of Navarre, for whom he had conceived a paſſion during his abode in Guienne; and, when he had ſet out on the preſent expedition, he had prevailed upon his mother to accompany that Princeſs to Naples; whither they had accordingly arrived, in the month of February, under the eſcort of the Count of Flanders, and from that time had taken up their reſidence at Brindiſi, and were now daily expected at Meſſina. When Philip, therefore, renewed his applications to Richard for celebrating his nuptials with his ſiſter Adelais, that monarch was obliged to give him an abſolute refuſal.

Hoveden, and ſome other hiſtorians, pretend that he was able to afford ſuch poſitive proof of the incontinence of Adelais, and even of her having borne a child to Henry, that her brother deſiſted from his applications; and choſe to conceal the diſhonour of his family, by conſigning the whole tranſaction to oblivion. Whatever were his motives, it is certain from the treaty itſelf, which may be ſeen in Rymer's Fœdera, that he conſented that Richard ſhould eſpouſe Berengaria: and, having ſettled all other ſubjects of diſpute with that Prince, Philip ſet ſail for the Holy Land on the thirtieth of March, in the year 1191. The day after his departure, Queen Eleanor, with the Princeſs of Navarre, landed at Meſſina; at which place the former only remained four days, and then embarked for England; but the latter was committed to the care of the Queen-dowager of Sicily, who had reſolved to accompany her brother in his expedition to Paleſtine.

Richard, impatient to reach the ſeat of war, would not ſtay at Meſſina to celebrate his marriage; but ſailed from thence on the tenth of April, with a fleet of two hundred ſail. Two days after they left the port, they were overtaken by a violent tempeſt; and the King, with the greateſt part of his fleet, took refuge in a harbour in the Iſland of Crete: but miſſing three of his largeſt veſſels, in one of which Berengaria and the Queen-dowager of Sicily had embarked, he ſent in queſt of them; and ſoon received information that two out of the three had been ſtranded on the coaſt of Cyprus, and the crews either drowned, or thrown into priſon by the ſovereign of the country; and that the other, with the Princeſſes on board, was riding before Limiſſo, the capital of the iſland, having been refuſed admittance into the harbour.

Richard immediately advanced with his gallies to their relief; and found them lying at anchor on the open ſhore, expoſed to all the inclemency of the weather. Incenſed at this inſtance of barbarity, he ſent a peremptory meſſage to demand the immediate releaſe of his ſoldiers; and Iſaac the Tyrant, who then reigned in Cyprus, and who had aſſumed the pompous title of Emperor, refuſed to comply with his demand. He therefore diſembarked his troops; defeated Iſaac, who oppoſed his landing; entered Limiſſo by ſtorm; gained next day a ſecond victory; obliged the tyrant to ſurrender at diſcretion; and eſtabliſhed governors over the iſland.

The Greek Prince being thrown into priſon, and loaded with irons, complained of not being treated with ſufficient reſpect; upon which Richard ordered ſilver fetters to be made for him: and the Emperor, pleaſed with this ridiculous diſtinction, thanked the conqueror

conqueror for his generoſity. The King being detained ſome time on the iſland, ſolemnized his marriage with Berengaria, on the twelfth of May; and, while he was engaged in receiving the homage of the nobility of Cyprus, who made him ſome voluntary gifts of conſiderable value, he ſent her with a part of his fleet and forces to join the Chriſtian army at the ſiege of Ptolemais, or Acon, where ſhe landed on the firſt of June. The Queen took with her to Paleſtine a daughter of the Cyprian Prince, who is ſaid to have become her rival, and to have ſeduced the affections of her huſband. "Such," ſays a modern hiſtorian, "were the libertine character and "conduct of the heroes engaged in this pious enter-"prize!"

Having regulated the affairs of Cyprus, and beſtowed the government of the iſland on Richard de Camville and Roger de Turnham, he ſailed with the remainder of his army. On his paſſage, he encountered a veſſel of prodigious ſize, equipped by Saladin at Barut, containing fifteen hundred of his choice troops, commanded by ſeven admirals, and laden with proviſion and military ſtores for the garriſon of Acon. Having attacked and deſtroyed this unwieldy ſhip, he arrived before the place on the eighth of June, to the inexpreſſible joy of the Chriſtian army, and the terror and diſmay of the beſieged, whoſe conſternation was greatly augmented, when they were informed of the loſs of the veſſel in which all their hopes of relief were centered.

The city of Acon had been inveſted for above two years by the united force of all the Chriſtians in Paleſtine, and had been defended by the utmoſt efforts of Saladin and the Saracens. The remains of a German army, conducted by the Emperor Frederic—who had been killed ſoon after his arrival, by imprudently bathing in the cold ſtream of the Cydmus during the raging heat of the Dog-days—and the ſeparate bodies of adventurers who continually poured in from the weſt, had enabled the King of Jeruſalem to form this important enterprize: but Saladin having thrown a ſtrong garriſon into the place, under the command of Caracos, his own maſter in the art of war, and moleſted the beſieged with continual attacks and ſallies, had protracted the ſucceſs of the enterprize, and waſted the force of his enemies. The arrival of Philip and Richard inſpired new life into the Chriſtians; and theſe Princes acting in concert, and partaking the glory and danger of every action, gave ſtrong hopes of obtaining a final victory over the Infidels. The plan of operations which they agreed on was this: That one day, the King of France ſhould attack the town, and the Engliſh guard the trenches; and the next, the Engliſh monarch ſhould conduct the aſſault, and the French undertake to defend the aſſailants. This ſpirit of emulation between thoſe rival Kings, and rival nations, produced extraordinary acts of valour: but Richard, in particular, by his intrepid courage, and unbounded liberality, not only gained the hearts of the ſoldiers, but attracted general attention, and acquired a ſplendid reputation; totally eclipſing Philip, who became envious of his glory, and jealous of his greatneſs.

The ſiege was now preſſed with ſuch ardour, that the garriſon, reduced to the laſt extremity, and deſpairing of relief, agreed to ſurrender the city on the twelfth of July, on the following conditions, viz. That the garriſon ſhould be allowed to march out only in their ſhirts, leaving all their arms and baggage behind them; that Saladin ſhould reſtore the true croſs, with two thouſand five hundred Chriſtian priſoners of the greateſt note; that he ſhould cauſe to be paid to the two victorious monarchs two hundred thouſand pieces of gold, called *Byſantines*, for the ranſom of the garriſon, the whole of which were to be detained as hoſtages till theſe conditions were performed.

Thus ended this celebrated ſiege, which had engaged the attention of all Europe and Aſia for two years, and had coſt the lives of three hundred thouſand men; beſides thoſe of ſix Archbiſhops, twelve Biſhops, forty Earls, and five hundred Barons.

But Philip, inſtead of purſuing the advantage derived by the Chriſtians from this important conqueſt, and attempting to releaſe the holy city from the power of the Infidels, which was the chief object of the expedition, began to intimate his deſign of returning to Europe. Though he aſcribed his deſire to quit the ſcene of glory to the ill ſtate of his health, the real motives of his departure were founded on projects of ambition and revenge. The ſuperior ſplendor of Richard's atchievements, which had totally eclipſed his own diminutive fame, inſpired him with ſentiments of the moſt inveterate hatred againſt that monarch; and he expected, by repairing to Europe, to find an opportunity of affording them the moſt ample gratification. He likewiſe flattered himſelf with the idea of being able to obtain the ſucceſſion of the Count of Flanders, who had died during the ſiege of Acon, and had left no iſſue. Urged by theſe powerful inducements, all efforts to retain him in Paleſtine proved ineffectual: Richard, therefore, conſented to his departure, on his taking a public oath that he would not only abſtain from all hoſtilities againſt his territories during his ſtay in the Holy Land, but that he would even protect them againſt the attempts of all invaders. Having left ten thouſand of his troops under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, Philip ſailed from the port of Acon, with the remainder of his army, on the firſt of Auguſt, and landed in France a few days before Chriſtmas.

It is ſaid that, on his paſſage through Italy, this perfidious Prince made application to Pope Celeſtine the Third to abſolve him from the vow which he had taken to Richard, that he might proceed to invade thoſe territories which he had ſworn to defend; but the Pontiff refuſed to comply with his infamous requeſt.

After Philip's departure, the whole burden of the war devolved upon Richard, who found himſelf in a very perplexed ſituation, owing to the conteſt between Guy de Luſignan, and Conrade, Marquis of Montferrat, about the crown of Jeruſalem. This competition had occaſioned great diſſenſions in the

army, till an accommodation was effected by the interpoſition of the other Chriſtian Princes; by which it was ſettled, that Luſignan ſhould poſſeſs the kingdom for life; that the ſucceſſion ſhould fall to Conrade and his heirs; and that, in the interim, they ſhould divide it's revenues between them.

Notwithſtanding this pacification, Conrade ſtill maintained a correſpondence with Saladin, and avoided a junction with the King of England; who, having repaired the walls of Aſcalon, quitted that city on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, and directed his march towards Joppa along the ſea-coaſt, for the convenience of being ſupplied with proviſions from his fleet Saladin, at the head of an army of three hundred thouſand men, attended his motions, and harraſſed his troops with perpetual ſkirmiſhes, in which aſtoniſhing acts of valour were performed on both ſides. At length, Richard, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of their numbers, determined to bring the enemy to a general engagement: accordingly, on the ſixth of September, was fought one of the greateſt battles of that age. Early in the day, the right wing of the Chriſtians, commanded by James D'Aveſnes; and the left, conducted by the Duke of Burgundy; were thrown into diſorder: when Richard, who led on the main body, reſtored the battle; and, by a wonderful diſplay of perſonal courage and military ſkill, turned the tide of ſucceſs in favour of the Chriſtians. The Saracens were compleatly defeated, with the loſs of forty thouſand men, who periſhed in the field.

After this important victory, the Chriſtian army continued their march to Joppa, which they found deſerted by it's inhabitants, and almoſt demoliſhed. Richard propoſed, therefore, to proceed with all poſſible expedition to Aſcalon; but the Duke of Burgundy, who had received ſecret inſtructions from his ſovereign to thwart all the projects of the King of England, inſiſted, with ſuch inflexible pertinacity, on ſtaying to repair Joppa, that he was compelled to conſent.

During his ſtay in this city, an adventure befel Richard that had nearly been attended with fatal conſequences. As he was one day returning from hunting, finding himſelf conſiderably fatigued, he alighted from his horſe, and laid himſelf down to ſleep beneath a tree, with only ſix of his attendants about his perſon; when he was rouzed by the ſudden appearance of a party of Saracen horſe. As they were but few in number, he mounted his horſe, and purſued them, till they drew him into an ambuſcade that conſiſted of a whole ſquadron. Richard, who was unuſed to fly, defended himſelf for ſome time with wonderful bravery: but, four of his attendants being ſlain, he muſt inevitably have been taken, but for a ſtratagem of William Deſpreaux, one of his company; who, ſeeing his danger, cried out in the Saracen language—" I am " the King of England!" This exclamation immediately drew the attention of the enemy to himſelf, and all their efforts were accordingly directed to make themſelves maſters of his perſon, which gave Richard time to provide for his ſafety by flight; while the Saracens, content with their ſucceſs, conducted their priſoner to Saladin. Deſpreaux had the prudence not to diſcover himſelf till he came into the preſence of the Sultan, to whom he ingenuouſly confeſſed the ſtratagem he had adopted to ſave his ſovereign. Saladin highly commended his fidelity; but, being ſenſible that Richard would not ſuffer ſo faithful a ſervant to remain long in a ſtate of captivity, he fixed his ranſom ſo high, that he procured ten Emirs, or Saracen Princes, in exchange for him.

After remaining ſeven weeks at Joppa, Richard, in the beginning of November, began his march to Jeruſalem; but his progreſs was conſiderably retarded, as well by the heavy rains and frequent aſſaults of the enemy, as by the numerous caſtles that had been demoliſhed by the Saracens, which he found it neceſſary to rebuild: and when he had ſurmounted every obſtacle, and had arrived in the vicinity of the holy city, in the laſt week of December, the Templars, Hoſpitallers, and Piſans, at the inſtigation of the Duke of Burgundy, oppoſed the commencement of the ſiege, and compelled him to return to Aſcalon.

While Richard was gathering laurels in Paleſtine, his ſubjects in England were ſuffering great inconveniencies from his abſence, owing to diſputes between the two Prelates whom he had appointed guardians of the realm. Longchamp, inſtead of co-operating with his colleague, the Biſhop of Durham, in preſerving the public tranquillity, proceeded to acts of violence againſt him, arreſted his perſon, and compelled him to purchaſe his liberty by a reſignation of the earldom of Northumberland, and of his other dignities. That Prelate had complained of this treatment, in letters addreſſed to the King at Marſeilles, previous to his embarkation; and Richard ſent orders to Longchamp to reſtore the places which he had obliged him to ſurrender: but he had the audacity to refuſe compliance with theſe inſtructions, on pretence that he himſelf was better acquainted with the King's ſecret intentions. He proceeded to govern the kingdom by his ſole authority, and to evince in his whole conduct the moſt intolerable arrogance and pride. He expoſed every office to ſale; he deprived both clergy and laity of their lands and poſſeſſions, to beſtow them on his own relations and dependents; and appropriated the King's revenue to his own uſe. His magnificence exceeded that of moſt monarchs: when he travelled, he was conſtantly attended by a guard of fifteen hundred horſe; and when, in his progreſs through the kingdom, he lodged in any convent, the revenue of three years was deemed inſufficient to defray the expences of one night's entertainment.

Richard being informed of theſe enormities during his reſidence at Meſſina, appointed Walter, Archbiſhop of Rouen; William Mareſhal, Earl of Strigul; Geoffrey Fitz-Peter; William Briewere; and Hugh Bardolf; Privy-counſellors to Longchamp: and commanded him to take no meaſures of importance without their advice and approbation. But the violence of this turbulent Prelate had diffuſed ſuch a general terror over the minds of the

the people, that theſe noblemen durſt not produce the King's mandate; and Longchamp ſtill maintained an uncontrouled authority over the nation: but when he proceeded ſo far as to impriſon the King's natural brother Geoffrey, Archbiſhop of York, who had oppoſed his meaſures, this breach of eccleſiaſtical privileges excited ſuch an univerſal ferment, that Prince John, diſguſted with the ſmall ſhare he poſſeſſed in the government, and perſonally diſobliged by Longchamp, ventured to convene a general council of the Nobility and Prelates at Reading, and ſummon him to appear before them. Inſtead, however, of complying with this ſummons, Longchamp ſhut himſelf up in the Tower of London; but, being unprovided with proviſions to ſuſtain a regular ſiege, he was under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the will of the council, who deprived him of his dangerous powers. The office of Chief Juſticiary was conferred on Walter, Archbiſhop of Rouen, a prelate of great wiſdom and ſtrict integrity; and that of Chancellor was given to Benedict, Abbot of Peterborough, the hiſtorian.

Longchamp, unable to bear his degradation with fortitude, made his eſcape from the kingdom, on the twenty-ninth of October, in the dreſs of a female. The commiſſion of Legate, however, which the Pope, deceived by the artful miſrepreſentations of the exiled Prelate, had been prevailed on to renew, enabled him ſtill to retain a certain degree of authority over the kingdom, and to diſturb the government: thereby favouring the views of the King of France; who, ſacrificing his integrity to a vicious ſpirit of reſentment, had reſolved to embrace every opportunity of harraſſing the dominions of Richard. That monarch held a conference with the Seneſchal of Normandy, on the twentieth of January, in which he demanded the ceſſion of Giſors; and, his requeſt being ſcornfully rejected, attempted to invade the dutchy, but was prevented by his Barons, who, more conſcientious than their ſovereign, refuſed to attack a ſtate which they had ſworn to defend. The Pope, who was the general guardian of all Princes who had aſſumed the croſs, threatening him at the ſame time with eccleſiaſtical cenſures, he was compelled to deſiſt from his enterprize, and reſolved to ſubſtitute ſecret policy for open force. With this view he had recourſe to Prince John, with the profligacy of whoſe character he was well acquainted; and, by an offer to beſtow on him his own ſiſter Adelais in marriage, and to put him in poſſeſſion of all his brother's continental dominions, ſeduced him from his allegiance: and, but for the timely interpoſition of Queen Eleanor, and the menaces of the Engliſh council, that Prince would have actually croſſed the Channel, and put his criminal projects in execution.

During theſe tranſactions in the European dominions of Richard, that monarch was involved in dangers and perplexities from his military purſuits in Paleſtine. The march of the Chriſtians to Aſcalon in their retreat from Jeruſalem, at the commencement of the year 1192, was attended with incredible difficulties. To compleat their misfortunes, they found, on their arrival, that the place was ſo totally ſtripped of it's inhabitants, and it's fortifications were ſo thoroughly demoliſhed, that it was incapable of affording them either food or protection. The reparations of Aſcalon employed the whole army for three months; during which time Richard ſubjected himſelf to the ſame inceſſant toil as the loweſt of his men.

The factions of Luſignan and Conrade, notwithſtanding the late accommodation, ſtill raged with ſuch violence, and were productive of ſuch diſcord and diſſenſions in the army, that no enterprize of importance could be undertaken; and the ſole hopes of unanimity appeared to center in the elevation of the latter to the throne of Jeruſalem: but, as Luſignan could not be expected to relinquiſh his kingdom without an equivalent, Richard, in order to preſerve that tranquillity which was ſo requiſite for the good of the cauſe in which he was embarked, generouſly beſtowed on him the kingdom of Cyprus, which was enjoyed by Luſignan and his poſterity for nearly three centuries.

All obſtacles to an accommodation being removed by this expedient, Conrade was determined to join the army without delay; when he was publicly ſtabbed in the ſtreets of Tyre by two men, who for that purpoſe had enliſted themſelves in his ſervice. They were ſubjects of a petty Saracen Prince, whoſe territories lay in the mountains of Phœnicia, and who was commonly diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *The old Man of the Mountain*. He was a man of conſummate art, and knew how to render the ſuperſtition of Mahometaniſm ſubſervient to his own private advantage. Being unable to defend himſelf from the encroachments of his powerful neighbours by open force, he adopted a more effectual expedient for puniſhing, if not for averting, their attacks. He had acquired ſuch an aſcendancy over the minds of his fanatical ſubjects, that they paid the moſt implicit obedience to his orders, though fraught with the moſt imminent danger; from a full perſuaſion that, ſhould the execution of them prove fatal to their lives, the joys of Paradiſe would be the infallible reward of their devotion. Theſe he occaſionally diſpatched to murder ſuch Princes as had incurred his reſentment; and, being influenced by ſuch powerful motives, their invincible perſeverance in the purſuit of their object, rendered the accompliſhment of it almoſt certain; ſo that all the Potentates of that part of Aſia ſtood in awe of this Prince of the *Aſſaſſins:* for that was the name of his people—whence the word has paſſed into moſt European languages.

The inhabitants of Tyre, who were governed by Conrade, had put to death one of this dangerous ſect, whom ſtreſs of weather had compelled to take refuge in the harbour. The Prince demanded ſatisfaction of Conrade, who treated his meſſengers with diſdain. In revenge, therefore, for this outrage, which was attended with ſome aggravating circumſtances, the Aſſaſſins were diſpatched, and executed their orders with deliberation and effect. When they were apprehended, and applied to the torture, they triumphed in the midſt of agony, and expreſſed their joy at being deſtined to ſuffer in ſo

juſt

juſt and glorious a cauſe. The Old Man of the Mountain afterwards ſent a kind of manifeſto to the European Princes, containing an explanatory juſtification of his conduct; clearing Richard from the baſe imputation which the deſigning malevolence of his enemies had attempted to fix on his character, by accuſing him of being privy to the murder.

Conrade was ſucceeded in the throne of Jeruſalem by Henry, Count of Champagne, who married his widow; and immediately marched to the aſſiſtance of Richard, who had juſt compleated the reduction of the ſtrong fortreſs of Darum. Strengthened by this reinforcement, he began his march to Jeruſalem, with the reſolution of laying ſiege to it; but at a general council of war, in which many angry diſputes prevailed, it was deemed impracticable: and the Duke of Burgundy, ſeparating from the army with the troops under his command, retreated to Tyre, from whence he propoſed to embark for Europe.

The Engliſh troops being conſiderably diminiſhed by inceſſant fatigues and repeated engagements, Richard found there was no poſſibility of attempting any new conqueſts; and, having received divers letters from the regency, ſoliciting his immediate return, to prevent the diſorders that threatened his kingdom, reſolved to take his leave of Paleſtine, where the prodigies of valour he had performed had rendered him the terror of the Saracens: he therefore conducted his troops to Acon; but, while the neceſſary preparations for his embarkation were making, he received intelligence that the city of Joppa was inveſted by Saladin, at the head of an immenſe army; and that the garriſon muſt infallibly ſubmit, if not ſpeedily relieved. Ever eager to embrace an opportunity of gathering freſh laurels, he ordered his forces to march to Joppa; while he himſelf, with a choſen band of followers, repaired thither by ſea: and, after defeating the enemy in two engagements, compelled them to raiſe the ſiege. As he could not, however, remain in Paleſtine with any regard to his own intereſt, or, indeed, with any proſpect of accompliſhing the great end of the expedition, he concluded a truce with Saladin; and ſtipulated that Acon, Joppa, and all the other towns on the ſea-coaſt, ſhould remain in the hands of the Chriſtians; and that every one of that religion ſhould be allowed to perform his pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, exempt from moleſtation. This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours: a magical number which, in the opinion of a modern hiſtorian, had been deviſed by the Europeans, and was ſuggeſted by a ſuperſtition well ſuited to the object of the war.

Theſe ſtipulations being ratified, Richard, having previouſly ſent away the Queens of England and Sicily, embarked, with a ſelect party of friends, on board a ſwift-ſailing veſſel, and ſailed from the port of Acon on the ninth of October, followed by the tears and benedictions of a vaſt concourſe of people, who had experienced the effects of his bounty, and witneſſed thoſe of his valour. Being unwilling to paſs through France, as he had but too much reaſon to dread the perfidy of Philip, he directed his courſe to the Adriatic, and was ſhipwrecked near Aquileia; from whence he attempted to paſs through Germany in the diſguiſe of a pilgrim. Purſued by the Governor of Iſtria, he was compelled to leave the direct road to England, and paſs by Vienna; when he was diſcovered by Leopold, Duke of Auſtria; who, glad of ſo favourable an opportunity to revenge an affront which he had ſuſtained from Richard during the ſiege of Acon, and being equally deaf to the dictates of honour, and regardleſs of the ties of humanity, ordered him to be arreſted and thrown into priſon.

There are ſtrong grounds for believing that this nobleman was induced to commit ſo ungenerous an action, as well from motives of avarice, as from thoſe of revenge: for when he delivered his royal captive to the Emperor, Henry the Sixth, he ſtipulated for the ſum of fifty thouſand marks, as the reward of his baſeneſs. The Emperor had regarded Richard as his enemy ſince the concluſion of his treaty of alliance with Tancred, the uſurper of the Sicilian throne, to which Henry laid claim, in right of his wife Conſtantia.

Thus was the King of England, whoſe fame was diffuſed over the whole globe, at the moſt critical conjuncture, thrown into a dungeon, in the heart of Germany; and left at the mercy of men, in whoſe minds the ſordid views of avarice overcame every principle of rectitude.

The Engliſh were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation at the news of their monarch's captivity. The Queen-dowager wrote reiterated letters to the Pope; claiming his interpoſition in favour of the moſt zealous champion that had ever aſſumed the croſs; and exhorting him to launch the thunders of the Church againſt his ſacrilegious perſecutors: but the zeal of the ſovereign Pontiff did not correſpond to the impatience of the Queen; and the regency of England were for ſome time left to contend alone with all their enemies, domeſtic and foreign.

The King of France, whom a meſſage from the Emperor had informed of Richard's impriſonment, prepared to take every poſſible advantage of it. He revived the calumny of Richard's aſſaſſinating the Marquis of Montferrat; and, by that abſurd pretence, engaged his Barons to violate their oaths, by which they were bound not to attack the dominions of the Engliſh monarch during his expedition to Paleſtine. He attempted to bribe the Emperor, either to deliver his royal priſoner into his hands, or to detain him in perpetual confinement: he even formed an alliance, by marriage, with Canute, King of Denmark, that he might obtain a transfer of the ancient Daniſh claim to the crown of England. But not any of Philip's negotiations ſucceeded ſo well as that with Prince John; who, forgetful of every tie of both nature and gratitude, was ſolely employed in forming projects of private emolument. That traitor, on the firſt invitation from the court of France, repaired to the continent; and, at a conference with Philip, made a treaty, by which he ſtipulated to deliver into the hands of that monarch all that part of Normandy which lies

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north of the Seine, except Rouen, and ſome other towns; and, in return, received the inveſtiture of all Richard's tranſmarine dominions.

When this treaty was concluded, and the plan of operations determined, John returned to England; and, in order to augment the general confuſion, beſieged and took the caſtles of Wallingford and Windſor: but when he arrived in London, and claimed the crown as heir to his brother, of whoſe death he pretended to have received certain intelligence, his aſſertions were diſcredited by the Barons, and his requiſitions treated with contempt. The Juſticiaries raiſed an army to oppoſe him; and preſſed him with ſo much vigour, that they compelled him to conſent to a truce, before the expiration of which he returned to his ally, the King of France. That monarch had been more ſucceſsful in his invaſion of Normandy; where, by the treachery of John's emiſſaries, he obtained poſſeſſion of many places of importance. The gates of Neufchatel, Neaufle, Giſors, Pacey, and Ivrée, were opened to him. He ſubdued the counties of Eu and Aumale; and, advancing to form the ſiege of Rouen, threatened to put all the inhabitants to the ſword, if they dared to make reſiſtance.

Fortunately, Robert, Earl of Leiceſter, appeared in that critical moment. This gallant nobleman, being more fortunate than his ſovereign, had juſt returned from Paleſtine, where he had acquired infinite honour by his courage and military ſkill. He now took on him the command of Rouen: and his exhortations and example encouraged the diſmayed Normans to deſpiſe the menaces of Philip; who, being repulſed in every attack, was compelled to deſiſt from his enterprize, and retire with precipitation. This check, together with the threats of the Pope to lay his dominions under an interdict, obliged the King of France to liſten to propoſals for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; and he accordingly concluded a truce with the Engliſh regency, on the ninth of July, in the year 1193.

In the mean time, Richard, though expoſed to every inſult and indignity in Germany, did not ſuffer his courage to be depreſſed by the rigour of his confinement. Though thrown into a dungeon from whence no man had ever eſcaped with life, loaded with irons, and continually ſurrounded with armed ruffians, he preſerved the ſerenity of his countenance and the chearfulneſs of his mind.

The Emperor, in order to do away ſome part of that odium which his injuſtice to Richard had naturally incurred, produced him before the Princes and Prelates of the Empire, in a diet held at Worms on the thirteenth of July; and attempted a juſtification of his own conduct by accuſing that Prince of various crimes and miſdemeanors: of having afforded protection to Tancred, the uſurper of the crown of Sicily; of having made war on the Emperor of Cyprus, a Chriſtian Prince, when his preſence was requiſite in Paleſtine; of having obſtructed the progreſs of the Chriſtian army by compelling the King of France, by a repetition of injuries, to retire from the Holy Land; of having affronted the Duke of Auſtria before Acon; of aſſaſſinating Conrade, Marquis of Montferrat; and of having concluded a truce with Saladin on diſadvantageous terms, and leaving Jeruſalem in the hands of the Saracens. Richard, far from being depreſſed by the weight of his misfortunes, proceeded with firmneſs and preciſion to anſwer theſe calumnious and ill-grounded accuſations, after premiſing that he was exempted by his dignity from ſubmitting to the deciſion of any juriſdiction except that of Heaven. The eloquence and ſpirit of his defence made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on the German Princes, that they loudly cenſured the conduct of the Emperor. The Pope, too, threatened him with excommunication; and Henry, who had been induced to liſten to the baſe propoſals of Prince John and the King of France, now found that it would be impoſſible to favour the accompliſhment of their infamous project by a longer detention of the King of England: he therefore agreed to accept one hundred and fifty thouſand marks of ſilver for his ranſom; one hundred thouſand marks of which were to be paid before he received his liberty, and ſixty-ſeven hoſtages delivered for the remainder. The Emperor, to gloſs over the infamy of this tranſaction, preſented at the ſame time to Richard the kingdom of Arles; comprehending, among other provinces, Provence, Dauphiny, and Narbonne; over which the empire had ſome antiquated claims: but this preſent the King wiſely declined to profit by.

Every vaſſal was, by the feudal tenures, obliged to give an aid for the ranſom of his ſuperior lord from captivity: a ſcutage of twenty ſhillings was, therefore, levied on every knight's fee in England; and a tallage was alſo impoſed on the boroughs and royal demeſnes. Theſe taxes were aſſeſſed by the itinerant juſtices. Great ſums were alſo raiſed by the voluntary contributions of the people, zealous for the releaſe of their ſovereign. The parochial clergy granted a tenth of their tythes; the prelates, abbots, and nobility, chearfully contributed a fourth of their yearly income; and the churches and monaſteries melted down their plate, to the amount of thirty thouſand marks, on a promiſe of being reimburſed after the King's return.

The requiſite ſum being thus collected, Queen Eleanor, and the Archbiſhop of Rouen, ſet out with it for Germany a few days before Chriſtmas; paid the money to the Emperor, and the Duke of Auſtria, at Mentz; deliveted them hoſtages for the remainder; and freed Richard from captivity on the fourth of February, in the year 1194. His eſcape was very critical. Henry had been detected in the aſſaſſination of the Biſhop of Liege, and in an attempt of a ſimilar nature on the Duke of Louvaine: and, theſe flagitious practices having rendered him obnoxious to the Princes of the Empire, he had determined to ſecure himſelf from the effects of their hatred, by entering into an alliance with the King of France; to detain Richard, the enemy of that Prince, in perpetual confinement; and to gratify his avarice by keeping the money which he had already received for his ranſom, and by the extortion of freſh ſums from Philip and Prince John, who had made him an offer of one

hundred and fifty thouſand marks of ſilver. For this purpoſe he iſſued orders to purſue and arreſt Richard: but the King, ſuſpecting his intentions, had travelled with the utmoſt expedition; ſo that when the Emperor's meſſengers arrived at Antwerp, he had already embarked at the mouth of the Scheld.

Richard, having landed at Sandwich on the twentieth of March, proceeded to London; where he was received by the inhabitants with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, and with ſuch an oſtentatious diſplay of wealth, as aſtoniſhed the German nobility in his train; one of whom obſerved to him, that he would have paid much dearer for his ranſom, had the Emperor known the opulence of his ſubjects.

Soon after his arrival, he convened a great council of the Nobility and Prelates at Nottingham; in which a tax of two ſhillings on every hyde of land was impoſed, and ſeveral criminal proceſſes were decided. It was alſo determined, at this council, to repeat the ceremony of the King's coronation, as if it was neceſſary to reinſtate him in the throne, and wipe off the ſtain of his captivity. The day fixed for this ſolemnity was the ſeventeenth of April; and it was accordingly performed with great pomp at Wincheſter. Here he declared his intention of reſuming thoſe exorbitant grants which he had been neceſſitated to make previous to his departure for the Holy Land; alledging, that ſuch a reſumption was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of the regal dignity; and that the purchaſers had already ſufficiently indemnified themſelves for the money they had advanced. He prevailed upon the monks of the Ciſtertian order to make him a preſent of a year's wool; and, by various other means, ſpeedily repleniſhed his empty coffers. The Barons, alſo, in a great council, confiſcated all Prince John's poſſeſſions in England, for having neglected to appear and anſwer to a charge of treaſon which they exhibited againſt him; and they aſſiſted the King in reducing the fortreſſes which ſtill remained in the hands of his brother's adherents.

Richard, having ſettled his affairs in England, now determined to repair to the continent, to exact vengeance on the King of France for the numerous injuries which he had ſuſtained from him. Having, therefore, collected his forces, he embarked at Portſmouth on board a fleet of one hundred ſail, and landed at Barfleur on the twelfth of May.

As ſoon as Philip had heard of the King's deliverance from captivity, he wrote to his confederate John; and expreſſed himſelf, according to Hoveden, in theſe terms—"*Take care of yourſelf; for* "*the devil is broke looſe!*"

Though, from the great power and martial diſpoſitions of theſe rival monarchs, as well as from the inveteracy of their mutual hatred, a conteſt equally deſperate and tedious might have been naturally expected, ſcarcely a ſingle occurrence took place during the whole war worthy hiſtorical record. Richard compelled Philip to retire from before Verneuil, to which he had laid ſiege on the twenty-ninth of May. On the thirteenth of the following month he took the caſtle of Lochis; and, on the fifth of July, defeated the French cavalry at Freteval, and took the King of France's cartulary and records, which commonly at that time attended his perſon. From thence he marched his army into Guienne, to ſuppreſs a revolt of the Barons, which he accompliſhed in a few days; when a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities was effected by a truce, concluded between the two monarchs for one year from the twenty-third of July.

During this war, Prince John deſerted from his ally; and, throwing himſelf at his brother's feet, was, by the interceſſion of Queen Eleanor, received into favour. "I forgive him," ſaid the King; "and hope I ſhall as eaſily forget his injuries as he "will my pardon." This Prince, in whoſe mind baſeneſs appears to have been an inherent quality, could not even return to his duty without committing a vicious action. Before he forſook Philip's party, he invited to dinner all the officers of the garriſon which that monarch had placed in the citadel of Evreux: maſſacred them during the repaſt; and, with the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants, put the whole garriſon to the ſword, and then delivered the place up to his brother.

The ſhort interval of tranquillity which ſucceeded the concluſion of the truce, was employed by Richard in a ſtrict inveſtigation of every branch of the royal revenue. For this purpoſe he ſent commiſſioners into the different counties to make the neceſſary enquiries, and to levy any ſums that might be due to the crown. One object of this reſearch was to raiſe the money that ſtill remained due to the Duke of Auſtria for his ranſom, in order to redeem his hoſtages; but he was fortunately relieved from the neceſſity of this payment by an unexpected occurrence. The Duke of Auſtria having cruſhed his leg by a fall from his horſe at a tournament, on St. Stephen's Day, was thrown into a fever, which was ſoon declared by his phyſicians to be mortal. Being ſtruck, on the approach of death, with remorſe for his injuſtice to Richard, he ordered, by his will, all the Engliſh hoſtages to be ſet at liberty, and the remainder of the debt due to him to be remitted. His ſon, who evinced an inclination to diſobey theſe orders, was conſtrained by his eccleſiaſtics to execute them.

The truce between the Kings of England and France being expired, Philip recommenced hoſtilities by making an incurſion into Normandy; which Richard haſtened to repel. The two armies came in ſight of each other near Vaudreuil; when the French monarch propoſed a negotiation, which he artfully prolonged, to give his troops an opportunity of undermining the walls of that fortreſs. Richard did not diſcover his treachery till he was ſurprized during a conference by a dreadful noiſe, occaſioned by the fall of a conſiderable part of the caſtle. Inflamed with reſentment, he haſtened to collect his troops, that he might inflict a juſt chaſtiſement on his perfidious adverſary; but the French army, who had made previous preparations for their retreat, fled with ſuch precipitation, that his utmoſt efforts to overtake them proved fruitleſs.

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The war was profecuted for ſome months after this tranſaction with various ſucceſs, but without producing any general action or important event; and was at length terminated by a treaty of peace concluded between the two Kings, in a perſonal interview, on the fifth of December.

During Richard's abſence on the continent, the metropolis of England, owing to the badneſs of it's police, became a ſcene of the moſt violent confuſion. This was owing to the factious turbulence of an individual, one William Fitz-Oſbert, better known by the name of *Longbeard*, a lawyer, who had obtained a dangerous influence over the minds of the populace, and of the lower claſs of citizens, by common-place declamations againſt the tyranny of the King's miniſters, and their oppreſſions of the poor, delivered in terms of ſuitable virulence. Though William was known to be a man of moſt infamous character, an abandoned profligate, addicted to every ſpecies of extravagance and debauchery; yet, being endued with thoſe ſpecious powers of oratory which, even in a more refined age, and with minds of ſuperior endowments, have been deemed an ample ſubſtitute, not merely for virtue, but for common honeſty—and thoſe powers improved by learning, and enforced by a daring dereliction of every principle of integrity—he acquired the much-proſtituted title of *The Saviour*, or *Man of the People*. Thus honoured, thus diſtinguiſhed, he had always a deſperate mob at his heels ſtrictly devoted to his intereſt, and bound by ſolemn oaths to execute his infamous orders. His attachment to the poor was evinced by pillaging the rich: the opulent citizens were publicly inſulted in the ſtreets, where murders were daily committed by his licentious emiſſaries. Hubert, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was at this time Chief Juſticiary, ſummoned Longbeard to appear before the council; but he came ſo well attended, that no one dared to interrogate him, or to ſtand forth as his accuſer; and he was permitted to return in triumph to the city. The Primate finding the impotence of the law, when overawed by faction, prudently determined to deſiſt for a time from any efforts to bring the culprit to puniſhment. Having accordingly waited till the political enthuſiaſm of his followers began to abate for want of oppoſition, he ſent a party of guards into the city to ſeize his perſon. William made a deſperate reſiſtance, murdered one of the party, and eſcaped *with his concubine* into the neighbouring church of St. Mary Le Bow. The rights of ſanctuary, however, were on this occaſion juſtly violated: Longbeard was forced from his retreat; and, before his partizans could form any plan for his relief, was tried, condemned, and executed. The populace were ſo devoted to his memory, that they ſtole his gibbet, which was divided into a thouſand pieces, preſerved with the ſame enthuſiaſtic care as the moſt precious reliques; and the miracles ſaid to be wrought by them were publicly atteſted and believed. In ſhort, had not this ruffian been the avowed enemy of the clergy, there is little doubt but he would have been regarded as a martyr; and might probably have figured, by the ſide of Becket, in the lengthened calendar of Romiſh ſaints.

The animoſity that ſubſiſted between the Kings of England and France was too violent to be reſtrained by treaties, however ſolemn, from breaking forth into acts of hoſtility. Some diſputes having ariſen relative to the guardianſhip of young Arthur, Duke of Britanny, who had now entered the ninth year of his age, Richard ſent an army to ſupport his own title to that important office, which had been claimed by ſeveral of the nobility in the intereſt of France. This occaſioned another war between Richard and Philip; the moſt remarkable incident of which was the capture of the Biſhop of Beauvais—a martial prelate, of the family of Dreux, and a near relation of the French King—who was taken in battle. Richard, who hated the Biſhop for having been the means of increaſing the rigour of his captivity in Germany, threw him into priſon, and loaded him with irons; and when the Pope demanded his liberty, and claimed him as his ſon, the King ſent to his Holineſs the coat of mail which the Prelate had worn in battle, and which was all beſmeared with blood; accompanied by the words which the ſons of Jacob had employed to their father—"*This* "*have we found; know whether it be thy ſon's coat* "*or no.*"

This new conteſt between the rival Kings, though maintained with ſuch virulence that both parties frequently put out the eyes of their priſoners, was ſoon terminated by a truce of five years, which was concluded by the mediation of the Pope.

England, during this time, enjoyed the moſt profound tranquillity under the wiſe government of Hubert, the Primate; who, uniting the dignity of Legate with that of Chief Juſticiary, had great influence in all affairs, both civil and eccleſiaſtical: but the national happineſs was interrupted, in the year 1198, by a famine, occaſioned by a ſucceſſion of unfavourable ſeaſons. This dreadful affliction was alſo accompanied by a peſtilence, which raged with ſuch incredible violence for the ſpace of ſix months, that ſcarcely a ſufficient number eſcaped to do the laſt duties to the dead, who were thrown in heaps into deep holes, dug for the purpoſe. William of Newborough, a contemporary writer, obſerves, that the monaſteries were the only places in the kingdom that were exempted from the ravages of this plague. Though this was, in thoſe times, attributed to the ſuperior ſanctity of their inhabitants; the only proof it can be allowed to afford in the preſent age, is, that the monks were better accommodated, in point of proviſion and comfort, than their fellow-citizens.

After the concluſion of the late truce for five years between the Engliſh and French monarchs, the Pope again exerted his mediatory powers in order to effect a laſting peace, that the two Kings might be enabled to undertake a ſecond expedition to Paleſtine: but, before this ſalutary purpoſe could be accompliſhed, an event occurred that put an end to the negotiation. A conſiderable treaſure, conſiſting of ancient coins and medals, had been found in the lands of Vidomar, Viſcount of Limoges,

moges, one of the King's vaſſals, to which Richard laid claim as his ſuperior lord. Vidomar offered him a part of it; but the King inſiſted upon the whole: and, in order to enforce his demand, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Chalus, near Limoges, where the treaſure was ſuppoſed to be concealed.

Richard's conduct on this occaſion, which has been cenſured by ſome hiſtorians, was ſtrictly juſtifiable, as the diſputed treaſure was found *in* the earth; and it is certain that at this period, and long before, in moſt of the kingdoms of Europe, all *treaſure-trove* of that particular claſs, diſtinguiſhed in our law-books by the appellation of *hidden treaſure*, belonged of right to the ſovereign, or ſuperior lord. In England, as in all countries where the feudal ſyſtem prevailed, we learn from Glanville, that the concealment of ſuch treaſure was even deemed an offence of ſufficient magnitude to incur the puniſhment of death.

It is pretended, that the garriſon of the caſtle offered to ſurrender on Richard's firſt approach, on condition that they ſhould be allowed to march out with the honours of war; but that he *wantonly* rejected this offer; declaring, at the ſame time, that he was reſolved to take the caſtle by ſtorm, and put every man that defended it to death. That a ſovereign, or ſuperior lord, ſhould refuſe to treat with ſubjects or vaſſals, in an actual ſtate of rebellion, on any other terms than thoſe of unconditional ſubmiſſion, is highly probable; but that Richard ſhould have made a declaration ſo truly repugnant to humanity, and ſo inconſiſtent with that ardour for military fame which his whole life tended to diſplay, is ſcarcely credible. Be that as it may, the ſiege was purſued with vigour; and on the fourth day of it, the King having approached too near the wall of the caſtle, in company with Marcadée, commander of the Brabançons, in order to reconnoitre it, one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, took aim at him, and pierced his ſhoulder with an arrow. The aſſault, however, was made; the place taken; and all the garriſon hanged, except Gourdon, who, *it is ſuppoſed*, was reſerved for a more ſlow and cruel death.

The wound which Richard had received, though by no means dangerous, was by the unſkilfulneſs of the ſurgeon rendered mortal: in extracting the arrow, he ſo mangled the fleſh, that a gangrene ſpeedily enſued. The King, finding his death inevitable, ordered his attendants to bring Gourdon into his preſence; and thus addreſſed him—"What "injury have I ever done to you, that could induce "you to ſeek my life?" Gourdon replied, with great coolneſs—"You have killed both my father "and brother with your own hand. I am now in "your power; and you may revenge yourſelf by "the infliction of the ſevereſt torments your cruelty "can invent: the conſolatory idea of having rid the "world of ſuch a tyrant will make me ſupport them "with pleaſure."

Had Richard really made the inhuman declaration we have before mentioned, viz. to take the caſtle by force, and hang the whole garriſon, the queſtion he now put to Gourdon would have been frivolous and abſurd, as the motives of Gourdon's conduct could not poſſibly be miſtaken. The ſtrength of underſtanding, and acuteneſs of diſcernment, aſcribed to this Prince by every hiſtorian, convince us that he never could have aſked a queſtion ſo truly ridiculous. His ſubſequent ſeverity to the garriſon, therefore, was more probably occaſioned by their obſtinate reſiſtance, and reſentment for the wound he had received, than by any pretended menace.

Struck with the candour and boldneſs of Gourdon's anſwer, Richard ordered him to be rewarded, and ſet at liberty; but this generous command was not obeyed: for Marcadée, with a ruffian-like zeal, ſeized him; and, unknown to his ſovereign, ordered him to be firſt flayed alive, and then hanged.

Though Richard, previous to his departure for Paleſtine, had declared his nephew Arthur, Duke of Britanny, heir to all his dominions, he now made a will, by which that declaration was revoked—probably with the view of obviating the diſſenſions generally attendant on the ſucceſſion of a minor, and which the known turbulence of his brother's diſpoſition would not fail to foment—and all his dominions, with three-fourths of his treaſure, were bequeathed to Prince John.

Having expreſſed a ſincere repentance for his paſt vices, and procured abſolution by undergoing a ſevere diſcipline, he expired on the ſixth day of April, in the year 1199, the forty-ſecond of his age, and the tenth of his reign. In compliance with his own requeſt, his bowels were interred in the abbey of St. Sauveur de Charroux, in Poitou; his heart, which proved to be of an aſtoniſhing magnitude, was depoſited, in a ſilver ſhrine, in the cathedral of Rouen; and his body was buried, at the feet of his father, in the church of Fontevrault. He left only one natural ſon, to whom he bequeathed the lordſhip of Cognac, in the dutchy of Guienne. This nobleman revenged his father's death, by ſlaying Vidomar, Viſcount of Limoges.

The perſon of Richard was tall, ſtrong, and well-proportioned: his hair was auburn; his countenance fair and comely; his eyes blue and expreſſive; and his air majeſtic. Nor was the liberality of nature leſs conſpicuous in the endowments of his mind: endowments which, had they been improved by education, or refined by reflection, might have given dignity and reſpect to the ſplendour of his character. He was endued with ſtrong ſenſe, acute diſcernment, and impreſſive eloquence: his converſation was lively and ſpirited; and he was famed for his talent at repartee. He was open, frank, generous, and ſincere; and ſuch was his perſonal courage and intrepidity, that it gained him the appellation of *Cœur de Lion*, or *Lion-hearted:* but the luſtre of theſe good qualities is ſaid to have been greatly obſcured by his vices. He is repreſented by contemporary hiſtorians as proud, cruel, paſſionate, and ſenſual: of his ſenſuality, indeed, they record ſuch inſtances as, were they better authenticated, would ſtamp his character with indelible infamy.

The ſplendour of his military talents appears to have greatly endeared him to his Engliſh ſubjects; though, in order to ſupport it, they were oppreſſed by

by frequent and onerous impoſts. In the ninth year of his reign, he levied five ſhillings on each hyde of land; and, becauſe the clergy refuſed to contribute their portion, he withdrew from them the protection of the law, and ordered the civil courts to give them no ſentence for any debt which they might claim.

Richard is remarked to have been the firſt Prince of the Norman line who bore any ſincere regard to the Engliſh, though he only paſſed four months of his reign in their kingdom. The cruſade employed him near three years; he was detained a priſoner in Germany about fourteen months; and the remainder of his reign was ſpent in his continental dominions, either in actual hoſtilities, or preparations for war againſt his perfidious neighbour, Philip.

During the reign of this Prince, a hyde, which conſiſted of about one hundred and twenty acres of land, was generally let at twenty ſhillings a year, money of that time: the fixed price of an ox was four ſhillings; of a draught-horſe, the ſame; of a ſow, one ſhilling; of a ſheep, with fine wool, ten-pence; and of one with coarſe wool, ſix-pence.

Richard renewed the ancient ſeverity of the foreſt-laws; puniſhing all ſuch as were guilty of any violation of them by the loſs of their eyes, and by caſtration. He eſtabliſhed, by law, a ſimilarity of weights and meaſures throughout the kingdom: an uſeful inſtitution, which the mercenary diſpoſition and neceſſities of his ſucceſſor engaged him to aboliſh in conſideration of a ſum of money.

The cuſtom of uſing coats of arms was firſt introduced into Europe during the cruſades. The devices on their ſhields was the only mode which the knights could adopt to diſtinguiſh and make themſelves known in battle; and theſe were gladly preſerved by their poſterity and families, who were proud of the pious and military atchievements of their anceſtors.

Richard was a paſſionate lover of poetry. Some of his poetical compoſitions ſtill remain; which cauſed him to be ranked among the firſt of the *Trobadores*, or Provencal Poets.

The celebrated Robin Hood, and his companion Little John, the heroes of ſo many ancient ballads, lived about this time. They are ſaid to have been men of good families; who, by a life of continual diſſipation, reduced themſelves to poverty, which they attempted to remedy by committing robberies on the highway. Their depredations were chiefly confined to the foreſts of Yorkſhire and Nottinghamſhire, and appear to have been conducted on a kind of *philoſophic* principle; as they never were guilty of any ſpecies of cruelty, always ſuffered the poor to paſs free from moleſtation, and not unfrequently ſupplied their wants from the ſpoils of the rich. A proclamation having been iſſued for the apprehenſion of Robin Hood, he repaired to the monaſtery of Berkely, where he fell ſick; and, deſiring to be blooded, was betrayed by the ſurgeon, and bled to death.



JOHN.

THE eſtabliſhment of a regular order of ſucceſſion to the crown was at this period ſo imperfect, and the deviations from it had been ſo frequent, that the appointment of John to ſucceed his brother excited little oppoſition or diſturbance; though Arthur, Duke of Britanny, was thereby defeated of his claim, as by right of repreſentation he ſtood in the place of his father Geoffrey, John's eldeſt brother. It is, however, worthy remark, that John himſelf did not found his title to the throne on the teſtament of Henry, but claimed it, as appears from his charters, by hereditary right—"*Regni* "*Angliæ, quod nobis jure competit hæreditario:*" that is, as next of kin to the deceaſed monarch, being his ſurviving brother; whereas Arthur, being his brother's ſon, was removed one degree farther.

But the doctrine of repreſentation appears at this time to have made greater progreſs on the continent than in England. All the Prelates and Barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, ſupported the claim of Arthur, who was now only in his thirteenth year; acknowledged him as their liege-lord; and, in an act of their aſſembly, eſtabliſhed him in poſſeſſion of the government. The young Prince was placed, by his mother Conſtantia, under the protection of Philip, King of France, to whom he did homage for all the tranſmarine dominions of his deceaſed uncle; and Philip, whoſe enmity to the Engliſh was uniformly inveterate, by whatever monarch they were governed, willingly embraced his cauſe, in the hope of embarraſſing John, and diſmembering his dominions.

In the mean while, John, who was in Normandy at the time of his brother's deceaſe, had haſtened to Chinon, where the royal treaſures were depoſited, under the care of Robert de Turnham, who immediately delivered them into his hands, together with all the fortreſſes in his cuſtody. Having ſecured this important object, he diſpatched Hubert, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and William Mareſchal, Earl of Strigul, alſo known by the title of Earl of Pembroke, to England, to concert meaſures for eſtabliſhing his ſucceſſion in that kingdom with Geoffrey Fitz-Piers, the Chief Juſticiary, who had eſpouſed his cauſe. The influence of theſe noblemen was ſo great, that they ſoon prevailed on the Clergy and Barons to ſwear fealty to John; who, having ſent his mother, Eleanor, into Poictou and Guienne, where her right, being inconteſtible, was readily acknowledged, repaired to Rouen, and received the inveſtiture of the dutchy of Normandy from the Archbiſhop of that city. He next paſſed over to England, where he arrived on the twenty-fifth of May; and the ceremony of his coronation was performed at Weſtminſter on the twenty-ſeventh, by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Having taken precautions for the preſervation of tranquillity during his abſence, he returned to Normandy on the eighteenth of June, in order to conduct the war againſt Philip, and to recover the provinces which had revolted from his authority, and declared in favour of Arthur. Soon after his arrival, he concluded a truce with Philip, which laſted till the ſixteenth of Auguſt; when a perſonal interview took place between the two monarchs, at which the demeanour of the French King was ſo inſolent, and his were demands ſo exorbitant, that John rejected them with diſdain.

The ſelfiſh intriguing diſpoſition of Philip ſoon enabled John to bring the war to a happy iſſue. That monarch, having taken poſſeſſion of the provinces which had ſubmitted to Arthur, ſupplied their garriſons with his own troops, and acted in every reſpect as if he looked on them as his own property.

property. The jealouſy of Conſtantia being rouzed by theſe proceedings, ſhe contrived to carry off her ſon from Paris, and to convey him to his uncle; to whom ſhe reſtored the revolted provinces, and made Arthur do homage to him for the dutchy of Britanny, which was ſtill conſidered as a rere-fief of Normandy.

Philip, ſeeing that there was now little proſpect of obtaining any material advantage againſt the Engliſh monarch, and being in fear of an interdict which the Pope had threatened him with, for his irregular divorce from Ingelburga, the Daniſh princeſs, whom he had eſpouſed, became anxious for peace. After ſeveral conferences, the terms were at length adjuſted, on a plan that ſeemed intended to obviate any future ſubjects of diſſenſion on either ſide. The limits of their reſpective territories were defined, and the intereſts of their vaſſals ſecured: and, in order to give greater ſtability to the union, John beſtowed his niece Blanche, daughter of Alphonſo, King of Caſtile, in marriage on Prince Lewis, Philip's eldeſt ſon; and gave with her the baronies of Iſſoudun, Garçai, Chateauroux, and other fiefs in Berri. This treaty was guaranteed by nine Barons of each party; and all of them ſolemnly ſwore that, if their ſovereign was guilty of any infraction of it, they would take up arms againſt him, and embrace the cauſe of the injured monarch.

John, having thus eſtabliſhed tranquillity throughout his dominions, made a progreſs into Guienne, to receive the homage of the Barons of that province; during which he became enamoured of Iſabella, the beautiful heireſs of Aymar Tailleffer, Count of Angouleſme. His queen, with whom he had received the earldom of Glouceſter, and many extenſive poſſeſſions, was ſtill alive; and Iſabella was married to Hugh Le Brun, Count de la Marche, and already conſigned to his care; though, by reaſon of her tender years, the marriage had not been conſummated. Theſe obſtacles, however, to a prince of John's diſpoſition, appeared trivial: he found means to perſuade the Count of Angouleſme to decoy his daughter from her huſband; and having, on ſome frivolous pretence or other, procured a divorce from his own conſort, he was married to Iſabella by the Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux. This marriage, not leſs imprudent than criminal, created him many enemies; and excited the reſentment of the injured huſband, who ſoon found an opportunity to puniſh his powerful and inſolent rival. John conducted his young queen to England; and they were both ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter, by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, on the eighth of October, in the year 1200.

While the King was enjoying the fruits of his criminal conduct, he received advice from the continent that the Count de la Marche, with his brother, the Count D'Eu, and ſeveral other Barons, had raiſed a rebellion in Guienne. This compelled him to have immediate recourſe to arms; and he accordingly ſummoned the Barons of England, and all the military tenants of the crown, to meet him at Portſmouth on Whitſunday, that they might attend him to the continent, and quell the rebels. But he found his authority more circumſcribed than the little oppoſition he had hitherto experienced had induced him to believe. The Engliſh Barons unanimouſly replied, that they would not attend him on this expedition, unleſs he would ſolemnly engage to reſtore and preſerve their privileges. This was the firſt ſymptom of a regular aſſociation for the promotion of liberty; but it was imprudently diſplayed, ere the projected reſolution had attained to ſufficient maturity. John, therefore, by dint of threats, compelled them for the preſent to forego their ſchemes, and ſubmit to his pleaſure. Many of them followed him into Normandy; and ſuch as remained behind, were obliged to pay him a ſcutage of two marks on each knight's fee, as a commutation for their perſonal ſervice.

The firſt ſtep he took, after his arrival on the continent, was to appoint a conference with Philip near Andely, at which that monarch expoſtulated with him on the grievances which the Barons of Guienne laboured under from the oppreſſion of his officers, ſome of whom had been unjuſtly deprived of their caſtles; and, having in vain made application for redreſs, appealed to Philip, as lord paramount of their fiefs, and were promiſed protection. Theſe remonſtrances appeared to make an impreſſion on John, who promiſed to render them juſtice; and he accompanied Philip to Paris, where he was entertained with great magnificence. From thence he repaired to Chinon, and received a viſit from Berengaria, the Queen-dowager, to whom he aſſigned, in lieu of dower, the city of Bayeux, two caſtles in Anjou, and an annuity of one thouſand marks. He was now at the head of a ſufficient force to quell the commotions in Guienne, and to ſuppreſs the inſurrections of his vaſſals; but, inſtead of exerting himſelf for that purpoſe, he returned to Normandy, and left Robert de Turnham to reduce the rebels.

As he diſcovered no intention of affording ſatisfaction to the Barons, they again complained to the King of France, who reminded John of his promiſe, and attempted to enforce compliance by threats. John renewed his profeſſions; but, inſtead of granting a fair hearing to the Barons, he ſent among them a number of deſperate bravos, who profeſſed themſelves his champions, and offered to decide the diſpute by duel, according to the barbarous practice of the times. The Count de la Marche, and his brother, regarded this proceeding as a deſign to add inſult to injury; and declared that they would never draw their ſwords againſt men of ſuch inferior quality. Another appeal was made to Philip, which produced another remonſtrance to John, who again promiſed; and again, by pitiful ſubterfuges, evaded performance.

Conſtantia, Dutcheſs of Britanny, having died at Nantes in the courſe of this year, her ſon Arthur repaired to Rennes, took poſſeſſion of the dutchy, and received the homage of the nobility. This young Prince, who was now riſing to man's eſtate, being animated with a juſt reſentment againſt his uncle, who had not only deprived him of his lawful ſucceſſion, but if ſome contemporary writers may

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be credited, had already formed deſigns againſt his life, ſupported the complaints of the Barons of Guienne, and demanded juſtice of Philip with regard to his own pretenſions to that fief, as well as to thoſe of Normandy and Anjou. The King of France, incenſed at the little regard that had been hitherto paid to his remonſtrances, now determined to ſupport them by force; and John, alarmed at his preparations, not only repeated his aſſurances of immediate redreſs, but conſented to give up the caſtles of Tillieres and Boutavant as pledges of his ſincerity. When Philip, however, appeared before theſe fortreſſes, the governors ordered the gates to be ſhut againſt him, declaring they had not received any orders to ſurrender them; and the French King, exaſperated at ſuch a ſeries of colluſion, reſolved to commence hoſtilities without farther delay. John requeſted another conference in the Iſle of Goulet, near Andely; where Philip inſiſted that he ſhould relinquiſh all his continental dominions to Arthur: and, this propoſal being rejected, hoſtilities commenced. Tillieres and Boutavant were taken, after a feeble defence: Mortimer and Lyons likewiſe ſurrendered to Philip; who next inveſted Gournai, a town ſituated on the River Epte, and eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt places on the frontiers of Normandy. Deſpairing to take it by aſſault, he had recourſe to an expedient which ſucceeded to his wiſh. He opened the ſluices of a lake which lay in the neighbourhood, and poured ſuch a torrent of water into the place, that the garriſon deſerted it; and the French monarch, without experiencing the ſmalleſt reſiſtance, made himſelf maſter of that important fortreſs. In this town he knighted Arthur, now in the ſixteenth year of his age; and not only inveſted him in the dutchy of Britanny, but in the counties of Anjou and Maine, which that Prince had formerly reſigned to his uncle: he alſo gave him his daughter Mary, who was yet an infant, in marriage.

The progreſs of the French arms was now more than uſually rapid; and, in anſwer to every advance which the King made to impede it by propoſals of peace, Philip continued to inſiſt that he ſhould relinquiſh all his continental dominions to his nephew, and reſt contented with the kingdom of England: but an event ſoon occurred which ſeemed to turn the tide of ſucceſs, and to give John a deciſive ſuperiority over his enemies.

Arthur, whoſe young mind was inſpired with an emulative ardour for military fame, had advanced into Guienne at the head of two hundred knights, where he was ſoon joined by many of the diſaffected Barons. Paſſing near the caſtle of Mirebeau, in Poitou, he received intelligence that his grandmother, Queen Eleanor, who had warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of her ſon, reſided in that place, under the protection of a weak garriſon. Urged by his Barons, by whom the queen was diſliked, he immediately inveſted it; and preſſed the ſiege with ſo much vigour, that Eleanor was compelled to retire into one of the towers, and to ſurrender the reſt of the fortreſs to the victor. John, having received advice of his mother's ſituation, was rouzed from his indolence, and flew to her relief with an army of Engliſh and Brabançons. He attacked Arthur's camp by ſurprize; and, by ſuperiority of numbers, obtained a deciſive victory, every man in the army of that Prince being either killed or taken priſoner. Among the captives were Arthur himſelf, the Count de la Marche, Geoffrey de Luſignan, and the moſt conſiderable of the revolted Barons, who were all loaded with irons, and confined in different priſons in Normandy and England. John returned in triumph to Normandy; and Philip, who was engaged in the ſiege of Arques, was ſo much diſmayed at the diſaſter that had befallen his friend, that he immediately withdrew from before the place, and returned to Paris.

Had John purſued this important advantage by a due exertion of vigour and prudence, he might doubtleſs have terminated the war to his honour and ſatisfaction; but the baſeneſs of his mind urged him to the adoption of meaſures that not only involved him in preſent difficulties and diſgrace, but rendered him an object of horror and diſguſt to poſterity. Arthur was conveyed to the caſtle of Falaiſe; where he is ſaid to have been viſited by his perfidious uncle, who endeavoured to perſuade him to renounce his alliance with France, and to forego a claim that could only be productive of miſchief: but the young Duke, whoſe ſpirit was rather increaſed than depreſſed by misfortune, maintained, with more courage than prudence, the juſtice of his pretenſions, and even ſummoned John to ſurrender the dominions he had dared to uſurp from the lawful heir. This conduct convinced John that his nephew would prove a dangerous enemy; and induced him to reſiſt the importunities of Philip and the Nobles of Britanny, who ſtrenuouſly urged him to releaſe his priſoner. Impelled by the fear of his talents, his title, and his reſentment, he baſely reſolved to deprive him of life. The manner in which this horrid action was perpetrated, and it's attendant circumſtances, were doubtleſs carefully concealed by thoſe who were concerned in it: it is not, therefore, ſurprizing that they ſhould be imperfectly known, and variouſly related, by different hiſtorians. The account which appears moſt conſiſtent with probability, is as follows:—The King, it is ſaid, firſt ſent private orders to Hubert de Burgh, his own Chamberlain, and Governor of the caſtle of Falaiſe, to put out the eyes of that unfortunate Prince; and to perform on his perſon another dreadful operation that would render him incapable of propagation: but the Governor, who poſſeſſed more honour and humanity than his maſter, feigned a compliance with his orders, ſpread the report that Arthur was dead, and publicly performed all the ceremonies of his interment. The Bretons, who firmly believed him to be murdered, made vows of revenge and eternal enmity againſt John; and, in ſhort, the clamour became ſo general throughout his continental dominions, that Hubert thought it neceſſary to declare the truth, by informing the world that the Duke of Britanny was ſtill alive, and in his cuſtody. A Prince, endued with common ſenſe and common policy, would have learnt, from the univerſal reſentment excited by this report, to dread

dread the danger of ſacrificing a life ſo deſervedly dear to the public. But John, whom neither conſcience could awe, nor experience enlighten, purſued his inhuman purpoſe with a determined inveteracy: he ordered Arthur to be removed from Falaiſe to the caſtle of Rouen; and then is ſaid to have urged William de la Bray, one of his attendants, to aſſaſſinate him; but William having replied, that he was a gentleman, and not a hangman, he made application to others, who rejected the office with ſimilar diſdain; and at length reſolved to ſacrifice the victim with his own hands. He accordingly went by night, in a boat, to the caſtle, which was ſituated on the banks of the Seine, and commanded Arthur to be brought forth to him. The young Prince, ſenſible of his danger, and alarmed at the near approach of death, threw himſelf on his knees before his uncle, and begged for mercy: but the inhuman ruffian, deaf to his entreaties, thruſt his ſword ſeveral times through his body; and, faſtening a heavy ſtone to the corpſe, threw it into the river, from whence it was afterwards dragged aſhore in a fiſherman's net, and ſecretly interred in the priory of Nôtre Dame du Pré.

Whatever may be the truth of this account, it is certain that Arthur ſuddenly diſappeared; and that his uncle was anxiouſly ſedulous in propagating a report that he had periſhed in the Seine, in attempting to effect his eſcape: that John was the contriver, if not the actual perpetrator, of the murder, obtained univerſal belief; and, as ſoon as it was performed, he haſtened to England, and was again crowned at Canterbury; as if he thought the pageantry of a coronation, like a papal indulgence, would make him a new man, and purify him from thoſe ſins he was conſcious of having committed.

On this occaſion, the tyrant carried with him to England the Princeſs Eleanora, Arthur's ſiſter, commonly called *The Maid of Britanny*, who was now heireſs to that dutchy; and who, inheriting her brother's title to the crown of England, was become the object of John's jealouſy. Having committed her to cloſe confinement in the priſon of Briſtol, under the guard of four Knights, that ſhe might have no opportunity of engaging in a clandeſtine marriage, he returned to Normandy. Many of the other priſoners he had taken at Mirebeau were treated with ſuch cruelty, that they periſhed in confinement; and no leſs than twenty-two of them, who were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their rank and courage, were ſtarved to death in Corfe Caſtle.

Theſe infamous tranſactions, as might naturally be expected, rendered John an object of univerſal execration: even his own ſubjects held him in deteſtation; and, ever after, obeyed with reluctance a ſovereign who had equally incurred their contempt and abhorrence.

The Bretons, enraged at the murder of their Prince, determined to revenge his death: and when John, in conſequence of it, had the inſolence to demand the adminiſtration of Britanny, as guardian of Eleanor, whom he held in captivity, they received his propoſal with horror. The States of the Dutchy immediately aſſembled, to fix the ſucceſſion of their government; and choſe for their ſovereign Alice, a younger daughter of Conſtantia, by her ſecond marriage with Guy de Thouars; and they appointed that nobleman to be her guardian, and to govern the Dutchy during her minority.

Finding all their ſolicitations for the releaſe of Eleanor treated with neglect, they proceeded to draw up articles of impeachment againſt John; which they preſented to the King of France, as Lord Paramount of all that monarch's continental territories. Philip received this application with pleaſure; and accordingly ſummoned John to appear, and anſwer to the charge; and, on his non-appearance, paſſed a ſentence, with the unanimous concurrence of the Peers, couched in the following terms: "Whereas John, Duke of Normandy, for-
"getting his oath to King Philip, his Lord, has
"murdered the ſon of his elder brother, who was
"an homager of the crown of France, and the
"King's kinſman; and perpetrated the crime with-
"in the ſeignory of France; he is found guilty of
"felony and treaſon, and adjudged to forfeit all the
"territories which he holds by homage."

Philip now prepared to execute this ſentence by force of arms; and, having no longer the ſound policy of Henry, nor the martial and active diſpoſition of Richard, to contend with, adopted the reſolution of expelling the Engliſh from thoſe valuable fiefs which had ſo long been diſmembered from his crown. For this purpoſe he aſſembled a body of troops; and, directing his march towards Anjou, was joined by almoſt all the Barons of that province, as well as of Poitou. All the great vaſſals of the crown of France, whoſe jealouſy might have urged them to obſtruct the progreſs of Philip, were either inclined to aſſiſt him from diſguſt to John, or were not in a ſituation to oppoſe him. The Counts of Flanders and Blois were engaged in the Cruſades; the Count of Champagne was an infant, and under the guardianſhip of Philip; the States of Britanny ſeconded all his meaſures with vigour; and the general defection of John's vaſſals rendered every enterprize that was undertaken againſt him eaſy and ſucceſsful.

Philip having reduced a number of fortreſſes beyond the Loire, and on the borders of Normandy, which he either diſmantled or garriſoned, diſmiſſed his forces; and John embraced that opportunity to inveſt Alençon; which the Count of that name, who had deſerted him, had delivered up to the French King. Philip, whoſe diſperſed army could not be collected in time to ſuccour it, had recourſe to an expedient that was attended with ſucceſs. A great concourſe of Knights had aſſembled at a tournament in the vicinity of Moret in the Gatinois; among whom was all the chief nobility of France, who reſorted to it for the purpoſe of diſplaying their valour and addreſs. Thither Philip repaired; and, preſenting himſelf before them, related his diſtreſs; and pointed to the plains of Alençon, as a field in which their courage might be ſignalized with greater effect. Thus ſtimulated, they immediately placed

themſelves and their retinue under the command of Philip, and marched to the relief of Alençon; and John, hearing of their approach, raiſed the ſiege, and retired with ſuch precipitation, that he left all his machines, tents and baggage, to the enemy.

Philip next turned his arms againſt Normandy; and, after reducing ſeveral caſtles, he at length, about the middle of Auguſt, inveſted Chateau-Gaillard, an important fortreſs on the banks of the Seine, built by Richard, and deemed impregnable. Though John's army was equal in numbers to the French, that puſillanimous monarch was afraid to riſque an action, but had the meanneſs to entreat the interpoſition of a foreign power. He applied to Pope Innocent the Third, requeſting his mediation; and that Pontiff, pleaſed with an opportunity of evincing his ſuperiority, ſent Philip orders to ſtop the progreſs of his arms, and make peace with the King of England. This interference, however, being treated with the contempt it deſerved, John found it neceſſary to exert himſelf; and at length determined, if poſſible, to throw ſupplies into Chateau-Gaillard. This fortreſs was defended by Roger de Lacy, Conſtable of Cheſter, a determined officer, who had a numerous garriſon under his command; and Philip, deſpairing to take it by force, had converted the ſiege into a blockade; and, that he might effectually cut off the communication of the garriſon with the neighbouring country, had thrown a bridge of boats acroſs the Seine.

In order to ſuccour the beſieged, John detached the Earl of Pembroke, an officer of approved courage and capacity, with an army of four thouſand infantry and three thouſand cavalry; while a fleet of ſeventy flat-bottomed veſſels, loaded with proviſions and ammunition, and manned with three thouſand Flemings, were ordered to ſail up the river, and deſtroy the bridge at the ſame moment that the Earl of Pembroke ſhould attack the camp. The ſcheme was projected with wiſdom; but the veſſels, having both wind and tide againſt them, moved ſo ſlowly, that the Earl arrived at the ſcene of action long before they reached the bridge; and, attacking the enemy's camp in the night, filled it with diſorder and conſternation. His Brabançons, however, were more intent upon plunder than deſirous of improving the advantage they had obtained; and the French perceiving them diſperſed, and buſily employed in pillaging the camp, rallied, and charged them with ſuch vigour, that they were ſpeedily routed and put to flight. The fleet did not appear till day-light; when the whole force of the French being prepared to oppoſe it's efforts, the commander found it impracticable either to demoliſh the bridge or throw ſupplies into the place, and was obliged to fall down the river with all poſſible expedition.

This was the laſt effort that John made for the defence of his foreign dominions. While Philip continued to block up Chateau-Gaillard; took Andely; and even reduced Radepont, an important place in the neighbourhood of Rouen; the King of England remained, in total inactivity, in this laſt city, enjoying the company and converſation of his young conſort, and partaking of paſtimes and amuſements, as if his affairs had been in the moſt proſperous ſituation. When reminded of his danger, and the rapid progreſs of Philip, inſtead of attempting to obviate the one by oppoſing the other, he rendered himſelf ridiculous by boaſts that only tended to make his cowardice more conſpicuous. "Let "Philip proceed," ſaid he; "I will retake in a day "what it has coſt him a year to acquire!" His ſtupidity and indolence, at this alarming criſis, appeared ſo extraordinary, that the people endeavoured to account for the infatuation by aſcribing it to the power of magic or witchcraft. The Engliſh Barons, finding they were condemned to witneſs the progreſs of the French arms without being allowed to oppoſe it, and foreſeeing that nothing but danger and diſgrace could poſſibly accrue from the mad conduct of their ſovereign, ſecretly returned to their own country. John, deſpairing of ſucceſs in the defence of Normandy, baſely reſolved to abandon it to the enemy: and, in order to expoſe the country to their incurſions, he diſmantled Pont à L'Arche, Moulineaux, and Montfort L'Amauri; and then, having privately ordered veſſels to be prepared for his departure, he embarked and ſet ſail for England, where he arrived on the ſixth of December, in the year 1203.

Philip did not fail to profit by his abſence: he now extended his conqueſts without oppoſition; for the Normans conſidered the departure of John as a dereliction of the Dutchy to the Lord Paramount; and they were, moreover, incenſed at his conduct, in leaving the government of the province to Arches Martin and Lupecaire, two mercenary Brabançons whom he had retained in his ſervice.

Though Philip had reduced all the Vexin Normand, Chateau-Gaillard ſtill refuſed to ſubmit, the garriſon being animated to a vigorous reſiſtance by the courage and conduct of their gallant commander. At length, however, Philip, with incredible labour, filled up a hollow-way between the caſtle and an oppoſite rock, ſo that he could bring his machines to play againſt the walls; and, at the ſame time, he employed a great number of miners to ſap the foundation. Theſe efforts were crowned with ſucceſs. The fort was taken after a ſiege of ſix months; and the governor made priſoner, with the ſmall remains of his garriſon, by this time reduced to leſs than two hundred fighting men. Philip treated this brave officer with great reſpect; and allowed him the whole city of Paris for his priſon, though he afterwards compelled him to purchaſe his liberty by the payment of ſix thouſand marks.

After the reduction of this important fortreſs, Philip laid ſiege to Falaiſe, the bulwark of Lower Normandy, which was deemed equally impregnable; but Lupecaire, who had the command of it, not only ſurrendered the town and caſtle, but inliſted himſelf and his Brabançons in the ſervice of France. Caen, Coutances, Seez, Evreux, and Baïeux, being ſoon taken, compleated the conqueſt of Lower Normandy; while Guy de Thouars invaded that fertile province on the other ſide, at the head of the Bretons; and took Mount St. Michael, Avranches,

Avranches, and all the other fortreſſes in that neighbourhood. The whole Dutchy of Normandy was now ſubdued, except the three towns of Verneuil, Arques, and Rouen, which entered into a league for their mutual defence. Rouen, the capital, was the firſt of the three which Philip inveſted; it was a populous city, ſtrongly fortified, and it's inhabitants were extremely averſe to the French government. When the French King commenced his operations, the people were ſo enraged, that they fell on all the natives of France whom they found within their walls, and put them to death; and when they were ſummoned to ſurrender, they expreſſed their reſolution of defending themſelves to the laſt extremity, and immediately diſpatched emiſſaries to England to ſolicit aſſiſtance. In the mean while, John had ſent an embaſſy to the court of France, to ſue for peace; which Philip refuſed to accord on any other conditions than the reſignation of all thoſe fiefs which he held of the crown of France; and the releaſe of Eleanor, the heireſs of Britanny, to be married to his younger ſon. Theſe terms being ſuch as the King could not poſſibly accept, he deſired the deputies of Rouen to return, and adviſe the inhabitants to ſurrender. Notwithſtanding they were thus forſaken by their ſovereign, the citizens ſtill continued to defend themſelves with vigour, till a particular outwork which commanded the bridge being taken, they were reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating; and agreed to deliver up the town to Philip, provided they ſhould have received no ſupplies at the expiration of thirty days. The term being expired, and no ſupplies arrived, they, with the other two aſſociated cities, took the benefit of the capitulation, and ſubmitted to the victor. Thus was this important territory, the moſt rich and fertile province in all the French dominions, reunited to the crown of France, about three centuries after the firſt ceſſion of it by Charles the Simple. During that time it had been governed by twelve Dukes. "Rollo, the Dane," ſays Mezeray, "who from a "barbarian became a Chriſtian and a virtuous "man, was the firſt; and John, who from a Chriſ-"tian became more wicked than Infidels and bar-"barians, was the laſt." After the reduction of Normandy, Philip ſoon compleated the conqueſt of Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and a part of Poitou—important acquiſitions; which were, however, attained not ſo much by the courage and conduct of that monarch, as by the indolence and cowardice of his adverſary, and a fortunate combination of unforeſeen events!

When John arrived in England, he attempted to impoſe on the minds of the multitude; and to cover the ignominy of his own conduct, by loudly accuſing his Barons of having fled from his ſtandard, and thereby reducing him to the neceſſity of leaving his continental dominions to the mercy of the enemy. To ſupport this accuſation, and at the ſame time to gratify his avarice, he puniſhed this deſertion in ſome of them by an arbitrary extortion of one ſeventh of all their moveables; and, in others, by a confiſcation of their eſtates. He was enabled to enforce theſe oppreſſive meaſures with greater facility, by the aſſiſtance of the two firſt officers of the church and ſtate; Hubert, the Primate, and Fitz-Piers, the chief Juſticiary, whoſe influence and authority were extenſive. Soon after his arrival, he alſo found means to prevail upon a parliament, aſſembled at Oxford, to grant him a ſcutage of two marks and an half on every Knight's fee, to defray the expences of an expedition to Normandy, which was never undertaken.

In the ſpring of the following year, 1205, he again pretended to have formed a ſcheme for the recovery of his foreign dominions; and for that purpoſe ſummoned all his Barons and other military tenants to attend him at Portſmouth on Whitſunday. But, when the army were aſſembled, and the fleet was prepared for his departure, meeting with ſome oppoſition from his miniſters, he abandoned his deſign, and diſmiſſed his troops. In a few weeks, however, he renewed his intentions, and actually embarked at Portſmouth on the fifteenth of July, with a ſmall retinue; but, two days after, landed at Stodland, near Wareham, without having attempted any thing. By this ridiculous expedition, which equalled the Emperor Caligula's celebrated collection of cockle-ſhells, he increaſed, if poſſible, the contempt of his enemies and the indignation of his ſubjects.

In the ſubſequent year, this puſillanimous monarch appears to have become ſenſible of his folly, and to have made ſerious preparations for the commencement of hoſtilities. Guy de Thouars, who had been appointed to the government of Britanny, became jealous of the vaſt increaſe of territory acquired by his ally the King of France, who had not only conquered the adjoining provinces, but had alſo formed a ſtrong party among the Bretons. This induced that nobleman to wiſh that John might be re-eſtabliſhed in the dominions he had loſt; that ſome balance might be formed againſt the exorbitant power of the French monarch; and his own authority in Britanny be confirmed, which the influence of that power had of late rendered extremely precarious. He had conferred on this ſubject with his brother Aimery, Viſcount of Thouars, whom Philip had created Seneſchal of the province; and, finding his opinion coincide with his own, they entered into an aſſociation with ſome Barons who favoured their views; and invited John to go over and aſſiſt them in the execution of their plan, in which he was ſo materially intereſted. A treaty was accordingly concluded; and John having raiſed a powerful army, embarked at Portſmouth on the twenty-fifth of June, and landed at Rochelle on the ninth of July. But, inſtead of attempting to attain the object of his expedition by a regular plan of judicious operations, he marched to Montauban in Quercy, which belonged to his brother-in-law the Count of Thouloufe, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of Philip; and, inveſting the place, took it by aſſault. On this occaſion the Engliſh are ſaid to have ſignalized their valour in an extraordinary manner; and they were rewarded by the acquiſition of a conſiderable booty,

and

and the capture of a great number of priſoners of rank. This enterprize, however, was attended with no beneficial effects; and, after the reduction of ſome other places of little importance, the approach of Philip inſpired him with fear, and induced him to make propoſals of peace; to which the French King acceded, and appointed a place for a perſonal interview, that the terms of accommodation might be ſettled. But John, inſtead of keeping his engagement, privately retreated with his army to Rochelle. Notwithſtanding the affront thus offered to Philip, that monarch was induced, by the mediation of the Pope, whoſe interpoſition John had ſolicited, to conſent to a truce for two years; which was accordingly concluded at Thouars, on the twenty-ſeventh of October; and John ſoon after embarked for England, and landed at Portſmouth on the twelfth of December. Thus was every new expedition undertaken by this weak and vicious prince productive of new diſhonour. His ſubjects, oppreſſed with burdenſome taxes, and involved in diſgrace, were unwilling to yield obedience to a ſovereign they could not but deſpiſe; and an event that occurred about this period wholly deprived him of that authority which his follies and vices had long rendered precarious.

Hubert, the Primate, had died at his archiepiſcopal palace, on the eighteenth of July, in the year 1205; and, as the monks of Chriſt-church, Canterbury, had long claimed an excluſive right to elect their Archbiſhops—though the validity of their claim, far from being acknowledged, had ever been ſtrenuouſly reſiſted—ſome of the juniors of the order met clandeſtinely the very night of Hubert's death; and, without any *congè d'elire* from the King, choſe Reginald, their ſub-prior, for his ſucceſſor; inſtalled him in the archiepiſcopal throne before midnight; and, having compelled him to take an oath of ſecrecy, ſent him immediately to Rome, in order to ſolicit a confirmation of his election from the Pope. This fraudulent ſcheme might probably have ſucceeded, but for the extreme vanity of Reginald, which not only roſe ſuperior to all prudential motives, but even prevailed over the more ſerious obligation of an oath. The moment he arrived in Flanders, he aſſumed the pomp and ſtate of an Archbiſhop, and ſhewed his letters of election to different perſons; ſo that the purpoſe of his journey being revealed, ſoon became known in England, and excited the juſt indignation of the King. The ſuffragan Biſhops of Canterbury, too, who had ever claimed a right of concurrence in the election of their metropolitans, were no leſs diſpleaſed at the neglect that had been ſhewn them on this occaſion; the ſenior monks of Chriſt-church were injured by the irregular proceedings of their juniors; the juniors themſelves, aſhamed of their conduct, and diſguſted with the object of their choice for his imprudent levity and criminal violation of a ſolemn oath, were anxious to annul his election; ſo that every thing ſeemed to promiſe a ſpeedy and effectual remedy for the fraud that had been committed. But John, who was aware of the danger of incurring the diſpleaſure of the Pope, determined to proceed in the new election with the moſt wary circumſpection; and therefore ſubmitted it wholly to the monks of Chriſt-church; waving the privilege claimed by his predeceſſors, and contenting himſelf with a ſimple and private intimation, that they would oblige him by raiſing John de Gray, Biſhop of Norwich, to the primacy. A chapter was accordingly held at Canterbury; at which that Prelate was unanimouſly elected, and ſolemnly enthroned in the preſence of the King, who put him in immediate poſſeſſion of the temporalities of the ſee. To obviate all conteſts, John endeavoured to perſuade the ſuffragan Biſhops to forego their claim of concurrence; but thoſe Prelates perſiſted in the aſſertion of their rights, and diſpatched an agent to the Pope, to maintain their cauſe; while the King and the convent of Chriſt-church ſent fourteen monks to ſupport, before the ſame tribunal, the election of the Biſhop of Norwich.

This diverſity of claims was highly favourable to the ambitious views of Innocent the Third, who now enjoyed the papal dignity, and who was the moſt aſpiring and turbulent Pontiff that had for ſome centuries filled the chair of St. Peter. After the expenditure of conſiderable ſums in maintaining the reſpective pretenſions, and the employment of a whole year in examining witneſſes, and inveſtigating records; the Pope iſſued a bull, dated the twenty-firſt of December, in the year 1206; by which he deprived the Suffragans of the province of Canterbury of their right of concurrence in the election of their metropolitans, which he declared to belong ſolely and excluſively to the monks of Chriſt-church. He next proceeded to annul the fraudulent election of Reginald; but, at the ſame time, pronounced that of the Biſhop of Norwich to be irregular and uncanonical; and declared both the Archbiſhops-elect equally incapacitated from enjoying the primacy. This artful declaration was intended to facilitate the execution of his ſcheme, which was to procure the election of one of his own creatures, without even deigning to conſult the King; and thereby eſtabliſh a precedent, by which the See of Canterbury, the moſt important dignity of the church after the papal throne, might become the excluſive property of the court of Rome. For this purpoſe he ſent for the fourteen monks who had been deputed by the convent, to maintain the cauſe of the Biſhop of Norwich; and commanded them immediately to proceed to the election of a Primate; and, under the penalty of excommunication, to nominate to that dignity Cardinal Langton, an Engliſhman by birth, but educated in France, and connected by the ſtrong ties of intereſt with the Apoſtolic See. In vain did the monks object that they had received from their convent no authority for this purpoſe, and that they were only the agents of another perſon: the Pope haſtily anſwered, that his authority could ſupply all ſuch defects. Another difficulty, however, occurred, apparently inſurmountable. Previous to their departure from England, the King, who was doubtleſs acquainted with the diſpoſition of Innocent, had exacted from them a ſolemn oath, that they would never

never acknowledge for their Primate any perſon but the Biſhop of Norwich. But the plenitude of papal power, wholly unconfined by reſtrictions, either moral or religious, was deemed adequate to the removal even of this obſtacle. The ſovereign Pontiff abſolved them from their oaths; and then, by dint of menaces, compelled them to withdraw their oppoſition to his deſpotic will, except one, who was poſſeſſed of ſufficient firmneſs and integrity to reſiſt his threats. The name of this honeſt monk was Elias de Brentefield; a name that ſhould be careſully preſerved by the hiſtorian, to ſhew that a ſingle negative, when exerted in a virtuous cauſe, though inadequate to enſure ſucceſs, will ever command eſteem.

Thus, by the election of a few ſolitary monks, in a foreign country; or rather, by the ſimple fiat of a Biſhop of Rome; was Stephen Langton raiſed to the dignity of Primate of England. He was conſecrated by the Pope at Viterbo, on the twenty-ſeventh of June, in the year 1207.

Innocent, aware that an uſurpation ſo flagrant and unprecedented would excite the indignation of the King of England, wrote him a ſoothing letter; and, at the ſame time, ſent him four gold rings, ſet with precious ſtones of four different kinds; the value of which preſent he ſought to enhance by informing him of the many myſteries it implied. He begged him to conſider ſeriouſly the *form* of the rings; their *number*, *matter*, and *colour*. Their form, he obſerved, being round, repreſented Eternity, which had neither beginning nor end; and ought to inſpire his mind with holy ideas, that would urge him to quit the purſuit of terreſtrial objects, for the attainment of celeſtial ones; and to divert his attention from things temporal to things eternal. The number Four, being a ſquare, he ſaid, denoted ſteadineſs of mind; which being fixed for ever on the ſtrong baſis of the four cardinal virtues, was equally able to ſupport with firmneſs the ſtorms of adverſity; and to bear, with moderation, the ſunſhine of proſperity. Gold, which is the matter, being the moſt precious of metals, ſignified Wiſdom, which is the moſt valuable of all endowments, and juſtly preferred by Solomon to riches, power, and all exterior attainments. The blue colour of the ſaphire repreſented Faith; the verdure of the emerald, Hope; the redneſs of the ruby, Charity; and the ſplendour of the topaz, Good Works. By theſe puerile conceits, which diſcover more quaintneſs than ingenuity, did the aſpiring Pontiff endeavour to ſeduce the King into a connivance at thoſe daring uſurpations which tended to deprive him of one of the moſt important prerogatives of his crown.

This curious ſpecimen of papal wit was, however, ſoon followed by a bull, that experienced a leſs favourable reception. This bull, which was declaratory of the election and conſecration of Cardinal Langton, threw John into a moſt violent rage; which being unable to vent on the author of it, he directed againſt the monks of Canterbury, who were unfortunately within his reach. He ſent Fulk de Cantalou, and Henry de Cornhille, two Knights of his retinue, with a company of armed men, forcibly to expel them from their convent, and to order them to quit the kingdom without delay; appropriating their eſtates to his own uſe. After this act of violence, he wrote a letter to the Pope, dictated by a juſt ſpirit of reſentment, and replete with well-founded reproach. He taxed him with injuſtice and preſumption, for having raiſed a ſtranger to the firſt dignity in his kingdom without his knowledge or conſent. He accuſed him of ingratitude, for having forgotten the eſſential advantages which accrued to the Apoſtolic See from England, which paid more to the Pope than all the other kingdoms on this ſide the Alps. He aſſured him, that he would ſooner loſe his life than ſuffer the juſt rights of his crown to be invaded: and concluded by telling the ſovereign Pontiff, that if the injury he had ſuſtained was not immediately repaired, he would break off all communication with the Court of Rome.

Had the conduct of John correſponded to the ſentiments contained in this letter, he might have ſet all his enemies at defiance; but, unfortunately for the nation, his reſolution was merely verbal. The haughty Pontiff, enraged at the ſpirit of his declaration, returned an anſwer well adapted to the juſtice of his own pretenſions: he expreſſed a determination to perſiſt in his claims; and ſtrenuouſly exhorted the King to withdraw his oppoſition to God and the Church; and not to adopt that line of conduct which had diſgraced his father, and had procured the honours of martyrdom to the holy St. Thomas. This curious epiſtle was concluded in a ſtrain of true papal humility: Innocent declaring, that if John obſtinately perſevered in his oppoſition, he would involve himſelf in difficulties inextricable; and, finally, be cruſhed by Him before whom every knee muſt bow; and to whom all things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth, muſt pay implicit obedience.

In conſequence of this formal declaration of war between a rapacious tyrant and an unprincipled coward, hoſtilities commenced. The Pope, finding that John was not to be deterred from the aſſertion of his rights by mere menaces, ſought to enforce ſubmiſſion to his will by laying the dominions of his adverſary under an interdict; which was accordingly publiſhed in England, at the Pontiff's command, on the twenty-third of March, in the year 1208, by the Biſhops of London, Ely, and Worceſter; who, having thus ſown the ſeeds of diſcord and diſorder, retired precipitately from the kingdom, to avoid the juſt indignation of their ſovereign.

The execution of this dreadful ſentence, which involved millions in ruin for the guilt of one, was well calculated to operate, by the powerful influence of terror, on the weak minds of the multitude. The altars were immediately deſpoiled of their ornaments; all the croſſes, reliques, images and ſtatues of the ſaints, were laid on the ground; and, as if apprehenſive that the very air was infected by the avenging breath of the Pontiff, and might pollute by it's profane contact, the prieſts carefully covered them up, nor even ventured, themſelves, to approach them. The bells were likewiſe removed from the ſteeples.

The doors of the churches were ſhut while maſs was ſaying, and none but prieſts were admitted to attend it's celebration. The clergy refrained from performing any of the duties of their function, except hearing confeſſions, baptizing infants, and adminiſtering the viaticum to the dying. The dead were not interred in conſecrated ground, but thrown into ditches, or buried in common-fields; and their obſequies were not attended with prayers, or any of the uſual ceremonies. Marriage was celebrated in the church-yards. And, to eſtabliſh the univerſality of this ſuperſtitious gloom, the people were prohibited the uſe of meat, as in Lent, or in times of the higheſt penance; they were debarred from all pleaſure and amuſement; and were forbidden even to ſalute each other, to ſhave their beards, or pay any decent attention to their perſons and apparel. In ſhort, every circumſtance ſeemed calculated to inſpire religious terror, and teſtified the apprehenſions of Divine vengeance and indignation.

John, enraged at the obedience paid by part of the clergy to the commands of the Pope, confiſcated their eſtates, baniſhed the Prelates, and confined the monks to their convents; allowing them, from their own revenues, a bare ſufficiency to provide them with food and raiment. Farther to diſtreſs the clergy, and by the force of ridicule to diminiſh their conſequence, he impriſoned all their concubines, and compelled them to purchaſe their liberation by conſiderable fines.

After the mad zeal of Archbiſhop Anſelm had enforced in England a more rigorous execution of the canons which eſtabliſhed the celibacy of the clergy than had before prevailed, the eccleſiaſtics, as we learn from Matthew Paris, gave almoſt univerſally into the practice of concubinage: to which the court of Rome, with whoſe political plans it did not interfere, made but little oppoſition; and, at length, it became every where uſual for prieſts to apply to the ordinary, and obtain from him a formal liberty for the commiſſion of fornication. The Biſhop was commonly careful to prevent this convenient practice from degenerating into licentiouſneſs; by confining the prieſt to the uſe of one woman; requiring him to be conſtant to her bed; and obliging him to provide for her ſubſiſtence, and that of her children. This cuſtom was not confined to England; it obtained almoſt generally on the continent; and we are told by Paolo Sarpi, a learned Venetian monk who flouriſhed in the ſixteenth century, in his Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, that in ſome cantons of Switzerland, prior to the Reformation, the laws not only *permitted*, but, to avoid ſcandal, *enjoined* the uſe of concubines to the younger clergy. Had the Church of Rome been leſs ſwayed by the influence of inſidious policy than of true and unaffected piety, ſhe would have reaped wiſdom from experience; and have candidly confeſſed her own *fallibility* and preſumption, in attempting to repreſs the pureſt dictates of nature; ſhe would have ſeen, that all human inſtitutions which are pernicious to ſociety muſt inevitably deviate into abſurdity or wickedneſs!

While things were in this violent ſituation, John, in order to divert the attention of his ſubjects, undertook military expeditions againſt Scotland, Ireland, and Wales; in which he generally prevailed, though more from the weakneſs of his adverſaries than from his own vigour or talents. In the mean time, the danger to which the throne was expoſed from the diſcontents of the clergy, increaſed the natural tyranny of his diſpoſition, and even impelled him to diſguſt thoſe from whom alone he could expect aſſiſtance. He diſhonoured the families of his nobles by his licentious amours. He publiſhed edicts to reſtrain them, under ſevere penalties, from the purſuit of their favourite diverſions, hunting and hawking; and commanded all the fences that ſurrounded the royal foreſts to be removed, that his deer might have free acceſs to the corn-fields. He ſent armed men to ſuch of the nobility as he ſuſpected of diſaffection, to demand their children or relations as hoſtages for their fidelity; and they were accordingly obliged to deliver them. When his meſſengers came with ſimilar orders to the caſtle of William de Braouſe, Lord of Brecknockſhire, a Baron of great note, the lady of that nobleman told them, that ſhe would never entruſt her ſon to the care of a man who had murdered his own nephew, and rightful ſovereign. John, provoked at the ſeverity of this reproach, ſent a body of troops to enforce the execution of his commands; but William had prudently retired to Ireland with his wife and ſon. The King, however, purſued them; diſcovered their retreat; ſeized the wife and ſon, whom he ſtarved to death in priſon; and the Baron narrowly eſcaped the ſame fate, by flying into France.

The interdict having now continued two years, and the Pope having ſeen it attended with all thoſe conſequences which he had expected to derive from it, determined to purſue the advantage he had already obtained, ere the people ſhould recover from their conſternation. The Church of Rome had artfully contrived a gradation of ſentences; by which, while ſhe inflicted one puniſhment, ſhe taught the ſufferers to expect more terrible conſequences from thoſe which ſhe kept in reſervation. The interdict was therefore followed, in the year 1209, by a ſentence of excommunication; which the Pope commanded the Biſhops of London, Ely, and Worceſter, who were obſequiouſly devoted to his will, to publiſh in England. In compliance with his orders, theſe Prelates, who had fled to the continent, ſent over the ſentence to be publiſhed in the different churches; but the clergy were deterred from obeying the Pontiff's commands. The excommunication, however, was generally known, and ſoon became the topic of converſation in all companies. Even Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Norwich, one of the King's judges, being informed of it while ſitting on the bench in the court of Exchequer, declared to his brethren, that he thought it highly dangerous to act under an excommunicated ſovereign, and accordingly left the court. John, enraged at this declaration, ordered him to be thrown into priſon; where he was treated with ſuch rigour, and even cruelty, that he ſoon died.

Notwithſtanding the diſgraceful ſituation to which the

the King was reduced, and the numerous ſubjects for diſcontent which he had afforded his Barons, it is ſingular that, in this inſtance, they ſhould have preſerved their loyalty, and reſiſted, with equal ſteadineſs, both the threats and promiſes of the Pope, which were alternately employed to ſeduce them from their duty. Hence it may reaſonably be inferred, that if John had known how to diſtinguiſh firmneſs from violence, had endeavoured to ſoothe where he ſought to irritate, and been as anxious to ſecure affection as he was eager to create diſguſt, he might have triumphed over all the dangerous arts of his ſpiritual Adverſary, nor have incurred the diſgrace of ſubmitting himſelf and his country to the ignominious yoke of a foreign Prieſt.

In the year 1212, the King having made ſome ſecret overtures for an accommodation, the Pope ſent two legates, Pandulf and Durand, into England, with powers to ſettle this important controverſy. They were accordingly admitted to an audience, in a parliament held at Northampton; when a moſt violent altercation enſued between them and John; in the courſe of which Pandulf had the inſolence to tell him, in the preſence of his nobles, that he was bound to obey the Pope as well in temporal as in ſpiritual affairs; and, upon the King's refuſal to pay unconditional ſubmiſſion to the ambitious Pontiff, this arrogant prieſt pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt him with a loud voice, abſolved all his ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, degraded him from his royal dignity, and declared him and his poſterity incapable of ever reigning in England. When a ſimple legate could dare to proceed to ſuch extremities, no violence that the Pope could be guilty of could poſſibly excite ſurprize!

On the return of Pandulf to Rome, the ſovereign Pontiff, finding John ſtill firm in his oppoſition, proceeded to pronounce, with all poſſible ſolemnity, a ſentence of depoſition againſt him; and of excommunication againſt every one who ſhould hold any commerce with him, whether at his table, his council, or even in private converſation. This daring ſentence being promulgated in England, ſoon began to operate on the ſuperſtitious fears of the people: and the Barons, too, finding no advantage could accrue to their country from their adherence to a ſovereign whoſe imprudence and oppreſſions would inevitably defeat any meaſures they might wiſh to adopt for the public ſafety, loudly expreſſed their diſcontents; which gave the King more ſerious alarm than either the threats or cenſures of the Pope.

To encreaſe the general diſaffection, one Peter of Pomfret, a hermit, in obedience to the impulſe of enthuſiaſtic zeal, paraded the country, inveighing with great virulence againſt John, for his diſobedience to the Pope; and proyheſying that he would loſe his crown before Aſcenſion Day: "And "his declarations," ſays Matthew Paris, "were as "firmly believed by all who heard him, as if they "had proceeded from Heaven!"

In order to render this ſentence of depoſition effectual, ſomething more than ſpiritual cenſures were requiſite. The Pope, therefore, applied to the King of France, to put it in execution; and offered him, beſides the remiſſion of all his ſins, and a great variety of other eccleſiaſtical benefits, the property and poſſeſſion of the kingdom of England, as the reward of his labour. Philip had neither wiſdom nor virtue to reſiſt a temptation that promiſed ſuch ample gratification to his ambitious mind. Seduced by the flattering proſpect of preſent intereſt, he condeſcended to become the tool of a turbulent Prieſt; and to acknowledge an authority which, if ever he ſhould be urged to oppoſe it's boundleſs uſurpations, might be employed to operate his own depoſition. This new champion of the Church levied a powerful army; ſummoned all his vaſſals to attend him at Rouen; collected a fleet of ſeventeen hundred veſſels, of different ſizes, in the ports of Normandy and Picardy; and, in ſhort, prepared a force that appeared equal to the accompliſhment of his important ſcheme.

John, who was never backward in making vigorous preparations, though deſtitute both of courage and ſkill to employ them to advantage, being apprized of Philip's intentions, ſeemed determined to give him a ſuitable reception. He accordingly iſſued out writs, requiring the attendance of all his military tenants at Dover, and even of all men capable of bearing arms, to unite in defence of the kingdom at this dangerous conjuncture. A great number obeyed the ſummons; and he ſelected a body of ſixty thouſand men; who, had they been inſpired by a generous ſpirit of patriotiſm, and animated with an affection for the perſon of their ſovereign, might have proved invincible: but John, being anathematized by the Pope, was univerſally regarded as an object of horror by the people. The Barons, too, equally awed by ſuperſtitious fears, were diſguſted by his tyranny, and were ſuſpected of maintaining a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy: and the incapacity and cowardice of the King himſelf, unable to cope with extraordinary difficulties, ſeemed to afford the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs to the threatened invaſion.

When the two monarchs had aſſembled their troops on the oppoſite ſhores, and the fate of the kingdom was on the point of being decided, Pandulf, the Pope's legate—who had received ſecret inſtructions from Innocent for that purpoſe—ſent two Knights-Templars to John, to deſire a private conference with him at Dover; which was readily granted. There the artful legate repreſented the power of Philip in ſuch ſtrong colours, and afforded him ſuch convincive proof of the general diſaffection of his people, and the ſecret combination of his Barons, that, ſtricken with conſternation at the dangers which ſurrounded him, he declared his willingneſs to ſubmit to any terms which the Pope might think proper to impoſe. Pandulf, among other conditions equally degrading, exacted a promiſe that he would acknowledge Langton for Primate; that he would reſtore all the clergy and laity who had been baniſhed on account of the conteſt; that he would make them full reſtitution of their goods, and compenſation for all damages; and inſtantly conſign eight thouſand pounds, in part of payment; and that every one who had been outlawed

lawed or impriſoned for his adherence to the Pope, ſhould be immediately received into favour. This diſgraceful treaty was ſubſcribed by the King, and ſome of his principal Barons, on the thirteenth of May, in the year 1213.

This was not the greateſt mortification that this wretched monarch was deſtined to experience. As he had ſworn to pay implicit obedience to the Pope, Pandulf required that he ſhould reſign his kingdom to the Church; which, he perſuaded him, would prove the moſt effectual ſecurity againſt the projected invaſion of the French, as he would then be placed under the immediate protection of the Apoſtolic See. With this daring requeſt, unparallelled even in the annals of papiſtical inſolence, John was baſe enough to comply: he paſſed a charter, in which he declared that, not conſtrained by fear, but of his own free-will, and by the common advice and conſent of his Barons, he had, for the remiſſion of his own ſins, and thoſe of his family, reſigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to Pope Innocent and his ſucceſſors in the papal dignity. He conſented to hold theſe dominions as fiefs of the Church of Rome, by the annual payment of one thouſand marks; ſeven hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. And he farther ſtipulated, that if either he or his ſucceſſors ſhould ever preſume to revoke or violate any of the articles of this charter, they ſhould inſtantly, except they obtained the Pope's pardon by a ſpeedy repentance, forfeit all right to their dominions. In conſequence of this ignominious agreement, John performed the requiſite ceremony at Dover, on the fifteenth of May; where he did homage to Pandulf, as the repreſentative of the Pope, with all the forms of ſubmiſſions required of vaſſals by the feudal law. He came unarmed into the Legate's preſence, who was ſeated on a throne; he fell on his knees before him; lifted up his joined hands, and placed them between thoſe of Pandulf; ſwore fealty to the Pope, and paid part of the promiſed tribute. The Legate, elated by this unexpected triumph of eccleſiaſtical arrogance, forgot that moderation which common prudence muſt have dictated, and evinced the moſt indecent ſymptoms of prieſtly exultation: he trampled on the money which was laid at his feet, as a token of the ſubjection of the kingdom; an inſolence of which, though a marked inſult to every Engliſhman preſent, no one but the Archbiſhop of Dublin dared to take any notice. But, though Pandulf had reduced the King to ſubmit to theſe baſe conditions, he ſtill refuſed to exonerate him from the ſentences of excommunication and interdict, till an eſtimation ſhould have been taken of the loſs ſuſtained by the clergy, and ample reſtitution been made them.

Pandulf, having thus effectually accompliſhed his deſigns upon England, repaired to France, and told Philip, that as the purpoſe he meant to promote by taking up arms had been obtained by negotiation, he might now diſmiſs his troops.

But, as the conduct of the French monarch had not been influenced by religious motives, all the perſuaſions of the legate were inadequate to deter him from the purſuit of his project. Having convened an aſſembly of the nobles, he openly accuſed the Pope of duplicity; and charged him with ſacrificing every earthly duty to the accompliſhment of his own ambitious views. His Barons, convinced by experience of the truth of his aſſertion, expreſſed a willingneſs to comply with his deſires, by immediately undertaking an invaſion of England. The Count of Flanders alone, who had previouſly formed a ſecret treaty with John, expreſſed his diſapprobation of an enterprize which he deemed impious and unjuſt; and, finding his oppoſition of little avail, withdrew his forces, and retired to his own territories. Philip, determined not to leave ſo dangerous an enemy behind him, immediately marched into Flanders, took ſeveral of the ſtrongeſt towns, and threatened to reduce the whole country. In this extremity, the Count made application for aſſiſtance to John; who ordered his fleet, conſiſting of five hundred ſail, under the command of his natural brother the Earl of Saliſbury, to attack that of the French, though greatly ſuperior in number. The two fleets accordingly met off the port of Dam; when the Engliſh obtained a moſt deciſive victory, taking three hundred ſhips, and deſtroying a hundred more; and the King of France, finding that the reſt muſt inevitably fall into the hands of the victorious enemy, ordered them to be burnt; and, by that means, rendered it impoſſible for him to proceed any farther in his enterprize.

John, elated by this important victory, now formed a ſcheme for invading the territories of Philip, and recovering thoſe dominions which he had loſt by his cowardice. But the Barons, without whoſe aſſiſtance the expedition could not poſſibly be undertaken, entertaining too mean an opinion of their ſovereign to hope for ſucceſs from any enterprize he might conduct, unanimouſly refuſed to ſecond his undertaking. The King, finding his perſuaſions ineffectual, had recourſe to a ſtratagem, which he vainly hoped would impel them to the performance of their duty: he embarked with his houſhold troops, and ſailed from Portſmouth to Jerſey, imagining that his Barons would be aſhamed not to follow him. But, being convinced of the fallacy of his expectations, he returned to England; and, having collected a body of troops, chiefly mercenaries, directed his march towards the north, with the view of puniſhing his nobles for their refractory conduct. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was in a confederacy with the Barons, here interpoſed his authority, in a manner that beſpoke him a worthy diſciple of the Apoſtolic See: he threatened the King with a renewal of the ſentence of excommunication, in it's fulleſt extent, if he dared to levy war againſt any of his ſubjects before the kingdom was releaſed from the interdict,

The ſeveral anathemas pronounced againſt John had been recalled in the ſame regular gradation with which they had been iſſued. By the acceptance of his homage, his depoſition had been virtually annulled, and his ſubjects were again bound by their oaths of allegiance. In conſequence of his ſubmiſ-

ſion,

ſion, Langton, the papal Primate, had arrived in England with the exiled Prelates, taken quiet poſſeſſion of his ſee, and abſolved his ſovereign from the ſentence of excommunication. The interdict, however, was ſtill in force; and a new legate, Nicolas, Biſhop of Tuſculum, who had lately ſuperſeded Pandulf in that dignity, declared the Pope's determination not to remove it till the clergy had been amply indemnified for all the loſſes they had ſuſtained. An inveſtigation was therefore made into their reſpective claims; but they were found to be ſo enormous, that the King could not poſſibly ſatisfy them: the ſum of a hundred thouſand marks, which he offered for a final acquittal, was rejected by the clergy with diſdain; and the interdict was likely to remain, when the interference of the Pope put an end to the controverſy. Finding his new vaſſal zealous in his declarations of fealty, and punctual in his payment of the ſtipulated tribute, he reſolved to favour him; and, for that purpoſe, directed his legate to accept of forty thouſand marks, as a compenſation for all damages. The conſequence of this arrangement was, that the Biſhops and conſiderable Abbots obtained a more ample reparation than they had any right to claim; the inferior clergy were obliged to put up with their loſſes; and the King, after the removal of the interdict, renewed, with all poſſible ſolemnity, and by a new charter ſealed with gold, his profeſſions of homage and obedience to the See of Rome.

John, having thus finally terminated his diſpute with the Church, reſolved to undertake the expedition from which he had been lately deterred by the deſertion of his Barons. To this he was ſtrongly urged by his allies, the Counts of Flanders, Boulogne, Thouloufe, and Auvergne, who had formed a confederacy for repreſſing the dangerous encroachments, and checking the growing power, of Philip. Theſe noblemen accordingly came over to England at the commencement of the year 1214, and laid their plan of operations for a general invaſion of France. The Emperor Otho, who was at the head of the confederacy, was to enter the French dominions by the ſide of Flanders, aſſiſted by the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne, and a body of Engliſh forces; while John, in conjunction with the Counts of Thouloufe and Auvergne, was to make his attack on the oppoſite ſide of the kingdom.

In purſuance of this plan, John embarked at Portſmouth on the ſecond of February; landed at Rochelle on the fifteenth; and, being joined by his allies, took ſeveral towns both in Poitou and Anjou. The Emperor Otho, according to his promiſe, had entered France about the ſame time, at the head of one hundred and fifty thouſand Germans; but, being met by Philip at Bovines on the twenty-ſeventh of July, he ſuſtained a total defeat; and narrowly eſcaped the fate of the Counts of Flanders, Holland and Boulogne, and the Earl of Saliſbury, who were made priſoners in this memorable battle, together with one hundred and forty noblemen of inferior note. The news of this misfortune, and the approach of Prince Lewis, Philip's ſon, ſo effectually damped the military ardour of John, that he ſpeedily abandoned his conqueſts; and, retiring with great precipitation, embarked for England, where he arrived on the nineteenth of October, after having concluded a truce with Philip for five years.

The combination of the Engliſh Barons, for the aſſertion of thoſe rights and liberties which the tyrannical and rapacious diſpoſition of John had ſo frequently urged him to invade, had by this time acquired ſufficient ſolidity to afford the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs. The Saxons, under their reſpective monarchs, poſſeſſed certain original and defined privileges; for the enjoyment of which they were indebted to a fair and regular compact between the people and the king, whom they inveſted with ſovereign authority: but theſe were wholly deſtroyed by the Norman invaſion, which operated a total change in the laws and government of the country, by an introduction of the feudal ſyſtem. This pernicious ſyſtem—the rude offspring of unenlightened valour—to which the Normans had been ever accuſtomed in their native dominions, reduced the kingdom to a ſtate of the moſt abſolute ſlavery, rigorouſly ſupported by every claſs of men, from the monarch to the meaneſt proprietor of land. As the Norman Barons had themſelves been the moſt forward to impoſe the galling yoke of ſervitude, they could have no poſſible claim to thoſe privileges which had been enjoyed by the Saxon nobles, as they had been guilty of the moſt flagrant violation of them—a violation that was manifeſted by the very nature of their tenure; for they obtained poſſeſſion of their lands by a forcible ejectment of the lawful proprietors. But Henry the Firſt, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the people, and induce them to ſanction his uſurpation of the throne to the excluſion of his elder brother Robert, had voluntarily granted them a charter, for the purpoſe of extending their liberties by a reſtoration of the Saxon laws. This charter, therefore, gave the Norman inhabitants of England a right which they did not originally poſſeſs, and on which alone they could found all their ſubſequent demands. The charter of Henry the Firſt was afterwards renewed by Stephen, for a ſimilar reaſon; and confirmed by Henry the Second, from motives of ſound policy, and a true regard for the welfare of his ſubjects. Though the conceſſions of theſe different princes had never been put in force, ſtill the claim they gave riſe to was equally valid, and liable to be enforced whenever a favourable opportunity ſhould occur. No time could be more proper for any exertions in the cauſe of freedom than the preſent, when the throne was filled by a monarch whoſe public and private conduct had alike incurred the contempt and deteſtation of his ſubjects; who had inſulted his Barons by the ſeduction of their wives and daughters, enraged them by his tyranny, and provoked all ranks of men by his endleſs exactions and impoſts.

This aſſociation of the Barons was headed by Langton, the Primate; who, after having evinced himſelf the ſtrenuous ſupporter of papal deſpotiſm, now proclaimed himſelf the champion of liberty. In this he was probably influenced by his reſent-

ment to John for the long oppoſition which that Prince had made to his election, and which was almoſt the only circumſtance of his reign for which he deſerved commendation. A private meeting of the confederated Barons was held at London; in which Langton produced a copy of the charter of Henry the Firſt; which he ſaid he had, after a long ſearch, fortunately diſcovered in a monaſtery; and he exhorted them to inſiſt on the renewal and obſervance of it. The Barons ſwore that no conſideration ſhould induce them to depart from ſo reaſonable a demand. The confederacy was now joined by all the chief nobility of the kingdom: and a more numerous meeting was ſummoned by the Primate at St. Edmondſbury, on pretence of devotion; where the Barons bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath, when before the high altar, to adhere to each other; to inſiſt on their demands; and, in caſe of a refuſal, to enforce a compliance with them by arms. Purſuant to this obligation, they repaired to London, attended by a numerous train of armed followers; and, having obtained an audience of the King on the ſixth of January, demanded a renewal of Henry's charter, and a confirmation of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor. After ſome altercation, the King, alarmed at their zeal and unanimity, promiſed to give them a definitive anſwer at the feſtival of Eaſter; and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the Biſhop of Ely, and the Earl of Pembroke, becoming ſureties for the performance of this promiſe, the Barons were ſatisfied, and returned peaceably to their caſtles.

John was ſenſible of the dangerous predicament in which he ſtood, and began to take precautions againſt the impending miſchief. He exacted a new oath of allegiance from all his ſubjects. He ſought to conciliate the favour of the clergy, whoſe fatal influence he had ſo recently experienced, by granting to all cathedrals, monaſteries, and conventual ſocieties, the right of electing their ſuperiors. He aſſumed the croſs, that he might enjoy thoſe privileges which were extended by the Church to every one who devoted himſelf to the ſervice of God, by waging war againſt the Infidels in Paleſtine; and ſent William Mauclerc to Rome, to complain of the violent proceedings of his Barons, and to claim the protection of the Pope. The Barons, at the ſame time, diſpatched Euſtace de Veſice, and other agents, to juſtify their conduct to Innocent, their feudal Lord; and to ſolicit the interpoſition of his authority with the King, in order to obtain a confirmation of their rights: and, farther to engage him in their intereſt, they exaggerated their own merit in ſupporting the rights of the Church while the interdict was impoſed on the kingdom.

The ſovereign Pontiff was highly diſpleaſed at the news of theſe diſturbances, as any revolution in the political affairs of the kingdom might affect that ſuperiority which, through the imbecility of John, he had ſo recently obtained. In this inſtance, as in every other, that imperious Prelate purſued the dictates of intereſt; and, conſidering the King as a puppet he could move at his pleaſure, reſolved to prevent any diminution of his authority. He therefore wrote letters to the Prelates, to the Nobility, and to John himſelf. He cenſured the firſt for encouraging the promotion of civil diſcord, and ſtrictly enjoined them to repair their fault by effecting an accommodation between the contending parties. To the ſecond he expreſſed his diſapprobation of their conduct, in having recourſe to violence where only ſupplications ſhould have been employed. The laſt he exhorted to treat his nobles with indulgence, and to grant ſuch of their demands as ſhould appear to be founded in reaſon and equity.

By the tenor of theſe letters, the Barons plainly perceived that the Pope was inimical to their cauſe: but they had advanced too far to recede; and, being conſcious of their own power, they determined to act in open defiance of his mandates. Their emiſſaries were diligently employed in exciting a general ſpirit of revolt throughout the kingdom; and, as intereſt was the bait with which they ſought to allure, their endeavours were crowned with tolerable ſucceſs.

On the approach of Eaſter, the time appointed by the King for giving an anſwer to their demands, they met, by agreement, at Stamford, to the number of two thouſand, with their followers and retainers; and, on the twenty-ſeventh of April, they marched in a body to Brackley, about fifteen miles from Oxford, where the King at that time reſided. On their approach, they were met by the Primate and the Earl of Pembroke, who were ſent by John to enquire what were thoſe liberties and privileges which they appeared ſo anxious to obtain. They delivered to theſe meſſengers a ſchedule, containing the chief articles of their demands: which being ſhewn to the King, he broke forth into a violent paſſion, and aſked why they did not likewiſe demand his kingdom? ſwearing, that he never would grant ſuch liberties to his ſubjects as would reduce himſelf to ſlavery.

This reply being made known to the nobles, they choſe Robert Fitz-Walter for their leader; on whom they beſtowed the pompous and preſumptuous appellation of *Mareſchal of the Army of God and of the Holy Church*, and immediately commenced hoſtilities againſt the King.

Their firſt attempt was on the caſtle of Northampton, which they beſieged during fifteen days, when they were obliged to deſiſt from their enterprize from want of battering engines. At Bedford they were more ſucceſsful; being admitted into the caſtle by it's owner, William Beauchamp. From thence, having received an invitation from the principal citizens of London, they marched to that metropolis, and took poſſeſſion of it on the twenty-fourth of May. They now iſſued proclamations, requiring ſuch Barons as had not yet joined them, to repair immediately to their ſtandard; and threatening them, in caſe of a refuſal, with committing depredations on their caſtles and eſtates.

The King, who had retired from Oxford to Odiham in Hampſhire, finding himſelf abandoned by all his court except a ſcanty retinue of ſeven Knights; after trying every expedient he could think

think of to elude the blow; after offering to refer all differences, either to the ſole deciſion of the Pope, or to eight Barons, four to be choſen by himſelf, and four by the confederates; was compelled to ſubmit at diſcretion. He therefore ſent the Earl of Pembroke to London, to propoſe a conference with the Barons; which accordingly took place in a large meadow, by the ſide of the Thames, between Windſor and Staines, called Runnemede. The two parties encamped apart, like open enemies; and, after an altercation of a few days, the King found himſelf obliged, on the nineteenth of June, in the year 1215, to ſign and ſeal the charter that had been preſented to him by his Barons.

Though this celebrated deed, known by the name of *Magna Charta*, or *The Great Charter*, contains many articles which may now appear trifling and unimportant; yet, as it is juſtly deemed the Grand Palladium of Engliſh Liberty—the ſacred baſis of thoſe legal and political bleſſings which render this country the envy and wonder of ſurrounding nations—we think it eſſentially neceſſary to inſert it *in toto*.

ORIGINAL.

MAGNA CHARTA
REGIS JOHANNIS.

JOHANNES, Dei gratia Rex Anglie, Dominus Hyberne, Dux Normannie, Aquitanie, et Comes Andegavie, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Juſticiariis, Foreſtariis, Vicecomitibus, Prepoſitis, Miniſtris, et omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus ſuis, ſalutem. Sciatis nos intuitu Dei et pro ſalute anime noſtre et omnium anteceſſorum et heredum noſtrorum, ad honorem Dei, et exaltationem ſancte Eccleſie, et emendationem regni noſtri, per conſilium venerabilium Patrum noſtrorum Stephani Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopi, totius Anglie Primatis, et ſancte Romane Eccleſie Cardinalis, Henrici Dublinienſis Archiepiſcopi, Willielmi Londonienſis, Petri Wintonienſis, Joſcelini Bathonienſis et Glaſton, Hugonis Lincolnienſis, Walteri Wygornienſis, Willielmi Coventrenſis, et Benedicti Roffenſis, Epiſcoporum; Magiſtri Pandulfi Domini Pape Subdiaconi et Familiaris, Fratris Eymerici Magiſtri Militie Templi in Anglia; et nobilium virorum, Willielmi Mareſcalli Comitis Penbrok, Willielmi Comitis Sarum, Willielmi Comitis Warennie, Willielmi Comitis Arundell, Alani de Galweya Conſtabularii Scottie, Warini Filii Geroldi, Petri Filii Hereberti, Huberti de Burgo Seneſcalli Pictavie, Hugonis de Nevill, Matthei Filii Hereberti, Thome Baſſett, Alani Baſſett, Philippi de Albiniaco, Roberti de Roppele, Johannis Mareſcalli, Johannis Filii Hugonis, et aliorum fidelium noſtrorum. In primis conceſſiſſe Deo, et hac preſente Charta noſtra confirmaſſe, pro nobis et heredibus noſtris in perpetuum—

I. Quod Anglicana eccleſia libera ſit, et habet jura ſua integra, et libertates ſuas illeſas; et ita volumus obſervari, quod apparet ex eo, quod libertatem electionum que maxima et magis neceſſaria reputatur eccleſie Anglicane, mera et ſpontanea voluntate, ante diſcordiam inter nos et Barones noſtros motam, conceſſimus et carta noſtra confirmavimus, et eam optinuimus a Domino Papa Innocentio Tertio confirmari; quam et nos obſervabimus, et ab heredibus noſtris in perpetuum bona fide volumus obſervari.

II. Conceſſimus etiam omnibus liberis hominibus regni noſtri pro nobis et heredibus noſtris in perpetuum, omnes libertates ſubſcriptas, habendas et tenendas eis et heredibus ſuis, de nobis et heredibus noſtris.

III. Si

TRANSLATION.

THE
GREAT CHARTER
OF
KING JOHN.

JOHN, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou; to his Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Juſticiaries, Foreſters, Sheriffs, Governors, Officers, and to all Bailiffs and his other faithful ſubjects, greeting. Know ye, that from our reſpect to God, and for the ſalvation of our own ſoul, and of the ſouls of our anceſtors, and of our heirs, to the honour of God, and the exaltation of the Holy Church and amendment of our kingdom, by advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Henry, Archbiſhop of Dublin; William of London, Peter of Wincheſter, Joceline of Bath and Glaſtonbury, Hugh of Lincoln, Walter of Worceſter, William of Coventry, Benedict of Rocheſter, Biſhops; Maſter Pandulf the Pope's ſubdeacon and faithful ſervant; Brother Eymeric, maſter of the Knights-Templars in England; and of the noble perſons, William Mariſchal, Earl of Pembroke; William Earl of Saliſbury, William Earl of Warren, William Earl of Arundel, Allan of Galloway, Conſtable of Scotland; Warin Fitz-Gerald, Peter Fitz-Herbert, Hubert de Burgh, Seneſchal of Poictou, Hugh de Neville, Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas Baſſet, Allan Baſſet, Philip de Albany, Robert de Roppel, John Mariſchal, John Fitz-Hugh, and of others our liegemen;—have granted to God, and by this our preſent charter have confirmed, for us, and for our heirs for ever—

I. That the Church of England ſhall be free, and enjoy her rights entire, and her liberties inviolable; and we will have this ſo obſerved, that it may appear from thence that the freedom of elections, which was deemed moſt neceſſary for the Church of England, which we granted, and by our charter confirmed, and obtained the confirmation of it from Pope Innocent the Third, before the rupture between us and our Barons, was of our own free will. Which charter we ſhall obſerve, and will it to be obſerved with good faith by our heirs for ever.

II. We have alſo granted to all the freemen of our kingdom, for us and our heirs for ever, all the underwritten liberties, to be enjoyed and to be held by them and their heirs for ever, of us and our heirs.

III. If

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III. Si quis comitum vel baronum noſtrorum, ſive aliorum tenentium de nobis in capite per ſervitium militare, mortuus fuerit, et cum deceſſerit heres ſuus plene ætatis fuerit, et relevium debeat, habeat hereditatem ſuam per antiquum relevium, ſcilicet heres vel heredes comitis de baronia comitis integra per centum libras. Heres vel heredes militis de feodo militis integro per centum ſolidos ad plus: et qui minus debuerit, minus det ſecundum antiquam conſuetudinem feodorum.

IV. Si autem heres alicujus talium fuerit infra ætatem, et fuerit in cuſtodia: cum ad ætatem pervenerit, habeat hereditatem ſuam ſine relevio et ſine fine.

V. Cuſtos terre hujuſmodi heredis qui infra ætatem fuerit, non capiat de terra heredis niſi rationabile exitus, et rationabiles conſuetudines, et rationabilia ſervitia, et hoc ſine deſtructione et vaſto hominum vel rerum. Et ſi nos commiſerimus cuſtodiam alicujus talis terre vicecomiti vel alicui alii qui de exitibus illius nobis reſpondere debeat, et ille deſtructionem de cuſtodia fecerit vel vaſtum, nos ab illo capiemus emendam, et terra committatur duobus legalibus et diſcretis hominibus de feodo illo, qui de exitibus reſpondeant nobis vel ei cui eos aſſignaverimus. Et ſi dederimus vel vendiderimus alicui cuſtodiam alicujus talis terre, et ille deſtructionem inde fecerit vel vaſtum, amittat ipſam cuſtodiam, et tradatur duobus legalibus et diſcretis hominibus de feodo illo, qui ſimiliter nobis reſpondeant, ſicut predictum eſt.

VI. Cuſtos autem quamdiu cuſtodiam terre habuerit, ſuſtentet domos, parcos, vivaria, ſtagna, molendina, et cetera ad terram illam pertinentia de exitibus terre ejuſdem, et reddat heredi cum ad plenam ætatem pervenerit terram ſuam totam inſtauratam de carrucis et wainnagiis ſecundum quod tempus wainnagii exigit, et exitus terre rationabiliter poterunt ſuſtinere.

VII. Heredes maritentur abſque diſparagatione; ita tamen quod antequam contrahatur matrimonium, oſtendatur propinquis de conſanguinitate ipſius heredis.

VIII. Vidua poſt mortem mariti ſui ſtatim et ſine difficultate habeat maritagium et hereditatem ſuam; nec aliquid det pro dote ſua vel pro maritagio ſuo, vel hereditate ſua, quam hereditatem maritus ſuus et ipſa tenuerint die obitus ipſius mariti; et maneat in domo mariti ſui per quadraginta dies poſt mortem

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III. If any of our Earls, Barons, or others who hold of us in chief by military ſervice, ſhall die, and at the time of his death his heir ſhall be of full age, and ſhall owe a relief, he ſhall have his inheritance for the ancient relief; viz. the heir or heirs of an Earl, for a whole Earl's barony, one hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a Baron, for a whole barony, one hundred pounds*; the heir or heirs of a Knight, for a whole Knight's fee, one hundred ſhillings at moſt; and he who owes leſs ſhall give leſs, according to the ancient cuſtom of fees.

IV. But if the heir of any ſuch ſhall be under age, and in wardſhip, when he comes to age, he ſhall have his inheritance without relief or without fine.

V. The warden of the eſtate of an heir who is under age, ſhall only take of the lands of the heir reaſonable iſſues, reaſonable cuſtoms and reaſonable ſervices, and that without deſtruction and waſte of the men or goods; and if we ſhall commit the cuſtody of any ſuch lands to the Sheriff, or to any other perſon who is anſwerable to us for the iſſues of them, and he ſhall make deſtruction or waſte upon the ward-lands, we will exact ſatisfaction from him, and the land ſhall be entruſted to the care of two lawful and diſcreet tenants of that fee, who ſhall account for the iſſues to us, or to him to whom we ſhall aſſign them. And if we ſhall give or ſell to any one the guardianſhip of any ſuch eſtate, and he ſhall make deſtruction or waſte, he ſhall loſe the guardianſhip, which ſhall be entruſted to the care of two lawful and diſcreet tenants of that fee, who ſhall be accountable to us in like manner as hath been before ſaid.

VI. And the guardian, ſo long as he ſhall have the guardianſhip of the eſtate, ſhall keep in order the houſes, parks, warrens, ponds, mills, and other things belonging to the eſtate, out of the revenue of the eſtate; and ſhall deliver to the heir, when he comes to age, his whole eſtate provided with ploughs and other implements of huſbandry, according to what the ſeaſon may require, and the profits of the eſtate can reaſonably afford.

VII. Heirs ſhall be married without diſparagement; and ſo that, before the marriage be contracted, it ſhall be notified to the relations of the heir by conſanguinity.

VIII. A widow, immediately after the death of her huſband, ſhall, without any difficulty, be allowed the liberty of marrying again, and ſhall have her inheritance; nor ſhall ſhe pay any thing for that liberty, nor for her dower, nor for that inheritance which was in the actual poſſeſſion of her huſband and herſelf,

* Although it is thus written in the authentic copy of the original charter preſerved in the Cotton library; it is moſt probable that, inſtead of *pounds*, it ſhould be *marks*; for the ancient relief of a Barony was a fourth of it's yearly value, and the yearly value of a Barony was exactly four hundred marks.

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mortem ipſius, infra quos aſſignetur ei dos ſua.

IX. Nulla vidua diſtringatur ad ſe maritandum, dum voluerit vivere ſine marito. Ita tamen quod ſecuritatem faciat quod ſe non maritabit ſine aſſenſu noſtro, ſi de nobis tenuerit, vel ſine aſſenſu domini ſui de quo tenuerit, ſi de alio tenuerit.

X. Nec nos, nec ballivi noſtri ſeiſiemus terram aliquam nec redditum pro debito aliquo, quamdiu catalla debitoris ſufficiunt ad debitum reddendum: nec pleggii ipſius debitoris diſtringantur, quamdiu ipſe capitalis debitor ſufficit ad ſolutionem debiti.

XI. Et ſi capitalis debitor defecerit in ſolutione debiti, non habens unde ſolvat, pleggii reſpondeant de debito, et, ſi voluerint, habeant terras et redditus debitoris, donec ſit eis ſatisfactum de debito quod ante pro eo ſolverint, niſi capitalis debitor monſtraverit ſe eſſe quietum inde verſus eoſdem pleggios.

XII. Si quis mutuo ceperit aliquid a Judeis plus vel minus, et moriatur antequam debitum illud ſolvatur, debitum non uſuret quamdiu heres fuerit infra ætatem, de quocumque teneat; et ſi debitum illud inciderit in manus noſtras, nos non capiemus niſi catallum contentum in charta.

XIII. Et ſi quis moriatur, et debitum debeat Judeis, uxor ejus habeat dotem ſuam, et nihil reddat de debito illo; et ſi liberi ipſius defuncti, qui fuerint infra ætatem, remanſerint, provideantur iis neceſſaria ſecundum tenementum quod fuerit defuncti; et de reſiduo ſolvatur debitum, ſalvo ſervitio dominorum. Simili modo fiat de debitis que debentur aliis quam Judeis.

XIV. Nullum ſcutagium aut auxilium ponatur in regno noſtro niſi per commune conſilium regni noſtri, niſi ad corpus noſtrum redimendum; et primogenitum filium noſtrum militem faciendum; et ad filiam noſtram primogenitam ſemel maritandam: et ad hec non fiat niſi rationabile auxilium.

XV. Simili modo fiat auxilium de civitate London: et civitas London: habeat omnes antiquas libertates, et liberas conſuetudines ſuas tam per terras quam per aquas.

XVI. Preterea volumus et concedimus, quod omnes alie civitates, et burgi, et ville, et portus, habeant omnes libertates et liberas conſuetudines ſuas, et ad habendum commune conſilium regni de auxilio aſſidendo aliter quam in tribus caſibus predictis.

XVII. Vel de ſcutagio aſſidendo, ſummoneri faciemus archiepiſcopos, epiſcopos, abbates, comites, et majores barones ſigillatim per litteras noſtras.

XVIII. Et preterea faciemus ſummoneri in generali per vicecomites et ballivos noſtros, omnes illos qui de nobis tenent in capite ad certum diem, ſcilicet ad terminum quadraginta dierum ad minus, et ad certum locum, et in omnibus litteris illius ſummonitionis cauſam ſummonitionis exprimemus.

XIX. Et ſic facta ſummonitione negotium ad diem aſſignatum procedat ſecundum conſilium illorum qui preſentes fuerint, quamvis non omnes ſummoniti venerint.

XX. Nos non concedemus de cetero alicui quod capiat auxilium de liberis hominibus ſuis, niſi ad corpus ſuum redimendum; et ad faciendum primogenitum filium ſuum militem; et ad primogenitam filiam

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herſelf, on the day of her huſband's death; and ſhe may remain in her huſband's houſe forty days after his deceaſe, within which time her dower ſhall be aſſigned to her.

IX. No widow ſhall be compelled to marry, ſo long as ſhe ſhall chuſe to remain ſingle: ſhe ſhall, however, give ſecurity, that ſhe will not marry without our conſent, if ſhe hold of us; or without the conſent of her ſuperiour lord, if ſhe hold of another.

X. Neither we nor our bailiffs ſhall ſeize any land or rents for any debt, ſo long as the chattels of the debtor be ſufficient to pay the debt; nor ſhall the ſureties of the debtor be diſtrained ſo long as the principal debtor be able to diſcharge the debt.

XI. And if the principal debtor fail in the payment of the debt, not having wherewithal to diſcharge it, then the ſureties ſhall anſwer for the debt; and, if they pleaſe, they ſhall have the lands and rents of the debtor, until ſatisfaction ſhall be made them for the debt which they have paid for him; unleſs the principal debtor can ſhew that he has acquitted himſelf towards the ſaid ſureties.

XII. If any one hath borrowed any thing of the Jews, be it more or leſs, and dies before the debt be diſcharged, there ſhall be no intereſt paid for that debt ſo long as the heir ſhall be a minor, of whomſoever he may hold. And if the debt fall into our hands, we will only take the particular chattels ſpecified in the bond.

XIII. And if any one ſhall die indebted to the Jews, his wife ſhall have her dower, and pay nothing of that debt. And if the deceaſed ſhall leave children under age, neceſſaries ſhall be provided for them according to the real eſtate of the deceaſed, and the debt ſhall be paid out of the reſidue, ſaving the rights or ſervice of the lords. Let the ſame rule be obſerved with debts due to others than Jews.

XIV. No ſcutage or aid ſhall be impoſed in our kingdom, unleſs by the common-council of our kingdom; except for the redemption of our perſon; for the making our eldeſt ſon a knight; and for once marrying our eldeſt daughter: and for theſe only a reaſonable aid ſhall be exacted.

XV. The aids of the city of London ſhall likewiſe be ſubject to the ſame regulations. And the city of London ſhall have all it's ancient liberties and free cuſtoms, as well by land as by water.

XVI. Moreover, we will and grant, that all other cities, and burghs, and towns, and ſea-ports, ſhall have all their liberties and free cuſtoms; and ſhall have the common-council of the kingdom to aſſeſs an aid, otherwiſe than in the three caſes before mentioned.

XVII. And to aſſeſs a ſcutage, we will cauſe the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and ſuperiour Barons of the realm, to be ſeverally ſummoned by our letters.

XVIII. And we will furthermore cauſe all others who hold of us in chief, to be generally ſummoned by our Sheriffs and Bailiffs, at a certain day, that is to ſay, forty days at leaſt, (before their meeting) to a certain place; and in all the letters of ſummons we will expreſs the cauſe of the ſummons.

XIX. And the ſummons being thus iſſued, the buſineſs ſhall be proceeded upon on the appointed day, according to the advice of ſuch as ſhall be preſent, although all that are ſummoned ſhall not attend.

XX. We will not, in future, grant to any one the permiſſion to exact an aid of his own free tenants, unleſs for the redemption of his body; for the making his eldeſt ſon a Knight, and for once marrying

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filiam ſuam ſemel maritandam; et ad hec non fiat niſi rationabile auxilium.

XXI. Nullus diſtringatur ad faciendum majus ſervitium de feodo militis, nec de alio libero tenemento quam inde debetur.

XXII. Communia placita non ſequantur curiam noſtram, ſed teneantur in aliquo loco certo. Recognitiones de nova diſſaiſina, de morte anteceſſoris, et de ultima preſentatione non capiantur, niſi in ſuis comitatibus, et hoc modo: nos, vel ſi extra regnum fuerimus, capitalis juſticiarius noſter, mittemus duos juſticiarios per unumquemque comitatum, per quatuor vices in anno: qui cum quatuor militibus cujuſlibet comitatus electis per comitatum, capiant in comitatu, et in die et loco comitatus aſſiſas predictas.

XXIII. Et ſi, in die comitatus, aſſiſe predicte capi non poſſint, tot milites et libere tenentes remaneant de illis qui interfuerint comitatui die illo, per quos poſſint judicia ſufficienter fieri, ſecundum quod negotium fuerit majus vel minus.

XXIV. Liber homo non amercietur pro parvo delicto, niſi ſecundum modum delicti; et pro magno delicto amercietur, ſecundum magnitudinem delicti: ſalvo contenemento ſuo; et mercator eodem modo ſalva mercandiſa ſua.

XXV. Et villanus eodem modo amercietur, ſalvo wainnagio ſuo, ſi inciderint in miſericordiam noſtram; et nulla dictarum miſericordiarum ponatur niſi per ſacramentum proborum hominum de viſneto.

XXVI. Comites et barones non amercientur, niſi per pares ſuos, et non niſi ſecundum modum delicti.

XXVII. Nullus clericus amercietur de laico tenemento ſuo, niſi ſecundum modum aliorum predictorum, et non ſecundum quantitatem beneficii ſui eccleſiaſtici.

XXVIII. Nec villa, nec homo diſtringatur facere pontes ad riparias, niſi qui ab antiquo et de jure facere debent.

XXIX. Nullus vice-comes, conſtabularius, coronatores, vel alii ballivi noſtri teneant placite corone noſtre.

XXX. Omnes comitatus, hundredi, wapentakia, et trethingi ſint ad antiquas firmas, abſque ullo incremento, exceptis dominicis maneriis noſtris.

XXXI. Si aliquis tenens de nobis laicum feodum moriatur, et vice-comes vel ballivus noſter oſtendat litteras noſtras patentes de ſummonitione noſtra de debito quod defunctus nobis debuit; liceat vice-comiti vel ballivo noſtro attachiare et inbreviare catalla defuncti inventa in laico feodo ad valentiam illius debiti, per viſum legalium hominum, ita tamen quod nichil inde amoveatur, donec perſolvatur nobis debitum; quod clarum fuerit et reſiduum relinquatur executoribus ad faciendum teſtamentum defuncti; et ſi nichil nobis debeatur ab ipſo, omnia catalla cedant defuncto, ſalvis uxori ipſius, et pueris rationabilibus partibus ſuis.

XXXII. Si aliquis liber homo inteſtatus deceſſerit, catalla ſua per manus propinquorum, parentum, et amicorum ſuorum, per viſum eccleſie diſtribuantur; ſalvis unicuique debitis que defunctus ei debebat.

XXXIII. Nullus conſtabularius vel alius ballivus noſter capiat blada vel alia catalla alicujus, niſi ſtatim inde reddat denarios, aut reſpectum inde habere poſſit de voluntate venditoris.

XXXIV. Nullus conſtabularius diſtringat

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marrying his eldeſt daughter; and for theſe only a reaſonable aid ſhall be levied.

XXI. No man ſhall be diſtrained to perform more ſervice for a Knight's fee, or any other free tenement, than is due from thence.

XXII. Common pleas ſhall not follow our court, but ſhall be holden in ſome certain place. Trials upon the writs of *Novel Diſſeiſin*, *Mort d'Anceſtor* (death of the anceſtor) and of *Darreine Preſentment*, (laſt preſentation) ſhall only be taken in their proper counties, and in the following manner: We, or if we ſhall be out of the realm our Chief Juſticiary, ſhall ſend two Juſticiaries into each county, four times a year; who, with four Knights of the county, choſen by the county, ſhall hold the ſaid aſſizes at a ſtated time and place within the county.

XXIII. And if the aforeſaid aſſizes cannot be finiſhed on the appointed day, let ſo many knights and freeholders, of thoſe who were preſent on that day, remain, as may be deemed requiſite, according to the greater or leſs importance of the buſineſs.

XXIV. A freeman ſhall only be amerced, for a trivial offence, according to the degree of the offence; and for a great crime, in proportion to it's magnitude, ſaving his contenement*. And a merchant ſhall be amerced in the ſame manner, ſaving his merchandize.

XXV. And a villain ſhall be amerced in the ſame manner, ſaving his wainage, (implements of huſbandry) if he fall under our mercy; and none of the aforeſaid amerciaments ſhall be aſſeſſed, but by the oath of honeſt men of the neighbourhood.

XXVI. Earls and Barons ſhall only be amerced by their Peers, and in proportion to the magnitude of their offence.

XXVII. No clerk ſhall be amerced for his lay-tenement, but according to the manner of others aforeſaid, and not according to the value of his eccleſiaſtical benefice.

XXVIII. Neither a town nor an individual ſhall be diſtrained to build bridges, or raiſe embankments, except thoſe who anciently, and of right, are bound to do it.

XXIX. No ſheriff, conſtable, coroners, or other our bailiffs, ſhall hold pleas of the crown.

XXX. All counties, hundreds, wapon-tacks and trithings, ſhall remain at the ancient rent, without any increaſe, except in our demeſne-manors.

XXXI. If any one holding of us a lay-fee, die, and the Sheriff or our Bailiff ſhall ſhew our letters-patent, containing the ſummons for a debt due to us from the deceaſed, it ſhall be lawful for the Sheriff or our Bailiff to attach and regiſter the chattels of the deceaſed found on the lay-fee, to the value of the debt according to the eſtimation of lawful men, ſo as nothing be removed until our debt be diſcharged; and the overplus ſhall be left to the executors to fulfil the will of the deceaſed; and if nothing be due to us from him, all the chattels ſhall remain to the defunct, ſaving to his wife and children their reaſonable ſhares.

XXXII. If any free man ſhall die inteſtate, his chattels ſhall be diſtributed by his neareſt relations and friends, under the inſpection of the church; ſaving to every one the debts due to him from the deceaſed.

XXXIII. No conſtable nor bailiff of ours ſhall take the corn or other chattels of any man, unleſs he immediately pay for the ſame, or can obtain a reſpite (credit) from the free-will of the vender.

XXXIV. No conſtable ſhall diſtrain

* *Contenement*, ſignified ſuch a reſervation of eſtate and goods, as would enable a man to continue his trade or profeſſion. Thus, his arms were the contenement of a ſoldier; his books, the contenement of a ſcholar; and, by the laws of Wales, his harp formed a part of the contenement of a gentleman.

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distringat aliquem militem ad dandum denarios pro custodia castri, si facere voluerit custodiam illam in propria persona sua, vel per alium probum hominem si ipse eam facere non possit propter rationabilem causam.

XXXV. Et si nos duxerimus vel miserimus eum in exercitum, erit quietus de custodia secundum quantitatem temporis quo per nos fuerit in exercitu.

XXXVI. Nullus vice-comes vel ballivus noster vel aliquis alius capiat equos vel caretas alicujus liberi hominis pro cariagio faciendo, nisi de voluntate ipsius liberi hominis.

XXXVII. Nec nos, nec ballivi nostri, capiemus alienum boscum ad castra vel alia agenda nostra, nisi per voluntatem ipsius cujus boscus ille fuerit.

XXXVIII. Nos non tenebimus terras illorum qui convicti fuerint de felonia, nisi per unum annum et unum diem, et tunc reddantur terre dominis feodorum.

XXXIX. Omnes kydelli de cetero deponantur penitus de Thamisia et de Medewaye, et per totam Angliam nisi per costeram maris.

XL. Breve quod vocatur precipe de cetero non fiat alicui de aliquo tenemento, unde liber homo amittere possit curiam suam.

XLI. Una mensura vini sit per totum regnum nostrum, et una mensura cervisie, et una mensura bladi, scilicet quarterium Londonience, et una latitudo pannorum, tinctorum et russettorum et halbergettorum, scilicet due ulne infra listas. De ponderibus autem sit ut de mensuris.

XLII. Nichil detur vel capiatur de cetero pro brevi inquisitionis de vita vel membris, sed gratis concedatur et non negetur.

XLIII. Si aliquis teneat de nobis per feodifirmam, vel per sokagium, vel per burgagium, et de alio terram teneat per servitium militare, nos non habebimus custodiam heredis nec terre sue que est de feodo alterius, occasione illius feodifirme vel sokagii, vel burgagii, nec habebimus custodiam illius feodifirme, vel sokagii, vel burgagii, nisi ipsa feodifirma debeat servitium militare.

XLIV. Nos non habebimus custodiam heredis vel terre alicujus quam tenet de alio per servitium militare, occasione alicujus parve sergenterie quam tenet de nobis per servitium reddendi nobis cultellos vel sagittas, vel hujusmodi.

XLV. Nullus ballivus ponat de cetero aliquem ad legem simplici loquela sua sine testibus fidelibus ad hoc inductis.

XLVI. Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut dissaisietur, aut utlagetur, aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo destruatur; nec super eum ibimus, nec super eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum, vel per legem terre.

XLVII. Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus rectum aut justitiam.

XLVIII. Omnes mercatores habeant salvum et securum exire de Anglia et venire in Angliam, et morari et ire per Angliam, tam per terram quam per aquam, ad emendum et vendendum, sine omnibus malis toltis, per antiquas et rectas consuetudines, preterquam in tempore gwerre, et si sint de terra contra nos gwerrina.

XLIX. Et si tales inveniantur in terra nostra in principio gwerre attachientur sine dampno corporum et rerum donec sciatur a nobis vel capitali justiciario nostro quomodo mercatores terre nostre tractentur qui

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distrain any Knight to pay money for castle-guard, if he shall be willing to perform it in his own person, or by another good man, if he cannot, for some reasonable cause, perform it himself.

XXXV. And if we shall lead or send him to the army, he shall be exempted from castle-guard, according to the space of time he shall have remained with the army, at our command.

XXXVI. No sheriff or bailiff of ours, nor any other person, shall take the horses or carts of any free man, for the purpose of carriage, without the consent of the said free man.

XXXVII. Neither we nor our bailiffs shall take any man's wood for our castles or other uses, without the consent of him to whom the wood belongs.

XXXVIII. We will retain the lands of such as shall be convicted of felony, only for one year and one day, and they shall then be restored to the lord of the fee.

XXXIX. All wears shall in future be entirely removed from the Thames and the Medway, and throughout England, except on the sea-coast.

XL. The writ, which is called *Precipe*, shall not, in future, be granted to any one, on account of any tenement by which a free man may lose his court.

XLI. There shall be one measure of wine throughout our kingdom, and one measure of ale, and one measure of corn. viz. the London-Quarter. And one breadth of dyed cloth, and of russets, and of *Halberjects*, viz. two ells within the list. It shall be the same with weights as with measures.

XLII. Nothing shall be given or taken, in future, for the writ of inquisition of life or limb; but it shall be given *gratis*, and not denied.

XLIII. If any one hold of us any fee-farm, or socage, or burgage, and hold of another by military service, we will not demand the guardianship of the heir, or of his estate which belongs to another man's fee, on account of such fee-farm, socage, or burgage; nor will we exact the guardianship of such fee-farm, socage, or burgage, unless the fee-farm owe unto us military service.

XLIV. We will not demand the guardianship of the heir, or of the land of any one which he holds of another by military service, on account of any petty sergeantry which he holds of us, as by the service of giving us daggers, arrows, or the like.

XLV. No bailiff shall in future put any man to his law, upon his own simple affirmation, without credible witnesses adduced to prove it.

XLVI. No free man shall be apprehended, nor imprisoned, nor disseised, nor outlawed, nor destroyed by any means whatever; nor will we pass sentence upon him, nor commit him to prison, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

XLVII. We will sell to no man, we will not deny or defer to any man, either right or justice.

XLVIII. All merchants shall have safe and sure conduct, for coming into England, and for going out of England, and staying in and travelling through England, as well by land as by water; to buy and to sell, without any unjust exactions, according to ancient and rightful customs, except in time of war, and except they belong to any state engaged in actual war with us.

XLIX. And if any such be found in our dominions at the commencement of a war, they shall be attached without detriment to their body or goods, until it be known to us, or to our chief justiciary

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qui tunc inveniuntur in terra contra nos gwerrina; et si nostri salvi sint ibi, alii salvi sint in terra nostra.

L. Liceat unicuique de cetero exire de regno nostro, et redire, salvo et secure per terram et per aquam salva fide nostra, nisi tempore gwerre per aliquod breve tempus propter communem utilitatem regni, exceptis imprisonatis et utlagatis secundum legem regni, et gente de terra contra nos gwerrina, et mercatoribus de quibus fiat sicut predictum est.

LI. Si quis tenuerit de aliqua Escaeta sicut de honore Walingeford, Notingeham, Bononia, Lankastrie, vel de aliis Eskaetis que sunt in manu nostra, et sunt baronie, et obierit, heres ejus non det relevium, nec faciat nobis aliud servitium quam faceret baroni si baronia illa esset in manu baronis, et nos eodem modo eam tenebimus quo baro eam tenuit.

LII. Homines qui manent extra forestam non veniant de cetero coram justiciariis nostris de foresta per communes summonitiones, nisi sint in placito, vel pleggii alicujus vel aliquorum qui attachiati sint pro foresta.

LIII. Nos non faciemus justiciarios, constabularios, vicecomites, vel ballivos, nisi de talibus qui sciant legem regni, et eam bene velint observare.

LIV. Omnes barones qui fundaverunt abbatias unde habent cartas regum Anglie, vel antiquam tenuram, habeant earum custodiam cum vacaverint, sicut habere debent.

LV. Omnes foreste que afforestate sunt tempore nostro, statim deafforestentur, et ita fiat de ripariis que per nos tempore nostro posite sunt in defenso.

LVI. Omnes male consuetudines de forestis, warennis, et de forestariis et warennariis, vicecomitibus, et eorum ministris, ripariis et earum custodibus statim inquirantur in quolibet comitatu per duodecim milites juratos de eodem comitatu, qui debent eligi per probos homines ejusdem comitatus, et infra quadraginta dies post inquisitionem factam, penitus, ita quod nunquam revocentur, deleantur per eosdem ita quod nos hoc sciamus prius vel justiciarius noster si in Anglia non fuerimus.

LVII. Omnes obsides et cartas statim reddemus que liberate fuerunt nobis ab Anglicis in securitatem pacis, vel fidelis servitii.

LVIII. Nos amovebimus penitus de balliviis parentes Gerardi de Athyes, quod de cetero nullam habeant balliviam in Anglia; Engelardum de Cygony, Andreum, Petrum, et Gyonem de Cancell, Gyonem de Cygony, Galfridum de Martyni, et fratres ejus, Philippum Markum et fratres ejus, et Galfridum, nepotem ejus, et totam sequelam eorundem.

LIX. Et statim post pacis reformationem, amovebimus de regno, omnes alienigenas milites, balistarios, servientes stipendarios, qui venerint cum equis et armis ad nocumentum regni.

LX. Si quis fuerit dissesitus, vel elongatus per nos, sine legali judicio parium suorum, de terris, castellis, libertatibus, vel jure suo, statim ea ei restituemus; et si contentio super hoc orta fuerit, tunc inde fiat per judicium viginti quinque baronum, de quibus fit mentio inferius in securitate pacis.

LXI. De

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ciary, how our own merchants who may be found at the same time in the nation at war with us, are treated; and if ours be safe there, others shall be safe in our country.

L. It shall be henceforth lawful for any man to go out of our kingdom, and to return safely and securely, by land or by water, saving his allegiance to us; except for some short space, in time of war, for the common benefit of the kingdom; except such as are either imprisoned or outlawed by the law of the land, such as belong to the nation at war with us, and except merchants, who shall be treated in manner aforesaid.

LI. If any one shall hold of any Escheat, as of the honour of Wallingford, Nottingham, Boulogne, Lancaster, or of other Escheats which are in our hands, and are baronies, and he shall die, his heir shall not give any other relief, nor perform any other service to us than he would to the baron, if the barony were in the hands of the baron; and we will hold it in the same manner in which the baron held it.

LII. Men who dwell without the forest, shall not, in future, be obliged to appear before our justiciaries of the forest, on a common summons, unless they be parties in a plea, or sureties for some person or persons who are attached for the forest.

LIII. We will not make any men justiciaries, constables, sheriffs or bailiffs, but such as are well acquainted with the law of the land, and are truly disposed to observe it.

LIV. All Barons who have founded abbies, of which they have charters of the Kings of England, or ancient tenure, shall have the custody of them, when vacant, as they ought to have.

LV. All forests that have been inclosed in our time, shall be immediately laid open; and all embankments that have been raised in our time, for the purpose of inclosing rivers, shall be taken away.

LVI. All evil customs concerning forests and warrens, and foresters and warrenners, sheriffs and their officers, water-banks and their keepers, shall immediately be enquired into, in every county, by twelve knights of the same county, who shall be chosen by the most creditable persons in the county; and within forty days after the inquisition is made, they shall be utterly abrogated by them, so as never to be renewed; provided that we are previously made acquainted therewith, or our justiciary if we should not be in the kingdom.

LVII. We will immediately deliver up all hostages and engagements that have been given us by our English subjects, as securities for their keeping the peace, and yielding us faithful service.

LVIII. We will entirely remove from our bailiwicks the relations of Gerard de Athyes, so as for the future they may have no bailiwick in England; also, Engelard de Cygony, Andrew, Peter and Gyon de Chancell, Gyon de Cygony, Geoffrey de Martin and his brothers, Philip Mark and his brothers, and Geoffrey, his grandson, and all their followers.

LIX. And immediately after the restoration of peace, we will send out of our kingdom all foreign knights, cross-bow men and stipendiary troops, who are arrived with horses and arms to the great molestation of the kingdom.

LX. If any one has been disseised or dispossessed by us, without the lawful judgment of his peers, of his lands, castles, liberties or rights, we will immediately cause them to be restored to him; and if any dispute shall arise thereupon, it shall be submitted to the decision of the five and twenty Barons mentioned below, for the preservation of the peace.

LXI. But

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LXI. De omnibus autem illis de quibus aliquis diſſeiſitus fuerit, vel elongatus, ſine legali judicio parium ſuorum per Henricum regem patrem noſtrum, vel per Ricardum regem fratrem noſtrum, que in manu noſtra habemus, vel que alii tenent, que nos oporteat warantizare, reſpectum habebimus uſque ad communem terminum crucesignatorum. Exceptis illis de quibus placitum motum fuit, vel inquiſitio facta per preceptum noſtrum, ante ſuſceptionem crucis noſtri, cum autem redierimus de peregrinatione noſtra, vel ſi forte remanſerimus a peregrinatione noſtra, ſtatim inde plenam juſticiam exhibebimus.

LXII. Eundem autem reſpectum habebimus, et eodem modo de juſticia exhibenda de foreſtis deafforeſtandis vel remanſuris foreſtis quas Henricus pater noſter vel Ricardus frater noſter afforeſtaverunt et de cuſtodiis terrarum que ſunt de alieno feodo, cujuſmodi cuſtodias huc uſque habuimus, occaſione feodi quod aliquis de nobis tenuit per ſervitium militare, et de abbatiis que fundate fuerint in feodo alterius quam noſtro, in quibus dominus feodi dixerit ſe jus habere; et cum redierimus, vel ſi remanſerimus a peregrinatione noſtra, ſuper hiis conquerentibus plenam juſticiam ſtatim exhibebimus.

LXIII. Nullus capiatur nec imprisonetur, propter appellum femine, de morte alterius quam viri ſui.

LXIV. Omnes fines, qui injuſte et contra legem terre facti ſunt nobiſcum, et omnia amerciamenta facta injuſte et contra legem terre, omnino condonentur, vel fiat inde per judicium viginti quinque baronum de quibus fit mentio inferius in ſecuritate pacis, vel per judicium majoris partis eorundem, una cum predicto Stephano Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo, ſi intereſſe poterit, et aliis quos ſecum ad hoc vocare voluerit; et ſi intereſſe non poterit, nichilominus procedat negotium ſine eo. Ita quod, ſi aliquis vel aliqui, de predictis viginti-quinque baronibus, fuerint in ſimili querela amoveantur, quantum ad hoc judicium, et alii loco illorum per reſiduos de eiſdem viginti quinque tantum ad hoc faciendum electi, et jurati ſubſtituantur.

LXV. Si nos diſſaiſivimus, vel elongavimus Walenſes de terris, vel libertatibus, vel rebus aliis, ſine legali judicio parium ſuorum, eis ſtatim reddantur; et ſi contentio ſuper hoc orta fuerit, tunc inde fiat in Marchia per judicium parium ſuorum; de tenementis Anglie, ſecundum legem Anglie; de tenementis Wallie, ſecundum legem Wallie; de tenementis Marchie, ſecundum legem Marchie: idem facient Walenſes nobis et noſtris.

LXVI. De omnibus autem illis de quibus aliquis Walenſium diſſaiſitus fuerit, vel elongatus, ſine legali judicio parium ſuorum, in Angl. vel in Wallia, per Henricum regem patrem noſtrum, vel Ricardum regem fratrem noſtrum, que nos in manu noſtra habemus, vel que alii tenent, que nos oporteat warantizare, reſpectum habebimus uſque ad communem terminum cruce-ſignatorum: illis exceptis de quibus placitum motum fuit vel inquiſitio facta per preceptum noſtrum, ante ſuſceptionem crucis noſtre; cum autem redierimus, vel ſi forte remanſerimus a peregrinatione noſtra, ſtatim eis inde plenam juſticiam exhibebimus, ſecundum leges Walenſium et partes predictas.

LXVII. Nos reddemus filium Lewelini

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LXI. But as to all thoſe things of which any one has been diſſeiſed or diſpoſſeſſed, without a legal verdict of his peers, by our father King Henry, or our brother King Richard, which we have in our own hands, or are poſſeſſed by others, and which we are bound to warrant and make good, we ſhall be allowed a reſpite, till the term uſually granted to the cruſaders; except thoſe concerning which a plea had been moved, or an inquiſition made, by our precept, before we aſſumed the croſs: but as ſoon as we ſhall return from our expedition, or if by chance we ſhould not undertake it, we will immediately do compleat juſtice in this reſpect.

LXII. And we ſhall have the ſame reſpite, and in the ſame manner, concerning the adminiſtration of juſtice, in diſforeſting, or ſuffering to continue as they are, thoſe foreſts which were made by our father Henry, or our brother Richard; and concerning the guardianſhip of lands which belong to the fee of another, but the guardianſhip of which we have hitherto enjoyed, on account of a fee held of us by knight's ſervice; and concerning abbies founded in any other fee than our own, in which the lord of the fee ſhall claim a right; and when we return from our expedition, or if we ſhould not undertake it, we will immediately do compleat juſtice to all complainants on theſe ſubjects.

LXIII. No man ſhall be apprehended or impriſoned on the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other man than her huſband.

LXIV. All fines and amerciaments impoſed unjuſtly or contrary to the law of the land, ſhall be entirely remitted, or elſe left to the deciſion of the five and twenty Barons hereafter mentioned, for the preſervation of the peace, or of the majority of them; together with the aforeſaid Stephen, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, if he can be preſent, and others who he may think proper to appoint for that purpoſe; and if he cannot be preſent, the buſineſs ſhall nevertheleſs proceed without him: but ſo, that if one or more of the aforeſaid five and twenty Barons be plaintiffs in a ſimilar cauſe, they ſhall be removed from that particular trial; and others, elected and ſworn by the reſidue of the ſaid twenty-five, ſhall be ſubſtituted in their room, for that trial only,

LXV. If we have diſſeiſed or diſpoſſeſſed the Welſh of any lands, liberties, or other things, without a legal verdict of their Peers, they ſhall be immediately reſtored to them; and if any diſpute ſhall ariſe on this head, let it be decided, in the *Marches*, by the verdict of their Peers; if the tenements be in England, according to the law of England; if the tenements be in Wales, according to the law of Wales; if the tenements be in the *Marches*, according to the law of the *Marches*. The ſame ſhall the Welſh do unto us and our ſubjects.

LXVI. But concerning thoſe things of which any Welſhman may have been diſſeiſed or diſpoſſeſſed, without a legal verdict of his Peers, in England or in Wales, by our father King Henry, or our brother King Richard, and which we either have in our hands or others are poſſeſſed of, and we are bound to warrant, we ſhall have the ſame reſpite as is generally allowed to the cruſaders; except thoſe concerning which a plea had been moved or inquiſition taken, before we aſſumed the croſs; but when we ſhall have returned from our expedition, or if by chance we ſhould not undertake it, then we will immediately render them compleat juſtice, according to the laws of the Welſh, and of the parts aforeſaid.

LXVII. We will immediately diſmiſs

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Lewelini ſtatim, et omnes obſides de Wallia, et cartas que nobis liberate fuerunt in ſecuritatem pacis.

LXVIII. Nos faciemus Alexandro regi Scottorum, de ſororibus ſuis et obſidibus reddendis, et libertatibus ſuis, et jure ſuo, ſecundum formam in qua faciemus aliis baronibus noſtris Anglie, niſi aliter eſſe debeat per cartas quas habemus de Willielmo patre ipſius, quondam rege Scottorum; et hoc erit per judicium parium ſuorum in curia noſtra.

LXIX. Omnes autem iſtas conſuetudines predictas, et libertates quas nos conceſſimus in regno noſtro tenendas, quantum ad nos pertinet erga noſtros omnes de regno noſtro, tam clerici quam laici obſervent, quantum ad ſe pertinet erga ſuos.

LXX. Cum autem pro Deo, et ad emendationem regni noſtri, et ad melius ſopiendam diſcordiam inter nos et barones noſtros ortam, hec omnia predicta conceſſerimus, volentes ea integra et firma ſtabilitate gaudere in perpetuum, facimus et concedimus eis ſecuritatem ſubſcriptam; videlicet, quod barones eligant viginti quinque barones de regno, quos voluerint, qui debeant pro totis viribus ſuis, obſervare, tenere, et facere obſervari, pacem et libertates quas eis conceſſimus, et hac preſenti carta noſtra confirmavimus. Ita ſcilicet quod ſi nos, vel juſticiarius noſter, vel ballivi noſtri, vel aliquis de miniſtris noſtris, in aliquo erga aliquem delinquerimus, vel aliquem articulorum pacis aut ſecuritatis tranſgreſſi fuerimus, et delictum oſtenſum fuerit quatuor baronibus de predictis viginti quinque baronibus, illi quatuor barones accedant ad nos, vel ad juſticiarium noſtrum ſi fuerimus extra regnum, proponentes nobis exceſſum, petent, ut exceſſum illum ſine dilatione faciamus emendari: et ſi nos exceſſum non emendaverimus, vel ſi fuerimus extra regnum juſticiarius noſter non emendaverit, infra tempus quadraginta dierum, computandum a tempore quo monſtratum fuerit nobis, vel juſticiario noſtro, ſi extra regnum fuerimus, predicti quatuor barones referant cauſam illam ad reſiduos de viginti quinque baronibus, et illi viginti quinque barones cum communa totius terre, diſtringent et gravabunt nos modis omnibus quibus poterunt, ſcilicet per captionem caſtrorum, terrarum, poſſeſſionum, et aliis modis quibus poterunt donec fuerit emendatum ſecundum arbitrium eorum; ſalva perſona noſtra, et regine noſtre, et liberorum noſtrorum, et cum fuerit emendatum intendent nobis ſicut prius fecerunt.

LXXI. Et quicunque voluerit de terra, juret, quod ad predicta omnia exequenda parebit mandatis predictorum viginti quinque baronum, et quod gravabit nos pro poſſe ſuo cum ipſis; et nos publice et libere damus licentiam jurandi cuilibet qui jurare voluerit, et nulli unquam jurare prohibebimus.

LXXII. Omnes autem illos de terra qui per ſe et ſponte ſua noluerint jurare viginti quinque baronibus de diſtringendo et gravando nos cum eis, faciemus jurare eoſdem de mandato noſtro, ſicut predictum eſt.

LXXIII. Et ſi aliquis de viginti quinque baronibus deceſſerit, vel a terra receſſerit, vel aliquo alio modo impeditus fuerit, quo minus iſta predicta

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diſmiſs the ſon of Lewelin, and all the Welſh hoſtages, and releaſe them from all the engagements they have entered into with us, for the preſervation of the peace.

LXVIII. We will treat with Alexander, King of Scots, concerning the reſtoration of his ſiſters and hoſtages, and concerning his liberties and rights, in the ſame form in which we ſhall treat with our Barons of England, unleſs by the engagements which his father William, the late King of Scots, entered into with us, it ought to be otherwiſe; and this ſhall be left to the determination of his Peers, in our court.

LXIX. And let all thoſe cuſtoms and liberties aforeſaid, which we have granted to be obſerved throughout our kingdom, in favour of our people, be likewiſe obſerved by all our ſubjects, as well clergy as laity, in favour of their dependents.

LXX. And whereas we have made all the aforeſaid conceſſions for the honour of God, and the amendment of our kingdom, and for the purpoſe of more eaſily quieting the diſcord that hath ariſen between us and our barons; being deſirous to endue them with a firm and unſhaken ſtability that may laſt for ever, we farther give and grant to them the following ſecurity; viz. That the barons may elect twenty-five barons of the realm, by their own free choice, who ſhall be careful, with their utmoſt power, to obſerve, hold, and to enforce the obſervance of, the peace and liberties which we have granted them, and which, by this our preſent charter, we have confirmed. So as that, if we, our juſticiary, our bailiffs, or any of our officers, ſhall have offended any perſon in any reſpect whatever, or ſhall have violated any one of the articles of peace or ſecurity, and the injury ſhall have been made known to four of the aforeſaid twenty-five barons, thoſe four barons ſhall come to us, or to our juſticiary if we are out of the realm, and declaring to us the exceſs committed, ſhall require us to afford redreſs without delay; and if it be not redreſſed by us, and we being out of the kingdom ſhould our juſticiary have neglected to redreſs it within the ſpace of forty days, reckoning from the time in which it was firſt made known to us, or we being out of the realm to our juſticiary, the four Barons aforeſaid ſhall refer the cauſe to the deciſion of the reſt of the five and twenty Barons; and the ſaid five and twenty Barons, with the community of the whole realm, ſhall diſtreſs and harraſs us by every poſſible means; viz. by ſeizing our caſtles, lands and poſſeſſions, and in any other manner they can till the grievance be redreſſed, according to their deciſion; ſaving our own perſon and the perſons of our queen and children; and when it ſhall have been redreſſed, they ſhall obey us as before.

LXXI. And any one of our ſubjects may ſwear that he will obey the orders of the five and twenty Barons aforeſaid in the execution of the premiſes herein contained, and that he will aſſiſt them in diſtreſſing us to the utmoſt of his power; and we give free and public liberty to every one to ſwear who ſhall be diſpoſed to ſwear, and we will hinder no man from ſwearing.

LXXII. And ſuch of our ſubjects as of themſelves, and of their own accord, are unwilling to ſwear that they will join the five and twenty Barons in diſtreſſing and harraſſing us, we will iſſue our commands to compel them to ſwear in manner aforeſaid.

LXXIII. And if any one of the five and twenty Barons ſhall die, or go out of the kingdom, or in any other way be prevented from proc[eeding]

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predicta poſſent exequi, qui reſidui fuerint de predictis viginti quinque baronibus, eligant alium loco ipſius, pro arbitrio ſuo, qui ſimili modo erit juratus quo et ceteri.

LXXIV. In omnibus autem, que iſtis viginti quinque baronibus committuntur exequenda, ſi forte ipſi viginti quinque preſentes fuerint, et inter ſe ſuper re aliqua diſcordaverint, vel aliqui ex eis ſummoniti, nolint, vel nequeant intereſſe, ratum habeatur et firmum, quod major pars eorum qui preſentes fuerint proviserit, vel preceperit, ac ſi omnes viginti quinque in hoc conſenſiſſent, et predicti viginti quinque jurent quod omnia antedicta fideliter obſervabunt, et pro toto poſſe ſuo facient obſervari.

LXXV. Et nos nichil impetrabimus ab aliquo, per nos, nec per alium, per quod aliqua iſtarum conceſſionum et libertatum revocetur vel minuatur, et ſi aliquid tale impetratum fuerit irritum ſit et inane; et numquam eo utemur per nos, nec per alium.

LXVI. Et omnes malas voluntates, indignationes, et rancores ortos inter nos et homines noſtros, clericos et laicos, a tempore diſcordie, plene omnibus remiſimus, et condonavimus. Preterea, omnes

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promoting the execution of the things above-mentioned, the reſt of the ſaid five and twenty Barons ſhall elect another in his room according to their pleaſure, who ſhall take the ſame oath as the reſt.

LXXIV. And in all things the execution of which is entruſted to theſe five and twenty Barons, if it ſo happen that all the twenty-five have been preſent, and have differed in their opinions about any thing; or if ſome of them who had been ſummoned, either ſhould not or could not be preſent, whatever is agreed upon and enjoined by the majority of thoſe who were preſent, ſhall be reputed as firm and as valid as if all the five and twenty had ſanctioned it with their conſent; and the aforeſaid five and twenty ſhall ſwear that they will faithfully obſerve, themſelves, all the things above mentioned, and enforce the obſervance of them by others to the utmoſt of their power.

LXXV. And we will not, by ourſelves or others, procure any thing to be done, whereby any of theſe conceſſions or liberties may be revoked or diminiſhed; and if any ſuch thing ſhall be obtained, let it be null and void; and we will never uſe it either by ourſelves or by any other.

LXXVI. And we have fully remitted and pardoned to all men, all the ill-will, reſentment and rancour, that have ariſen between us and our ſubjects, both clergy and laity, from the commencement

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tranſgreſſiones factas occaſione ejuſdem diſcordie, a Paſcha anno regni noſtri ſexto decimo, uſque ad pacem reformatam, plene remiſimus omnibus clericis et laicis, et quantum ad nos pertinet plene condonavimus.

LXXVII. Et inſuper, fecimus eis fieri litteras teſtimoniales patentes domini Stephani Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopi, domini Henrici Dublinienſis Archiepiſcopi, et epiſcoporum predictorum, et magiſtri Pandulfi, ſuper ſecuritate iſta, et conceſſionibus prefatis.

LXXVIII. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus, quod Anglicana eccleſia libera ſit, et quod homines in regno noſtro habeant, et teneant, omnes prefatas libertates, jura, et conceſſiones, bene et in pace, libere et quiete, plene et integre, ſibi et heredibus ſuis, de nobis et heredibus noſtris, in omnibus rebus et locis, in perpetuum, ſicut predictum eſt.

LXXIX. Juratum eſt autem tam ex parte noſtra; quam ex parte baronum, quod hec omnia ſupradicta, bona fide et ſine malo ingenio obſervabuntur.

Teſtibus ſupradictis, et multis aliis. Data per manum noſtram in prato quod vocatur Runingmede, inter Windeleſorum et Stanes, quinto decimo die Junii, anno regni noſtri ſeptimo decimo.

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of our diſſentions. Moreover, all tranſgreſſions committed on account of theſe diſſentions, from Eaſter, in the ſixteenth year of our reign, to the concluſion of the peace, we hereby fully remit to all men, as well clergy as laity; and, as far as in us lies, do fully forgive.

LXXVII. We have, moreover, cauſed to be made for them teſtimonial letters-patent of Stephen, Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury; Henry, Lord Archbiſhop of Dublin; and of the Biſhops aforeſaid; as alſo of Maſter Pandulf, for the ſecurity and conceſſions aforeſaid.

LXXVIII. Wherefore, it is our will, and we firmly command, that the Church of England be free; and that all men in our kingdom have and hold the aforeſaid liberties, rights and conceſſions, truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and entirely, to them and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and places, for ever, as aforeſaid.

LXXIX. It hath alſo been ſworn, as well on our part as on the part of the Barons, that all the things before-mentioned ſhall be faithfully and ſincerely obſerved, before the above-mentioned witneſſes, and many others.

Given under our hand, in the meadow which is called Runing-mead, between Windſor and Staines, this fifteenth day of June, in the ſeventeenth year of our reign.

The generous ſpirit of the Barons who extorted this important Charter from their ſovereign has been highly extolled by the generality of hiſtorians: but, while we hail with reverential awe the ſacred fabric itſelf, we dare not ſacrifice Truth at the ſhrine of Prejudice, by evincing our inſenſibility to the demerits of thoſe who raiſed it, in employing the courtly language of panegyric where impartiality demands cenſure. That the conduct of the Barons at this memorable criſis was influenced rather by ſelfiſh motives, that never find a reſidence in the boſom of true patriotiſm, than by a generous concern for the liberty of the ſubject, and the general good of the country, appears to us evident from the following circumſtances.

Henry the Firſt, in order to ſanction the excluſion of his elder brother Robert, had, as we have before obſerved, granted a charter of liberties to his ſubjects, which was renewed and confirmed by the ſucceeding monarchs; and, after enumerating thoſe rights and privileges which it tended to ſecure, expreſsly enjoined that they ſhould be extended from the Barons to their vaſſals, and ſo on to the loweſt claſs of freemen or freeholders. Had the Barons, therefore, been anxious to propagate that freedom they were ſo eager to enjoy, they would naturally have been willing to enforce, as far as lay in their power, an obſervance of the charter of Henry, by complying with the article in favour of their vaſſals. It could be but a feeble excuſe to aſſert that, as the charter had not been obſerved with reſpect to themſelves, they were not bound to extend it's advantages to others. Such a plea might, indeed, be offered with propriety by a ſtrenuous ſupporter of deſpotiſm; but could certainly never be ſeriouſly urged by a patriotic champion of liberty. This conſideration impels us to believe that, had the King's tyranny only affected the people, the Barons would have ſuffered him to exerciſe it with impunity: and, indeed, whoever conſiders with attention the uniform diſpoſition of the feudal nobles, as well in England as in other parts of Europe, will be compelled to acknowledge that, even under monarchs the moſt arbitrary, the weight of their oppreſſions was more ſeverely felt by the people in general than the rigours inflicted by the deſpot who filled the throne. But John, whoſe conduct was as weak as it was vicious, extended his ſeverities indiſcriminately to every claſs of his ſubjects: his rigorous enforcement of the feudal laws gave great diſpleaſure to the Barons; but their indignation was more powerfully excited by his regulations relative to the royal foreſts, by which they were deprived of their favourite diverſions—to them, probably, more intereſting than the welfare of their vaſſals. Theſe were injuries that were felt but ſlightly, if at all, by the grand body of the people; yet were they ſufficient to impel the Barons to thoſe ſucceſsful exertions, which the potent conſideration of reſcuing their country from a ſtate of the moſt abject ſlavery had proved inadequate to urge them to.

The truth of theſe obſervations muſt appear manifeſt from their inactivity during the daring attempts of the Pope on the independence of the kingdom; and their ſtill more degrading appeal to that aſpiring Pontiff, at the commencement of their conteſt with the King; in which, by acknowledging Innocent as their feudal lord, they became acceſſary to the diſgrace of their ſovereign, and voluntarily reſigned that liberty which they pretended to aſſert.

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Had their boſoms glowed with the generous flame of pure patriotiſm, they would, for a time at leaſt, have ſacrificed their private reſentment to the public good; and have endeavoured, even though their endeavours had been thwarted by the King himſelf, to oppoſe the unjuſt efforts of a foreign foe, whom they ſuffered to reduce their country to an ignominious dependence, before they attempted to redreſs the injuries themſelves had ſuſtained. Farther, had the *public* welfare been the principal object of their concern, in ſeventy-nine articles which this celebrated Charter contains, they would ſurely have inſerted more than one petty clauſe in favour of the moſt numerous body of men in the kingdom; that is, the villains, or all ſuch as were not freeholders, whoſe exemption from loſing, by fine, their carts, ploughs, and implements of huſbandry, was the ſole advantage they derived from a deed that ſhould have equally extended it's beneficent effects to all ranks, from the proudeſt noble to the meaneſt peaſant.

To ſecure the poſſeſſion of the privileges granted by this Charter—the grand baſis on which the preſent liberties of England were raiſed—the Barons obliged the King to agree that London ſhould remain in their hands, and the Tower be conſigned to the cuſtody of the Primate till the fifteenth of Auguſt enſuing, or till the final execution of the different articles. For the better enſurance of the ſame end, John allowed them to chuſe five and twenty members from their own body as conſervators of the Charter, who were ſuffered to enjoy an authority unlimited, both in extent and duration. The names of thoſe conſervators were, the Earls of Clare, Albemarle, Glouceſter, Wincheſter, Hereford; Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk; Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford; William Mareſchal the younger; Robert Fitz-Walter; Gilbert de Clare; Euſtace de Veſcey; Gilbert Delaval; William de Mowbray; Geoffrey de Say; Roger de Mombezon; William de Huntingfield; Robert de Ros, the Conſtable of Cheſter; William de Aubenie; Richard de Perci; William Malet; John Fitz-Robert; William de Lanvalay; Hugh de Bigod; and Roger de Montfichet. By this convention theſe noblemen were inveſted with the ſovereignty of the kingdom; they were rendered co-ordinate with the King, or rather ſuperior to him, in the exerciſe of the executive power; and, as there was no circumſtance of government which might not, directly or indirectly, be made to relate to the Grand Charter, there could ſcarcely occur any incident in which the interpoſition of their authority could incur the cenſure of illegality.

In conſequence of theſe conceſſions, a number of the nobility now applied to John for the reſtitution of lands, and the government of caſtles, which they claimed by hereditary right; and he accordingly appointed an inquiſition to inveſtigate the validity of their pretenſions: but, in the interim, he ceded the caſtle of Rocheſter to Archbiſhop Langton, as a government which anciently belonged to the ſee of Canterbury. He next iſſued writs, directed to the different Sheriffs, ordering them to conſtrain every one to ſwear obedience to the twenty-five Conſervators: he diſmiſſed all his foreign mercenaries, and took every neceſſary ſtep to promote the obſervance of the Charter. He alſo remitted all crimes and tranſgreſſions committed from the foregoing Eaſter to the concluſion of the treaty; while the Barons, on their part, renewed their homage to him, which they had publicly renounced at the commencement of the revolt.

The more caution the nobles had exerted to render their meaſures effective, the more impatient did their ſovereign become under the reſtrictions they had impoſed on him; and the more eager was his deſire to ſhake off thoſe diſgraceful fetters with which he had ſuffered himſelf to be ſhackled. His favourites, being moſtly foreigners, concurred in exaſperating his reſentment, by repreſenting the overbearing inſolence of the Barons, and the diſhonour of his ſubmiſſions, in terms of the moſt groſs exaggeration. His boſom glowed with revenge: but neither was his head capable of deviſing the means of effecting it; nor his heart endued with ſufficient vigour to put it in execution. He revolved a thouſand ſchemes for diſengaging himſelf from the net in which he was entangled; and, as no feaſible expedient occurred, he experienced all the bitterneſs of diſappointed rage. For the firſt time, he was conſcious of his own littleneſs: he grew ſullen, ſilent, and reſerved; he ſhunned the ſociety of his courtiers and nobles; and was overwhelmed with grief and melancholy.

In a ſhort time he retired, with a few confidential friends, to the Iſle of Wight, where he renewed his projects of revenge; and began to form ſome plauſive ſchemes for the recovery of thoſe prerogatives which he had been compelled to relinquiſh. With this view he diſpatched orders to all the commanders of his own caſtles to repair their fortifications, and amply ſupply them with proviſions. He likewiſe ſent emiſſaries to the continent to enliſt foreign ſoldiers, and to invite the rapacious Brabançons into his ſervice, by the proſpect of ſharing the ſpoils, and reaping the forfeitures of ſo many opulent Barons, who had incurred the guilt of rebellion by taking up arms againſt him. He diſpatched a meſſenger to Rome to lay the Great Charter before the Pope, and to complain of the violence he had ſuſtained in having been compelled to ſign it.

When the Charter was read to the ſovereign Pontiff, he expreſſed his higheſt reſentment at it's contents; and ſwore by St. Peter, that he would not ſuffer a monarch who bore the ſign of the Croſs, and was a vaſſal of the Holy See, to be treated in that ignominious manner with impunity. To put his threats in execution, he iſſued a bull, dated the twenty-fourth of Auguſt; in which, from the plenitude of his apoſtolic power, and from the authority which God had committed to him to build and deſtroy kingdoms, to plant and overthrow, he annulled and abrogated the whole Charter, as unjuſt in itſelf, as extorted by force, and as derogatory to the dignity of the Apoſtolic See: and in a ſecond bull, iſſued ſoon after, he prohibited the Barons from

from exacting the obſervance of it; he even forbade the King himſelf to pay the ſmalleſt regard to it; he abſolved him and his ſubjects from all oaths which they had been conſtrained to take to that purpoſe; and he pronounced a general ſentence of excommunication againſt every one who ſhould perſiſt in maintaining pretenſions ſo pregnant with treaſon and iniquity.

Theſe bulls were addreſſed to the Primate, who refuſed to publiſh them, on pretence that his Holineſs had been deceived by the miſrepreſentations of the King's emiſſaries: they were therefore publiſhed by Pandulf and the Biſhop of Rocheſter, the Pope's commiſſaries; who ſuſpended the Primate, in compliance with the orders they had received from the ſovereign Pontiff. Langton likewiſe received a ſummons to appear before Innocent, that he might attend a general council aſſembled at Rome, farther to anſwer for his diſobedience: he accordingly left the kingdom for that purpoſe, having previouſly delivered the caſtle of Rocheſter to William d'Albiney.

Though a new and particular ſentence of excommunication was iſſued againſt the principal revolters by name, and all their lands, together with the city of London, were laid under an interdict; John ſtill found that his nobility and people, and even his clergy, adhered to the defence of their liberties, and were faithful to the combination that was formed againſt him: he therefore could only hope for a reſtoration of his authority from the aſſiſtance of his foreign mercenaries.

After obtaining the Great Charter, the Barons appear to have been led into a dangerous ſecurity, and to have adopted no rational plans for reaſſembling their forces, in caſe of the arrival of a foreign army. The King was, from the firſt, maſter of the field; and immediately advanced to lay ſiege to the caſtle of Rocheſter, commanded by William d'Albiney, who defended it with great bravery for two months, though the garriſon conſiſted only of a hundred and forty knights, with their retainers. At the expiration of that time, their proviſions being totally exhauſted, they were compelled to ſubmit, and ſurrendered at diſcretion on the thirtieth of November. John, irritated at the vigorous reſiſtance he had experienced, and the conſiderable loſs he had ſuſtained during the ſiege, would have put the whole garriſon to the ſword; but, on the repreſentation of William de Mauleon, who ſuggeſted to him the danger of reprizals, he was perſuaded to deſiſt from a part of his barbarous intention; and contented himſelf with hanging all the common ſoldiers, except the croſs-bow-men, and ſending the reſt into captivity.

The loſs of William d'Albiney, indiſputably the beſt officer among the confederated Barons, proved irreparable; and no regular oppoſition was from that time made to the progreſs of the royal army. The rapacious mercenaries, incited by a cruel and vindictive monarch, laid waſte the eſtates, manors, houſes, and parks, of the Barons, and ſpread devaſtation over the whole kingdom. One continued ſcene of the moſt deplorable miſery every where preſented itſelf to the ſight: the flames of villages and caſtles reduced to aſhes; the conſternation and wretchedneſs of the inhabitants; tortures inflicted by the ſoldiery to enforce the revelation of concealed treaſures; and reprizals, equally barbarous, committed by the Barons and their partizans on the royal demeſnes, and on the eſtates of ſuch as ſtill adhered to the crown.

John marched through the whole extent of England, from Dover to the borders of Scotland, and deſolated the country as he advanced: while the nobility of the north, who had been moſt violent in their oppoſition, expecting no mercy, fled before him with their wives and families; and purchaſed the friendſhip of Alexander, the young King of Scots, into whoſe dominions they retired, by doing homage to him. John ſeized the caſtles of the fugitives, and ſecured them by ſtrong garriſons; while many of their ſeats, farms, villages, and towns, were delivered up to the fury of the troops, who firſt pillaged and then deſtroyed them. The towns of Milford, Morpeth, Alnwick, and Werk, were reduced to aſhes; and Roxburgh, Berwick, Haddington, and Dunbar, experienced the ſame fate, by the expreſs direction of the King, who gave the example himſelf, by ſetting fire with his own hand to every houſe in which he had lodged during this deſtructive and inglorious expedition.

Having thus deſolated a vaſt tract of land, and reduced all the caſtles belonging to the northern Barons, except one in Yorkſhire that belonged to Robert de Ros, he committed the government of the whole country between the Teeſe and the Tweed to Hugh de Baliol, and Philip de Hulcote, with a conſiderable body of forces to overawe the malcontents; and then marched to the borders of Wales, where he was equally ſucceſsful, and equally cruel.

The Barons, thus reduced to the verge of deſtruction—menaced with the total deprivation of thoſe rights and liberties they had been ſo anxious to ſecure—their eſtates ravaged, their lives in the moſt imminent danger—had recourſe to a remedy as deſperate as the evil it was intended to correct. They diſpatched their leader, Robert Fitz-Walter, together with Saker, Earl of Winton, to the court of France, with an offer to acknowledge Lewis, the eldeſt ſon of Philip, for their ſovereign, on condition that he would afford them protection from the violence of their enraged monarch. This was a meaſure that could only be juſtified on the principle of ſelf-preſervation: accordingly we are told, by Matthew Paris, that it was the offspring of Deſpair, which was ſo great, that the Barons, "in the bitterneſs of their ſouls, curſed both the King and the Pope." Their deſpair, it ſeems, did not deprive them of the powers of diſcrimination, as the objects of their maledictions evinced the wiſdom of their choice!

Philip moſt joyfully accepted an offer ſo flattering to his ambition; but, being ſenſible of the danger of entruſting his ſon and heir into the hands of men who might, in caſe of neceſſity, make peace with their lawful ſovereign by ſacrificing a pledge of ſo much value, he exacted from the Barons four and twenty hoſtages, according to Mezeray's account,

of the moſt noble birth in the kingdom: and, having obtained this ſecurity, he ſent them an immediate reinforcement of ſeven thouſand men, to enable them to make head againſt the King till his ſon could join them with a more conſiderable force, which was ordered to aſſemble without delay in the different ports of France.

The Pope being informed of Philip's intention, ſent Gualo as his legate to the French court, to menace him with interdicts and excommunications, if he dared to invade the patrimony of St. Peter, or attack a prince who was under the immediate protection of the Apoſtolic See: but the French monarch, being aſſured of the obedience of his own vaſſals, changed his principles with the times, and now held the papal cenſures in as great contempt as he formerly treated them with reſpect. He accordingly proceeded with the equipment of his armament; and the preparations were conducted with ſo much vigour, that Prince Lewis embarked his troops on board a fleet of ſix hundred ſail; and, arriving at the Iſle of Thanet, landed without oppoſition at Sandwich, on the twenty-third of May, in the year 1216. On his approach, John retired from Dover to Wincheſter, having left a ſtrong garriſon in the caſtle, under the command of Hubert de Burgh, a brave adherent, of approved fidelity.

In this retreat the King met the Pope's legate, juſt arrived from France, who publiſhed a ſentence of excommunication againſt Lewis by name, and againſt all his followers and abettors. Lewis had endeavoured to pacify the legate, and to avert theſe cenſures, by the employment of ſuch arguments as had been furniſhed him by the Engliſh Barons, which were in ſubſtance as follow—They affirmed that John was incapable of ſucceeding to the crown, by reaſon of the attainder paſſed upon him during the reign of his brother, though that attainder had been reverſed; and Richard had, even by his laſt will, declared him his ſucceſſor: they pretended that he was already legally depoſed, by the verdict of the French Peers, on account of the murder of Arthur; though the effect of that ſentence muſt neceſſarily have been confined to his continental dominions, which alone he held as a fief of the crown of France: they averred, with a greater degree of plauſibility, that he had effected his own depoſition by doing homage to the Pope, changing the nature of his ſovereignty, and reſigning an independent throne for a fee under a foreign power: and as Blanche of Caſtile, the wife of Lewis, was grand-daughter to Henry the Second, they maintained, though in the order of ſucceſſion many other princes had a preferable claim, that in chuſing her huſband for their ſovereign they ſtill adhered to the royal family.

Theſe arguments, however, having proved inſufficient to convince the legate, the cenſures were promulgated; and Lewis reſolved to bid defiance to the Pope. He marched immediately againſt the caſtle of Rocheſter, which he took on the thirtieth day of May; and then proceeded to London, where he arrived on the ſecond day of the following month, and was received with the loudeſt acclamations by the citizens, the barons, and their followers, who acknowledged him for their ſovereign, did homage to him, and exacted a promiſe, confirmed by an oath, that he would reſtore them to all their poſſeſſions, and protect them in all their privileges. Mezeray aſſerts, that Lewis was ſolemnly crowned King of England: but this aſſertion is evidently falſe; though he exerciſed the ſovereign authority under the title of *Domini Regis Franciæ Primogenitus*, granting charters for lands and honours; and created Langton, the Primate, his High-chancellor. This Prince ſaw the number of his partizans daily increaſe, while thoſe of John diminiſhed in proportion; for his foreign troops, being moſtly levied in Flanders and other provinces of France, refuſed to ſerve againſt the heir of their monarchy. The Gaſcons and Poictevins alone, who were ſtill John's ſubjects, adhered to his cauſe; but they were not ſufficiently ſtrong to maintain that ſuperiority in the field which they had hitherto ſupported againſt the confederated Barons: his caſtles, therefore, daily fell into the hands of the enemy; and Lewis, in a few months, had reduced all the ſouthern part of the kingdom, except Dover, which he inveſted on the twenty-ſecond of July. But this important fortreſs was defended with ſuch ſkill and bravery by the gallant Hubert de Burgh and a ſpirited garriſon, that he was repulſed in all his attacks with conſiderable loſs; and was ſo continually harraſſed by the well-conducted ſallies of the beſieged, that he ſwore, in a tranſport of rage, that he would not quit the place till he ſhould have taken the caſtle, and hanged all the garriſon: an oath as ill kept as it was raſhly taken!

While Lewis was waſting his time in this fruitleſs enterprize, John, having recruited his army, entered the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk; and committed dreadful devaſtations on the eſtates of the revolted Barons, ſome of whom now began to diſcover their error in claiming the protection of a prince who evinced a diſpoſition to oppreſs them. Lewis had imprudently afforded ſuch unequivocal proofs of his partiality to his own countrymen, and of his averſion to the Engliſh, that the Earl of Saliſbury, William Mareſchal, Walter Beauchamp, and many other nobles, who had joined him on his arrival, now deſerted him; and their defections alarmed him with ſuſpicions of the fidelity of thoſe that remained. Thus actuated by jealouſy and reſentment, he is ſaid to have formed a plan for the gratification of his revenge, which was diſcovered to the Barons by the Viſcount de Melun, one of his chief confidents. That nobleman being attacked at London by a dangerous diſorder, and his recovery deſpaired of, expreſſed a deſire of ſeeing ſome of the Engliſh Barons who were left in that capital; and told them, that he could not die in peace until he ſhould have diſcharged his conſcience by diſcovering an affair in which they were deeply intereſted. He then gave them to underſtand, that Lewis had reſolved to exterminate all the Engliſh nobles who had fought in his cauſe, ſince he conſidered them as traitors to their natural Prince, and could not, therefore, rely on their fidelity to himſelf; and it was his intention

intention to beſtow their eſtates and dignities on his native ſubjects, in whom he could repoſe a greater degree of confidence. This ſtory, which is related by Matthew Paris, whether true or falſe, was currently reported; obtained univerſal credit; and, as it correſponded with other circumſtances that rendered it credible, it proved greatly detrimental to the intereſts of Lewis, who was now threatened with a ſudden reverſe of fortune.

The King, having ravaged the lands of the revolted Barons in Norfolk, retired to Lynne-Regis, which was the general rendezvous of his forces; and aſſembling a numerous army, determined to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom, and hazard a deciſive battle. For this purpoſe he marched from Lynne; and in paſſing to Lincolnſhire, his road laying along the ſea-ſide, which was overflowed at high water, he choſe ſo improper a time for his journey, that he was overtaken by the tide, and loſt all his carriages, treaſure, baggage, and regalia. His grief for this diſaſter, joined to his anxiety on account of the diſtracted ſtate of his affairs, threw him into a fever, which increaſed ſo faſt, that it was with great difficulty he could reach the caſtle of Newark; where he ſoon after died, on the nineteenth day of October, in the year 1216, which was the forty-ninth of his age, and the ſeventeenth of his reign.

To delineate the character of a monarch, in whoſe mind almoſt every vice that could degrade humanity by turns predominated, would be a taſk equally unpleaſing to the hiſtorian, and uſeleſs to the reader. That John failed in the diſcharge of the moſt eſſential duties of life, both as a man and a ſovereign, the various tranſactions of his reign too evidently demonſtrate; but his vices were ſo ſyſtematic and uniform, neither damped by misfortune, nor reſtrained by ſucceſs, that any attempt at diſcrimination would be vain, any comment ſuperfluous. Though ſimple truth, unaſſiſted by fiction, unadorned by prejudice, muſt have proved amply ſufficient to render this Prince an object of abhorrence to poſterity; yet ſome of the ancient writers—whoſe teſtimony ſhould ever be viewed with an eye of ſuſpicion, when liable to be biaſſed by eccleſiaſtical controverſies—have abſurdly endeavoured to increaſe that deteſtation, incurred by the commiſſion of crimes, by relating the moſt improbable inſtances of his folly and weakneſs. Among other tales of a ſimilar ſtamp, we are told by Matthew Paris, with a degree of confidence that is generally deemed neceſſary to enforce credit to the moſt palpable deviations from veracity, that John ſent an embaſſy to the Miramoulin, or Emperor of Morocco, with an offer to purchaſe his protection by changing his religion, and acknowledging him for his ſuperior lord.

The monks of thoſe times, whoſe ideas of orthodoxy, it muſt be confeſſed, were as ſingular as their religious practices, adduce the following inſtance of John's impiety as a proof that he was an Atheiſt. Having once caught a very fat ſtag, he exclaimed—"How plump and well-fed the animal is! and yet, "I dare ſwear, he never heard maſs!" This ſally of wit on the uſual corpulency of the prieſts was never forgiven by the eccleſiaſtical writers; and ſeems to have exaſperated them more than the moſt ſerious crimes he had committed.

Beſides numerous illegitimate children, John left, by his conſort, Iſabella of Angouleſme, two legitimate ſons and three daughters: viz. Henry, born on the firſt of October, in the year 1207; and Richard, born on the ſixth of January, in the year 1209—Jane, afterwards married to Alexander, King of Scotland; Eleanor, firſt married to William Mareſchal the younger, Earl of Pembroke, and afterwards to Simon Mountford, Earl of Leiceſter; and Iſabella, married to the Emperor, Frederic the Second.

It was in the ninth year of this reign that the city of London firſt obtained, by charter, the right of electing annually a Mayor out of it's own body corporate; an office hitherto held for life. This monarch alſo granted to the citizens the power of electing and removing their Sheriffs at pleaſure, and their Common-councilmen yearly. John likewiſe accorded to the Cinque-Ports thoſe peculiar privileges of which they ſtill remain poſſeſſed.

London Bridge, compoſed of ſtone, was finiſhed in this reign. The former one was of wood.

To trace the progreſs of the Arts and Sciences with the minute accuracy of a chronologiſt, would lead to the tranſgreſſion of thoſe bounds which the plan of our Hiſtory has compelled us to preſcribe to ourſelves; and which we are the leſs inclined to exceed, as general remarks will be amply ſufficient to convey adequate ideas of their influence on the manners and characters of men.

Though, in the period we have been delineating, Science had begun to emerge from that obſcurity in which it had been involved during the middle ages, the circumſcribed circle of it's votaries prevented any material extenſion of it's influence. Learning was ſtill confined to the clergy; though the ignorance of the laity was rather owing to the taſte and manners of the age than to the want of opportunity for the acquiſition of knowledge; as, excluſive of the univerſities and other important ſeminaries, there was not a city or town in the kingdom but had it's ſchools, in which youth were inſtructed, not only in reading, writing, and grammar, but in rhetoric, logic, and other ſuperior branches of literature. The modes of improvement in the art of Diſputation, practiſed by the pupils of thoſe days, bear ſo ſtriking a reſemblance to the moſt celebrated modern theatres for the diſplay of oratorical abilities, that the following ſhort account of them, taken from Fitz-Stephens, a contemporary writer, cannot prove unacceptable to the reader.

"On holidays," ſays that author, "it is uſual "for theſe ſchools to hold public aſſemblies in the "churches, in which the ſcholars engage in de-"monſtrative or logical diſputations: ſome em-"ploying enthymemes; others, perfect ſyllogiſms.

"The

" The ſole object of many of them is to obtain the " victory, and make an oſtentatious diſplay of their " acuteneſs; while others aim at the inveſtigation " of truth. Artful ſophiſts, on theſe occaſions, ac- " quire great applauſe: ſome by a wonderful co- " piouſneſs and fluency of expreſſion; others, by " gilding the moſt fallacious arguments with the " moſt ſpecious embelliſhments. When the diſ- " putations are finiſhed, another claſs of ſcholars " deliver rhetorical declamations, in which every " rule of art is carefully preſerved, and no topic of " perſuaſion neglected."

But the revival of Literature in this period, as well in England as in other European countries, was generally attempted by perſons who had received inſtruction, or derived their principles of Science, either from the Greeks in the Eaſtern Empire, or from the Arabians in Spain and Africa. Both theſe people, as an elegant and profound hiſtorian has juſtly obſerved, being acute and inquiſitive to exceſs, corrupted thoſe ſciences which they cultivated: the former rendered theology a ſyſtem of ſpeculative refinement, or of endleſs controverſy; the latter communicated to philoſophy a ſpirit of metaphyſical and frivolous ſubtlety. Miſled by theſe fallacious guides, the perſons who firſt applied to ſcience were involved in a maze of intricate enquiries. Inſtead of allowing their fancy to take it's natural range, and to produce ſuch works of invention as might have improved their taſte and refined their ſentiments, they were fettered by authority, they were led aſtray by example, and waſted the whole force of their genius in ſpeculations equally unavailing and difficult.

Having imbibed this ſpirit, they were continually employed, either in the penetration of myſteries, and the deciſion of queſtions, to the ſolution or even comprehenſion of which the limited faculties of the human mind are utterly inadequate; or elſe in the examination of ſubjects which reaſon could not ſtoop to inveſtigate without degradation. Among the ſublime and incomprehenſible objects of their enquiries, Peter of Blois mentions *the ſubſtantial form of ſounds*; and *the eſſence of univerſals*. As a proof that they were likewiſe addicted to the oppoſite extreme, we are told by John of Saliſbury, that the following queſtion, among others of equal *importance*, was frequently agitated with infinite warmth, viz. " When a hog is taken to market with a rope " tied about it's neck, which is held at one end by " a man, whether is the hog taken to market by " the rope, or by the man?"

The following paſſage, which we have extracted from the Topography of Ireland, written by Giraldus Cambrenſis, who was ſent into that country by his royal patron, Henry the Second, will afford a ſufficient proof, though thouſands equally ſtrong might be adduced, that the writers of thoſe days were more anxious to excite wonder than to inculcate truth:—" As St. Kewen was one day praying, " with both his hands uplifted towards Heaven, at " the window of his chamber, a ſwallow laid an " egg in one of them; and ſuch was the patience " and good-nature of the ſaint, that he neither " drew in nor cloſed his hands till the ſwallow had " compleatly built her neſt, laid the reſt of her " eggs, and hatched them. To preſerve the re- " membrance of this fact, every ſtatue of St. " Kewen, in Ireland, hath a ſwallow in one of it's " hands."

The ſame ſpirit of ſubtlety which diſtinguiſhed the philoſophical writings and diſputations of this age, extended it's pernicious effects to divinity, and produced that ſcholaſtic theology which degraded the ſchools with it's infinite train of daring diſquiſitions and abſurd diſtinctions, which are not the object of human reaſon. When the divines compoſed commentaries on the Scriptures, it was not with the view of illuſtrating the important truths they contain, but merely to extract from them certain myſtical or allegorical ſenſes, which tended to perplex, and not to enlighten; and to form ſubjects for diſputation, ſome of which were not only uſeleſs, but impious; many of them tinctured with the groſſeſt obſcenity; and others ſo trifling and ridiculous, as to render thoſe who propoſed, and thoſe who diſcuſſed them, equal objects of contempt. Of the latter claſs, the following examples will ſuffice:—" Was Chriſt the ſame between his " Death and Reſurrection that he was before his " Death and after his Reſurrection?—Doth the " glorified body of Chriſt ſtand or ſit in heaven?— " Is the body of Chriſt, that is eaten in the ſacra- " ment, dreſſed or undreſſed?—Were the cloaths " in which Chriſt appeared to his diſciples real, or " only apparent?"

The various canons enacted, in different councils, by the Biſhops of Rome, for the purpoſe of governing that ſpiritual monarchy which their ambition had urged them to erect, formed an eſſential part of the ſtudy of Biſhops and their officials, as their deciſions, as Judges of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, were guided by thoſe laws. But it was not till after the publication of the Decretals of Gratian, about the middle of the twelfth century, that the Canon Law attained the rank of a ſcience, and was taught and ſtudied in the ſchools. It's ſtudents and practitioners were ſpeedily infected with the ſame corruption that pervaded every other branch of ſcience, as may be ſeen by the aſſertion of Peter de Blois, who thus ſpeaks of them:—" It is the " chief ſtudy of the eccleſiaſtical Judges of our " days, to multiply litigations, to invent delays, " to invalidate contracts, to ſuppreſs truth, to en- " courage falſhood, to increaſe extortions, and, in " a word, to confound all law and juſtice, by their " quirks and ſubtleties."

Medicine, which had hitherto been practiſed as an art, now began to be ſtudied as a ſcience: but, though the profeſſors of it ſeem to have been perfectly ſatisfied with their own abilities, it does not appear that their knowledge was equal to their vanity. The ſtate of Medicine at this period may be more accurately known by the following paſſage from John of Saliſbury, one of the moſt learned and ingenious men of the twelfth century, than by the moſt ample diſſertation of any modern author:— " The profeſſors of the theory of Medicine are

" very

" very communicative: they will tell you all they " know; and, perhaps, through exceſs of kindneſs, " a little more. You may learn from them the " nature of things in general; the cauſes of ſick- " neſs and of health; how to baniſh the one, and " to preſerve the other: for they can do both at " pleaſure. They will deſcribe to you, with won- " derful minuteneſs, the origin, the beginning, the " progreſs, and the cure, of all diſeaſes. In ſhort, " I am charmed with their harangues: I think " them equal to Mercury and Eſculapius; and al- " moſt perſuade myſelf that they are able to raiſe " the dead. There is but one thing that ſtaggers " me: their theories are as directly oppoſite to one " another as light and darkneſs. This idea cannot " but create doubts: two contradictory propoſitions " cannot be true. But what ſhall I ſay of the " practical phyſicians? I muſt ſay nothing to offend " them; ſince it pleaſeth God, for the puniſhment " of my ſins, to ſuffer me to fall too frequently " into their hands. They muſt be ſoothed, and " not exaſperated. That I may not experience too " rough treatment in my next illneſs, I dare ſcarcely " allow myſelf to think in ſecret what others ſpeak " aloud." In another work, written at a ſubſe- quent period, and probably at a time when he en- joyed a better ſtate of health, he ſpeaks with greater freedom of the medical practitioners—" They ſoon " return from college, full of flimſy theories, to " practiſe what they have learned. Galen and Hip- " pocrates are continually in their mouths. They " ſpeak aphoriſms on every ſubject; and inſpire " their audience with wonder by their long, techni- " cal, high-ſounding words. The good people " believe that they can do any thing, becauſe they " lay claim to univerſal knowledge. They have " but two maxims which they hold inviolate:— " Never regard the poor—Never refuſe money " from the rich."

There were three circumſtances which appear to have contributed to the revival of learning at this period: The acceſſion of the Norman Princes to the Engliſh throne, who were themſelves ſcholars, and to whoſe court the moſt learned men on the continent repaired, diffuſing, by their example and inſtruction, a love and knowledge of letters—the increaſe of monaſteries in England, which aug- mented the number both of teachers and ſtudents; multiplied the inducements to purſue, and the op- portunities to acquire, knowledge; and rendered books more common and eaſy of attainment than they had been at any former period—and, laſtly, the art of making paper, which was invented about this time, and conſiderably decreaſed the value of books, and promoted their circulation.

The introduction of the Normans into England proved as favourable to the promotion of the Arts as to the culture of the Sciences. Agriculture, which from it's extenſive utility claims particular attention, was conſiderably improved by the im- portation of many thouſands of huſbandmen from the fertile and well-cultivated plains of Flanders, France, and Normandy; who, having obtained lands in this iſland, employed the ſame modes of cultivation which they had ſucceſsfully uſed in their native countries. Nor did the proud Barons of thoſe times diſdain to ſuperintend the improvement of their eſtates: ſome of them are even celebrated in hiſtory for their ſkill in agriculture. But the Nor- man clergy, and the monks in particular, paid ſtill greater attention to this neceſſary art; and the lands of the church, eſpecially thoſe of the convents, were diſtinguiſhed for their ſuperior cultivation: for the monks of every monaſtery retained ſuch of their lands as were moſt conveniently ſituated in their own poſſeſſion, and cultivated them with great care, under their own immediate inſpection, and fre- quently with their own hands. Indeed, the cuſtom of aſſiſting in the practice of agriculture was ſo pre- valent with the monks at this period, eſpecially in ſeed and harveſt times, that the famous Thomas à Becket, after he was promoted to the ſee of Can- terbury, uſed frequently to repair to the fields, ac- companied by the monks of the monaſteries where he happened to reſide, and aſſiſt them in reaping their corn and making their hay.

That the protection and encouragement of all who were employed in agriculture was an object of attention to the church, appears from the twenty- ſixth canon of the general Council of Lateran, held in the year 1179; by which it was decreed, " That " all preſbyters, clerks, monks, converts, pilgrims, " and peaſants, when they are engaged in the la- " bours of huſbandry, together with the cattle that " draw their ploughs, and the ſeed which they " carry into the field, ſhall enjoy perfect ſecurity; " and that all who moleſt or interrupt them, if they " do not deſiſt when they have been admoniſhed, " ſhall be excommunicated."

Gardening, too, in all it's various branches, ap- pears to have been cultivated with peculiar aſſiduity by the Normans. William of Malmſbury tells us, that the Vale of Glouceſter produced great quan- tities of the fineſt fruits; and that it was thickly planted with vineyards that yielded grapes in the greateſt abundance, and of the ſweeteſt taſte, of which wine was made little inferior in flavour to the wines of France.

Architecture received great improvement during this period, owing to the univerſal rage for building which prevailed throughout the kingdom in the twelfth century, when great numbers of churches and monaſteries were erected in all parts of the iſland. The ſacred architecture of the Anglo- Normans, which at the commencement of this pe- riod ſtrongly reſembled, in ſtyle and manner, that of the Anglo-Saxons, yielded by degrees to ſtruc- tures more airy, elevated, and embelliſhed, which led to that bold magnificent ſtyle of building de- nominated, for what reaſon we know not, *The later Gothic*. This mode of architecture, which with ſome variations flouriſhed more than three centuries, produced many ſtupendous edifices, which are ſtill viewed with pleaſure and admiration. Many of theſe magnificent ſtructures, being built with ſtones brought from the quarries near Caen, in Lower Normandy, muſt have been attended with an im- menſe expence.

This improvement in Architecture did not, however, affect the habitations of the lower claſs of people, who were extremely depreſſed in the times we are now delineating. Even in the metropolis, all the houſes inhabited by mechanics and common burgeſſes were built of wood, and covered either with ſtraw or reeds, towards the concluſion of the twelfth century: but the palaces or caſtles of the Norman Kings, Barons, and Prelates, were materially different from the reſidences of perſons of the ſame rank among the Saxons. Indeed, they were prompted to the erection of fortified caſtles, not only by the cuſtom of their native country, but by the more potent conſideration of perſonal ſafety, ariſing from their dangerous ſituation in this iſland, where they were ſurrounded by multitudes, whoſe abhorrence they had juſtly incurred by plunder and oppreſſion. William the Firſt was ſenſible that the want of fortified places in England had greatly promoted his conqueſt, and might poſſibly facilitate his expulſion; he therefore haſtened to remedy this important defect, by building caſtles of great ſtrength and magnificence in all the towns within the royal demeſnes. This example was ſoon followed by his nobles; and the firſt care of every perſon who received the grant of an eſtate from the crown, was to erect a caſtle for it's defence. This ſpirit of building fortreſſes was maintained by the diſputes about the ſucceſſion in the ſubſequent reigns; and increaſed to ſuch a degree during the turbulent reign of Stephen, that we are told by the author of the Saxon Chronicle, that the poor people were worn out with the toil of theſe buildings, and the whole kingdom was covered with caſtles: an expreſſion that will not appear exaggerated, when we are informed that, in the ſhort ſpace of nineteen years, from the year 1135 to 1154, no fewer than eleven hundred and fifteen caſtles were raiſed from the foundation, excluſive of thoſe that had been erected before that time.

The following deſcription of one of theſe abodes of feudal tyranny, chiefly taken from Mr. Groſſe's Antiquities of England and Wales, will convey an adequate idea of their ſtrength and ſtructure—It was generally ſituated on an eminence, and near to a river: the whole ſite of the caſtle, which was frequently of great extent and irregular figure, was ſurrounded by a broad ditch, ſometimes filled with water, and ſometimes dry, called the *Foſſé*. Before the great gate was an outwork, called a *Barbacan*, or *Antemural*, which conſiſted of a ſtrong high wall, provided with turrets, for the defence of the gate and draw-bridge. On the inſide of the foſſé ſtood the wall of the caſtle, about eight or ten feet thick, and between twenty and thirty feet high, with a parapet, and a ſpecies of embraſures, called *Crennels*, on the top. On this wall, at equal diſtances, were erected ſquare towers, two or three ſtories high, in which ſome of the principal officers of the caſtle generally reſided; and, on the inſide, apartments were built for the common ſervants or retainers of the proprietor; beſides granaries, ſtore-houſes, and other neceſſary offices. On the top of this wall, and on the flat roofs of theſe buildings, ſtood the defenders of the caſtle when it was beſieged, and from thence diſcharged arrows, darts, and ſtones, on the aſſailants. In this wall alſo was placed the great gate of the caſtle, protected by a tower on each ſide, and rooms over the entrance, which was cloſed with thick folding-doors made of oak, often plated with iron, and defended by an iron portcullis, or grate, let down from above. Within this outward wall was a large open ſpace or court, called the *Outer Bayle*, or *Ballium*, in which a church or chapel commonly ſtood. Within this outer bayle was another ditch, wall, gate, and towers, incloſing the *Inner Bayle*, or court; within which the chief tower, or *Keep*, was built. This was a ſpacious ſquare fabric, four or five ſtories high, the walls of which were of a prodigious thickneſs, and the windows extremely ſmall, which rendered the apartments dark and gloomy. This grand tower was the manſion of the proprietor, and the reſidence of the conſtable, or governor. As beneath it were dark, diſmal vaults, for the purpoſe of confining priſoners, it was ſometimes called the *Dungeon*. In this building alſo was the great hall, in which the lord of the caſtle diſplayed his hoſpitality. At one end of the hall was a place ſomewhat elevated above the floor, called the *Dais*, where the chief table was placed, at which ſate perſons of the higheſt rank.

The arts of refining and working Metals, which are of ſuch extenſive utility both intrinſic and relative, were highly improved in the preſent period. The art of making defenſive armour, in particular, had arrived at ſuch perfection, that a Knight, compleatly armed, was deemed almoſt invulnerable. But the artiſts who wrought in the more precious metals of gold and ſilver, had attained to a ſtill greater degree of excellence, as appears from the poſitive teſtimony of contemporary writers, and from the deſcription of ſome of their productions.

The importation of a conſiderable number of cloth-manufacturers from Flanders tended greatly to promote the improvement of the different Clothing arts; for the encouragement whereof, the weavers in all the principal towns were formed into gilds, or corporations; and had various privileges beſtowed upon them by royal charters, for which they paid certain fines into the Exchequer.

It is almoſt ſuperfluous to obſerve, that the art of War was an object of univerſal attention in this martial age: but there was a conſiderable defect in the military ſyſtem, owing to the feudal regulations, which were highly ſubverſive of diſcipline and ſubordination, as they gave to every Earl the command of the troops of his own county, and to every Baron thoſe of his barony; by which means ſuch important commands, being hereditary, were frequently entruſted to perſons wholly unqualified to hold them. "In our time," ſays a contemporary hiſtorian, "military ſkill and diſcipline have much "declined, and are indeed almoſt totally deſtroyed, "becauſe many poſſeſs the higheſt offices without "having paſſed through the ſubaltern degrees; who "are proud, indeed, of their commands and titles, "but deſpiſe the moſt neceſſary qualifications. "Young men, who are gameſters, hunters, hawkers,

"and

" and even fools by nature, who have never handled " arms, or acquired any knowledge of the art of " war, take upon them to act the part of gene- " rals."

The progreſs of the Engliſh, at this period, in the Fine Arts, appears to have been equal to their more uſeful improvements. Sculpture has in all ages attracted the particular attention of a people inclined to idolatry, and endued with wealth; and as the inhabitants of England were at this time much addicted to a ſuperſtitious veneration for the images of ſaints, they were ſedulous in the cultivation of it: every church had an image of it's patron ſaint; and the cathedrals were abſolutely crouded with theſe inanimate objects of fanatical adoration.

Painting, hiſtorical, portrait, and ornamental, was as much cultivated as Sculpture, as well for religious purpoſes as for thoſe of vanity and oſtentation. We are told by Henry the Second's Chaplain, Peter de Blois, Archdeacon of Bath, that the great Barons and chief officers of his time had their ſhields and ſaddles ornamented with the repreſentations of battles. " They carry ſhields into the field," ſays that author, " ſo richly gilded, that they preſent the " enemy with a proſpect of booty rather than of " danger; and they return with them untouched; " and, as I may ſay, in a virgin ſtate. They alſo " cauſe their ſhields and ſaddles to be decorated with " repreſentations of battles and equeſtrian combats, " that they may pleaſe their imaginations with the " contemplation of ſcenes in which they are averſe " to engage."

The art of Painting Glaſs, it is imagined, was introduced into England in the reign of King John; but this is a conjecture, rather founded on the circumſtance of it's being practiſed in France at that time than ſupported by tradition. There was another kind of Painting, however, that was certainly practiſed in this country during that period: this was called *illuminating*—from whence *limning* is derived—and was chiefly uſed in the illuſtration and embelliſhment of the Bible and other books.

As the Normans were more learned than the Anglo-Saxons, and not leſs devoted to the Muſes, the delightful art of Poetry was cultivated with equal ardour, and greater ſucceſs, in this than in the former period. Though the vernacular language of England was in ſuch a ſtate of imperfection as not only to render it improper for the ſublimer ſtrains of Poetry, but even to be deemed unfit for the purpoſes of teaching the ſciences, maintaining an epiſtolary correſpondence, or for proſaic compoſitions; yet, ſo prevalent was the *Furor Poeticus*, that a prodigious number of poems, on various ſubjects, were compoſed in that crude and unformed tongue. The minſtrels had a ſet of ſongs on religious ſubjects, which they ſang to their harps in the courts of Kings, and in the halls of Barons, on Sundays, inſtead of thoſe on love and war, which they ſang on other days.

The Poets of this age ſeem to have indulged themſelves in ſatire, as well perſonal as general; though they muſt have exerciſed their wit at the riſque of their lives, as appears from an incident which occurred in the reign of Henry the Firſt; who, in the year 1124, ſentenced one Luke de Barra to loſe his eyes, for having written defamatory ballads againſt him: and, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous interceſſion of the Count of Flanders, the ſentence was executed with ſuch rigour, that the unfortunate Poet died in conſequence of the wounds he received.

But though the monarchs and nobles of thoſe times were thus impatient of ſatire, they were not averſe to the courtly ſtrains of panegyric. The celebrated William Longchamp, Biſhop of Ely, Chancellor and Chief Juſticiary of England, the Pope's Legate, and chief favourite of Richard the Firſt, is ſaid to have kept a number of Poets in his pay to compoſe ſongs and poems in his praiſe; and to have allured the beſt ſingers and minſtrels, by conſiderable preſents, to come from the continent, and ſing theſe compoſitions in the ſtreets of the different cities of England.

But ſome of the beſt poems of theſe times were written in the Latin language, which the imperfection of the Engliſh had rendered extremely prevalent. Some fragments of theſe may be ſeen in Camden's Remains, which in elegance and harmony may juſtly vie with the moſt poliſhed productions of the Auguſtan Age.

The language which the Normans imported into England was that which was called *Lingua Romana*, or the Romance Language, which was the vulgar tongue of all the provinces of France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was in this language—a baſe corruption of the Latin, which had itſelf ſuperſeded the Celtic of the ancient Gauls, at the time when the Roman arms had made a conqueſt of their country, and from whence the French is derived—that many metrical romances were compoſed by the Poets of France and Normandy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and it was from the language in which they were written, rather than from the extravagant fables which they commonly contained, that theſe compoſitions received the denomination of Romances.

The Provençal Poets were juſtly celebrated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in moſt of the countries in Europe: they were called *Troubadours*, or *Finders*, from the fertility of their invention; and were, in fact, the fathers of modern Poetry. No bards ever received greater encouragement or protection: they were invited to the courts of the greateſt princes, where they were equally reſpected by the brave and the fair, as they celebrated the atchievements of the one, and the charms of the other. So flattering was the applauſe they attracted, that ſeveral crowned heads devoted their leiſure hours to the Muſes, became Troubadours, and compoſed poems in the Provençal language, which was then the moſt perfect of all the modern European languages. Richard the Firſt was one of theſe royal Poets; ſome of whoſe poems, in the Provençal tongue, are ſtill extant; and one of them has been publiſhed in the firſt volume of Mr. Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors of England.

In

In times when Poetry was ſo much eſteemed and cultivated, we may be ſure that Muſic could not be neglected; particularly, as theſe two arts were much more intimately connected in thoſe days than they are at preſent: for moſt of the poets of France and England, like the ancient bards of Gaul and Britain, were Muſicians, and ſang their verſes to the muſic of their harps. Theſe poetical Muſicians, known by the name of *Minſtrels*, were entertained in the courts and caſtles of Princes, Prelates, and Barons, who laviſhed on them a great part of their wealth. Matilda, conſort to Henry the Firſt, was ſo fond of Muſic and Poetry, and ſo profuſe in her gifts to their profeſſors and votaries, that ſhe expended almoſt the whole of her revenues upon them, and even oppreſſed her family in order to procure money to reward them for their labours. An art ſo highly cheriſhed, and ſo liberally rewarded, could not fail to flouriſh.

Sacred Muſic was likewiſe cultivated with equal ardour during this period; and many of the dignified clergy paid ſuch application to it as to become conſiderable proficients in this pleaſing art.

The invention of the Gamut, by an Italian monk named *Guido Aretine*, a native of Arezzo, about the year 1022, contributed in a great degree to increaſe the ardour of the clergy in their application to Muſic, by facilitating the acquiſition of muſical knowledge. This invention made a great noiſe in the church; and the author was thrice ſent for to Rome, to explain and teach it to the clergy of that metropolis. Aretine, in a letter to the Pope, affirms, that any perſon, by the aid of his invention, may make as great proficiency in Muſic, in one year, as he could before have made in ten. He inſinuates to his Holineſs, that he had been inſpired by Heaven with this happy thought, which had procured him an ample atonement for all his ſins, and ſecured the ſalvation of his ſoul.

The church-muſic of England did not long preſerve that grave and ſolemn ſtyle which was ſo peculiarly calculated to inſpire the mind with religious ſentiments: before the end of the twelfth century, it's primitive ſimplicity had degenerated into ſoftneſs and effeminacy. John of Saliſbury complains that this effeminate kind of church-muſic had even debaſed the dignity, and polluted the purity, of religious worſhip; that the ſweet modulations of the choriſters rather reſembled a concert of ſyrens than of men; that, by attending to their artificial ſounds, the ear loſt it's capacity of diſcrimination; and the mind, overpowered with ſweetneſs, was unable to decide on the merits of the performers, who, exceeding the bounds of moderation, were more apt to raiſe unhallowed paſſions in the hearts of men than to excite devout affections. If this deſcription be not groſsly exaggerated, though ſuch Muſic was highly improper for a place of worſhip, the ſkill of the compoſers, and abilities of the performers, muſt have been far from contemptible.

The Church Hiſtory of a great part of the preſent period being ſo intimately blended with the civil tranſactions of the different reigns, we have been under the neceſſity of relating them together, in order to preſerve the neceſſary connection of events.

We have ſeen that the tyrannical diſpoſition of the firſt William led him to extend his deſpotiſm to the Church; and that the moſt eminent of the Engliſh clergy were deprived of their dignities, which were beſtowed on his own countrymen.

After the depoſition of Stigand, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and of the other Engliſh Prelates, in a council held at Wincheſter, in the year 1070, Lanfranc, Abbot of Caen, was raiſed to the Primacy; and Thomas, Canon of Bayeux, was promoted to the Archbiſhopric of York. Theſe two Prelates, however, did not long preſerve that harmony which it was natural to ſuppoſe the gratification of their wiſhes would have effectually promoted. When Thomas, Elect of York, came to Canterbury to receive conſecration, Lanfranc, on the day appointed for the performance of that ceremony, demanded of him an oath and profeſſion of canonical obedience to himſelf and ſucceſſors, as Primates of all England; and Thomas, having peremptorily refuſed it, departed highly exaſperated at the demand, without being conſecrated. But Lanfranc having convinced the King and his council of the juſtice of his claim, Thomas was ordered to return, and ſo far to comply with it as to take the required oath, and make a profeſſion of obedience to Lanfranc, without mentioning his ſucceſſors.

In a journey which the two Archbiſhops made to Rome, in the ſubſequent year, for the purpoſe of receiving their palls, Thomas complained to the Pope of the ſubmiſſion he had been conſtrained, by the interpoſition of the royal authority, to make at his conſecration; affirming, that the Sees of York and Canterbury were of equal dignity: an affirmation, however, which was ſtrongly denied by Lanfranc, who adduced a variety of evidence in ſupport of that ſuperiority which he had demanded and obtained. The ſovereign Pontiff, being unwilling to offend either of the Prelates, or diſoblige the King of England, wiſely forbore to give his opinion on the ſubject; declaring that the matter ſhould be left to the ſole deciſion of an Engliſh ſynod. In conſequence of this declaration, two great councils were held, the firſt at Eaſter, the ſecond at Whitſuntide, in the year 1072; in which this important queſtion of the primacy was debated with great warmth, in the preſence of the King, Queen, and of the whole court; and, at length, finally determined in favour of the See of Canterbury, to the great mortification of the clerical pride of the one Prelate, and exultation of the other. The River Humber was fixed as a boundary between the two Sees; and the Archbiſhop of York was compelled to forego his pretenſions to the dioceſes of Lincoln, Litchfield, and Worceſter: but it was decreed, that his juriſdiction ſhould extend over all that part of the iſland which lay to the north of the Humber.

After the determination of this diſpute, Lanfranc preſided in ſeveral councils of the clergy of both provinces; in which many eccleſiaſtical canons were enacted, though few of them are of ſufficient importance to claim the attention of poſterity. In one

one of theſe, which was held at Wincheſter, it was ordained, among other regulations, that no Biſhop ſhould hold two dioceſes; that the ſacrament ſhould not be adminiſtered in beer, but in wine mixed with water; that dead bodies ſhould not be buried in churches; and that chalices ſhould not be compoſed of wax or wood.

About the ſame time, very ſevere penalties were impoſed on thoſe who had either killed or wounded any perſon in the battle of Haſtings, commonly denominated *The Great Battle*, whether they had fought for or againſt the Duke of Normandy. The archers, who could not poſſibly tell what number of men they had killed or wounded, were to do penance for three ſucceſſive Lents. But all theſe penances might be redeemed by the payment of a certain ſum of money, or by the erection and endowment of churches; to promote which was probably the chief intent of the ſynod in enforcing theſe abſurd and tyrannical impoſitions.

By the eighth canon of a ſynod held at London, in the year 1075, it was decreed, that the bones of dead animals ſhould not be hung up to drive away the peſtilence from cattle; and that ſorcery, ſoothſayings, divinations, and ſuch works of the devil, ſhould not be practiſed. In another council, convened by Lanfranc at London, it was enacted, that Biſhops ſhould take place according to the time of their ordination, unleſs their ſees enjoyed the privilege of precedency by ancient cuſtom; that no perſons ſhould preſume to ſpeak in ſynods but Biſhops or Abbots, without leave of the Metropolitan; that no perſon ſhould marry within the ſeventh degree of conſanguinity with his own kindred, or the kindred of a deceaſed wife, or the widow of a deceaſed huſband; that no Biſhop, Abbot, or Clergyman, ſhould ſit as a judge in a cauſe of life or limb; that no Canon ſhould have a wife; that ſuch Prieſts as reſided in caſtles or villages ſhould not be obliged to diſmiſs their wives, if they were already married, but thoſe who were unmarried ſhould continue to live in a ſtate of celibacy; and no Biſhop ſhould ordain either a Prieſt, or Deacon, until he ſhould have previouſly declared himſelf unmarried: that no Clergyman ſhould pay any other ſervice for his benefice than what was paid for the ſame in the reign of King Edward; that laymen accuſed of any crime ſhould be ſummoned three times by the Biſhop, and if they refuſed to obey the third ſummons, a ſentence of excommunication ſhould be immediately iſſued againſt them; if they afterwards appeared to offer ſatisfaction, they ſhould pay a forfeiture for every ſummons: and that no churches ſhould be ſupplanted for want of charters to aſcertain their rights and privileges.

William the Firſt appears to have conſidered himſelf as the head of the Anglican Church; for he diſpoſed of benefices according to his own pleaſure; ſeparated the eccleſiaſtical from the civil juriſdiction by an expreſs mandate; refuſed homage to Gregory the Seventh, who ſucceeded Alexander the Second in the year 1073, and was the moſt enterprizing Pontiff that had ever filled the papal chair; and granted a charter to Battle-Abbey, in Suſſex, founded by himſelf, in which he acts as ſupreme ordinary of the church, in exempting the Abbot and convent from epiſcopal viſitation.

A conſiderable change in the Creed of the Church of England was introduced during the time that the primacy was enjoyed by Lanfranc, and chiefly by the means of that Primate. The preſent incomprehenſible and abſurd doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning the corporeal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, called *Tranſubſtantiation*—a word which, it may not be ſuperfluous to remark, was firſt made uſe of by Peter of Blois, an erudite author of the twelfth century—was little known, and leſs regarded, in this iſland, before the Norman invaſion: but Lanfranc was one of the moſt zealous champions of that doctrine of the age in which he flouriſhed; and diſputed, wrote, and preached, in it's defence, both before and after his elevation to the See of Canterbury. It is, however, highly probable that this elevation gave additional weight to his arguments, and enabled him to make many proſelytes.

Lanfranc died on the twenty-eighth of May, in the year 1089, about twenty months after his friend and patron, William the Firſt. This Prelate is highly celebrated by our ancient hiſtorians for his wiſdom, learning, and munificence. His charity, in particular, is ſaid to have been ſo extenſive, that he beſtowed, in eleemoſynary donations, not leſs than five hundred pounds a year: an enormous ſum, equal to ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds of our preſent money; which affords a ſubſtantial proof of the great revenues of the See of Canterbury at that period, as well as of the great generoſity of this Prelate.

William Rufus, who reigned at the death of Lanfranc, neglected to appoint a ſucceſſor for nearly five years; during which time he appropriated the profits of the Archbiſhopric to his own uſe. All the attempts of the Biſhops and Clergy to prevail on this monarch to appoint a ſucceſſor were fruitleſs and unavailing. At one time, when they preſented a petition for leave to ſend a form of prayer to be uſed in all the churches of England—"That God would "move the heart of the King to chuſe an Arch-"biſhop;" we are told by William of Malmſbury, that he careleſsly anſwered—"You may pray as "you pleaſe: I will do as I pleaſe."

At length, however, being attacked with a ſevere and dangerous fit of ſickneſs, he was prevailed upon to fill up the vacant Sees of Lincoln and Canterbury, by the nomination of Robert Bloet, his Chancellor, to the former; and of Anſelm, Abbot of Bec, in Normandy, to the latter. Anſelm, at firſt, betrayed great reluctance to accept of this elevated ſtation, being no ſtranger to the fierce and rapacious diſpoſition of the King. "The plough," ſaid he, "of the Church of England, ſhould be drawn by "two oxen of equal ſtrength—the King, and the "Archbiſhop of Canterbury: but if you yoke me, "who am a weak old ſheep, with this monarch, "who is a mad young bull, the plough muſt be "ill-conducted." But, as objections to places of power and profit are ſeldom ſupported with great

pertinacity, thoſe of Anſelm at laſt yielded to the perſuaſions of his friends; and he condeſcended to take poſſeſſion of the archiepiſcopal throne on the fourth of December, in the year 1093; having previouſly done homage to the King for the temporalities of his ſee, and received inveſtiture by the paſtoral ſtaff and ring, on the twenty-fifth of the preceding September.

Anſelm's apprehenſions of diſputes between himſelf and the King were ſpeedily verified; but they oroſe merely from his own obſtinate and preſumptuaus bigotry, in refuſing to pay to his Sovereign that degree of attention which was certainly due to him even from the moſt exalted of his ſubjects, and in employing reproach where his duty ſhould have dictated reſpect. The temper of Ruſus was little adapted to ſuffer ſuch treatment to paſs with impunity; and the breach between him and the Primate was conſiderably enlarged after his return from Normandy, in the year 1094. A ſchiſm had ſome time before broken out in the Church of Rome, by a competition for the papal dignity, between Odo, Biſhop of Oſtia, who had aſſumed the title of Urban the Second, and Guibert of Ravenna, known by the appellation of Clement the Third. Anſelm, before his promotion to the primacy, had acknowledged Urban; and now requeſted the King would permit him to repair to Rome, and receive the pall from that Pontiff: a requeſt which greatly exaſperated William, who declared it was a direct violation of that obedience which the Primate had ſworn in his oath of fealty, as well as of the laws of England. At length, after much altercation, the diſpute was referred to the deciſion of a great Council of the Nobility and Prelates, held at Rockingham, on the eleventh of March, in the year 1095. Anſelm addreſſed the council; and, in a curious harangue, aſſured them that he would much rather have been burnt alive than have been made an Archbiſhop. His perſuaſions, however, were inſufficient to deter the council from declaring, after long deliberation, that unleſs he yielded obedience to the King, and retracted his ſubmiſſion to Pope Urban, they would not acknowledge nor obey him as their Primate. On hearing this ſentence, Anſelm lifted up his hands and eyes towards Heaven; and, with great ſolemnity, appealed to St. Peter, whoſe Vicar, he declared, he was reſolved to obey, in preference to the King. This declaration, however, could not induce the council to alter their ſentence; which, after freſh debates, was ſolemnly confirmed, and again reported to the Primate, whom they hoped it would induce to reſign his See, as the beſt mode of reſtoring the peace of the kingdom, which had been much diſturbed by this diſpute. But, however great the averſion of Anſelm might have been to accept of the Archbiſhopric, his diſinclination to reſign it was infinitely greater: for he now declared that he perſiſted in his appeal, and was determined never to reſign his See. In this emergency, a truce was propoſed by ſome of the Nobles till the Octaves of Eaſter; which was accepted by both parties.

In this interval, William, deſpairing to overcome the obſtinacy of the Primate by violence, had recourſe to artifice; and privately diſpatched two of his own chaplains to Rome, to make an offer to Urban to acknowledge him as Pope, if he would conſent to the depoſition of Anſelm, and ſend a pall to the King to beſtow on the object of his own choice. Urban, highly pleaſed at this important acceſſion to his party, made every promiſe the King required; and ſent Walter, Biſhop of Alba, his Legate, into England with a pall. The Legate paſſed through Canterbury without ſeeing the Archbiſhop; and, arriving at court, prevailed on the King to iſſue a proclamation, commanding all his ſubjects to acknowledge Urban the Second as ſovereign Pontiff. But when William, after complying with the conditions he had promiſed to obſerve, required that the Legate would immediately proceed to the depoſition of the Primate, and demanded the pall, that he might beſtow it on the Prelate he ſhould think proper to appoint as his ſucceſſor, Walter changed his tone, and plainly declared that the Pope could not poſſibly conſent to the depoſition of ſo great a ſaint, and ſo dutiful a ſon of the Church of Rome; and that he had received orders to deliver the pall to Anſelm: which he accordingly performed, with great pomp, in the cathedral of Canterbury. This curious inſtance of papiſtical juggling excited the reſentment of William; but, being engaged in a military expedition to Normandy, he had no leiſure to give it effect.

On the King's return from the continent, Anſelm continued his importunate applications for permiſſion to repair to Rome; and William, having endeavoured in vain to diſſuade him from it, at length, at the meeting of the great council in the month of October, in the year 1097, commanded him to quit the kingdom, and to leave all his effects behind him; declaring, at the ſame time, that he ſhould never have his permiſſion to return. The Primate, pleaſed with this command, prepared to obey it without delay; and, having exchanged his archiepiſcopal robes for the habit of a pilgrim, ſet out on his journey. He embarked at Dover; and, having landed at Whitſande, proceeded to Lyons: from whence he wrote to the Pope, informing him of the ill-treatment he had experienced in England, and requeſting the advice of his Holineſs as to the regulation of his future conduct; intimating, that ſince he had but little proſpect of doing any good in a country where juſtice and religion were ſo much deſpiſed by perſons of every denomination, it would be prudent to allow him to reſign his See.

The Pope's anſwer to Anſelm contained a preſſing invitation to repair to Rome; for which place that Prelate departed on Palm Sunday, in the year 1098, attended only by two faithful adherents: Baldwin, his ſteward; and Eadmer, the hiſtorian, his ſecretary. They were under the neceſſity of travelling in diſguiſe, and under fictitious names, in order to avoid the ambuſcades that were laid for their interception, as well by Clement, the Antipope, as by ſeveral companies of banditti, who had heard that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was on his way to Rome with great treaſures: but the reception they experienced from the Pope made ample amends

for

for all the dangers and fatigue they had undergone. That Pontiff, if the accounts of the monkiſh hiſtorians are to be credited, addreſſed Anſelm before his whole court in a pompous ſpeech, replete with the moſt inflated panegyrics, in which he ſtiled him the Pope of another world: he likewiſe iſſued orders, that all the Engliſh who came to Rome ſhould kiſs his toe; and farther promiſed him his utmoſt ſupport in his diſpute with his ſovereign, to whom he wrote, and commanded him to reſtore all that he had taken from the Primate. To ſuch a pitch had the inſolence of the Popes arrived at the times we are delineating!

Anſelm aſſiſted at the council held by Urban at Bari ſoon after Eaſter, and acquired great honour by a ſpeech he made againſt the hereſy of the Greek Church relative to the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt. The Pope, in particular, who had been greatly puzzled in the courſe of the debate, was ſo much charmed with his oration, that, at the concluſion of it, he exclaimed—" Bleſſed be thy heart and thy " ſenſes, O Anſelm! Bleſſed be thy mouth, and the " ſpeeches that fall from thy mouth!"

In a ſubſequent council, held at Rome, towards the end of this year, the Pope declared that the King of England merited excommunication for his conduct to Anſelm; but, at the particular requeſt of that Prelate, the promulgation of that formidable ſentence was poſtponed. At the ſame council, the famous canon againſt lay inveſtitures was confirmed, that denounced excommunication againſt all laymen who ſhould preſume to grant inveſtitures of any eccleſiaſtical benefices; and againſt all clergymen who ſhould accept of ſuch inveſtitures, or ſhould do homage to temporal princes. The reaſon aſſigned for this canon by the Pope, as related by Eadmer, who was preſent at the council and heard his ſpeech, is ſo truly impious, that it cannot fail to excite horror in any mind ſuſceptible of religious impreſſions. " It is execrable," ſaid the ſovereign Pontiff, " to " ſee thoſe hands which create God, the Creator of " all things—a power never granted to angels—and " offer him in ſacrifice to the Father for the re- " demption of the whole world, put between the " hands of a Prince, ſtained with blood, and pol- " luted day and night with obſcene contacts!" To which all the fathers of the council cried—" Amen! " amen!"

The Pope's interceſſion with the King in favour of Anſelm was ſo far from being crowned with ſucceſs, that William was with great difficulty prevailed on to read his letter; and when he was informed that the bearer of it was a ſervant of Anſelm, he ſwore by the countenance of St. Luke, his uſual oath, that if he did not immediately depart from the kingdom, he would cauſe his eyes to be pulled out. The Primate, finding the King thus reſolute, deſpaired of obtaining his reſtoration during his reign; and therefore retired to Lyons, where he remained in exile till after the death of that Prince, which happened in the year 1100.

The particulars of this turbulent Prelate's ſtruggles with the crown during the ſubſequent reign of the Firſt Henry, have been amply related in the Civil Hiſtory of that period. About the concluſion of the year 1107, a new Biſhopric was erected in the monaſtery of Ely, with the conſent of the King, the Pope, and the Primate; and Hervey, who had been expelled by the Welſh from the See of Bangor, was appointed to be the firſt Biſhop of that See.

Anſelm died on the twentieth of April, in the year 1109; and the See of Canterbury, having remained vacant five years, was at length filled, after a ſtong conteſt between the monks of the cathedral and the prelates of the province, by Radulphus, Biſhop of Rocheſter, who was elected Primate on the twenty-ſixth of April, and enthroned on the ſeventeenth of May, in the year 1114.

This Prelate, having enjoyed that dignity for eight years, died on the twentieth of October 1122; and William Corboyl, Prior of Chiche, was appointed to ſucceed him in the primacy. His election took place at Glouceſter, on the feaſt of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, in the year 1123; and he was conſecrated at Canterbury, by the Biſhops of London and Wincheſter, on the twentieth of February.

The competition for the papacy, on the death of Pope Honorius the Second—which happened on the fourteenth of February, in the year 1130—between Innocent and Anacletus, proved favourable to the peace of the Engliſh Church: for while the rival Popes were employed in iſſuing maledictions, and laying ſchemes for the deſtruction of each other, they had no leiſure to diſturb the repoſe, or to invade the rights, of the reſt of mankind. During this ſchiſm, the Church of England was governed by her own Prelates, and enjoyed great tranquillity, to the death of Henry the Firſt. The moſt remarkable eccleſiaſtical tranſaction that occurred in this period was the foundation of the Biſhopric of Carliſle, in the year 1132, of which Adelwald, the King's confeſſor, was the firſt Biſhop.

William Corboyl, the Primate, died on the fourteenth of December, in the year 1137; and, after the See had remained vacant more than two years, Theobald, Abbot of Bec, in Normandy, was appointed to ſucceed him. Nothing material occurred, during the turbulent reign of Stephen, in the Hiſtory of the Church, but what has been already related in the civil tranſactions of that period.

The encroachments made by the Papacy, from the commencement of the twelfth century to the death of Stephen, as well on the prerogatives of the crown as on the privileges of the Church of England, were conſiderable. On the prerogatives of the crown, by depriving the King of the right of granting inveſtitures to his Prelates, and diminiſhing his influence in their election: on the privileges of the church and clergy, by eſtabliſhing the legatine authority; by enforcing celibacy on the inferior clergy; and by drawing all eccleſiaſtical cauſes of importance to Rome by appeals.

Though the authority of the Apoſtolic See had been ſo conſiderably augmented by theſe encroachments, the ambition of the court of Rome required ſtill farther gratification; and it's projects were purſued

ſued with ſuch unremitting ardour during the reign of Henry the Second, as not only to diſturb the tranquillity of his government, but even to ſhake his throne. The firſt eccleſiaſtical tranſaction that interrupted the repoſe of that Prince, was the claim which ſome of the moſt opulent abbeys began to advance to an exemption from the juriſdiction of their Biſhops. A diſpute on this ſubject between Walter, Abbot of Battle-Abbey, and his dioceſan, Henry, Biſhop of Wincheſter, was agitated in ſeveral ſynods, in the year 1155, and the two ſubſequent years; and at length was decided in favour of the Abbot, who pleaded a charter of exemption granted to his abbey by the founder, William the Firſt. The ſucceſs of this Abbot encouraged the hopes and inflamed the ambition of his brethren, ſome of whom did not ſcruple to forge charters of exemption; but their forgeries were ſo ill executed, that they generally incurred detection. Failing, by this means, to obtain the object of their wiſhes, they made application to Rome for bulls of exemption, conſenting to purchaſe them by ſubjecting themſelves immediately to the Pope.

Robert, Abbot of St. Alban's, was the firſt who obtained ſuch a bull from Adrian the Fourth, who was an Engliſhman, and had paſſed ſome of his early years in the Abbey of St. Alban's: but Robert was not indebted wholly to this circumſtance for the ſucceſs of his application, as Matthew Paris tells us that he preſented his Holineſs with three mitres and a pair of ſandals, of exquiſite workmanſhip, and diſtributed the ſum of two hundred marks among his courtiers. By the ſame means, he likewiſe procured two other bulls: by one of which, he and his ſucceſſors were permitted to wear the epiſcopal ornaments; and, by the other, the parochial proceſſions and offerings of Hertfordſhire, at Whitſuntide, were appointed to be made to the church of St. Alban's, and not to the cathedral of Lincoln.

This appointment, which materially affected the power and revenues of the Biſhop of Lincoln, gave riſe to the moſt violent diſputes; which, by the mere influence of bribery, were terminated in favour of the abbey.

Similar applications were afterwards made by many other Abbots; who, being now acquainted with the means of ſecuring ſucceſs, did not fail to obtain it: ſo that, by this innovation on the eſtabliſhed order of church government, a conſiderable augmentation of the papal power was derived from a proportionable diminution of the epiſcopal authority. But the fatal effects of theſe exemptions were by none more ſeverely experienced, than by thoſe who had obtained them; for the Abbots were ſo much harraſſed by expenſive journies to Rome, and by the various exactions of that inſatiable court, that the ſucceſs of their ambitious projects afforded them juſt grounds for lamentation.

In the year 1159, a council of the Clergy was held at Oxford, on account of ſome heretics who came over from Germany, to the number of thirty, including men and women. They were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Publicans; and to the interrogations of the council, relative to the principles of their religion, their leader, named Gerard, replied, that they were Chriſtians, and believed the doctrines of the Apoſtles. On a farther inveſtigation, it is ſaid they were found to deny ſeveral of the received doctrines of the church, as Purgatory; Prayers for the Dead; and the Invocation of Saints: and, as they refuſed to abandon theſe damnable hereſies, they were condemned as incorrigible heretics, and conſigned to ſecular puniſhment. The King, at the inſtigation of the Clergy, ordered them to be firſt branded on the forehead with a red-hot iron; then whipped through the ſtreets of Oxford, and turned out into the fields, almoſt naked, in the depth of winter, where they all periſhed through cold and hunger, no one daring to afford them the ſmalleſt relief.

Such is the account of Brompton and William of Newborough; but as all the monkiſh writers ſpeak of them with the greateſt aſperity, and their tenets are recorded by no others, it is probable that their departure from the ſtandard of orthodoxy was ſtill more ſubtle and minute. Theſe ſeem to have been the firſt that ever ſuffered for hereſy in England: would they had been the laſt!

On the death of Theobald, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the year 1161, Thomas à Becket was promoted to the primacy, through the infatuated partiality of his ſovereign, which reſiſted the moſt ſtrenuous diſſuaſions of his mother, the Empreſs, and the whole body of the clergy. The actions of this turbulent and factious Prieſt have been ſo fully related in the reign of Henry, that they require no farther comment.

The firſt eccleſiaſtical tranſaction that engaged the King's attention, after the termination of his memorable ſtruggle with the Pope, was the election of a Primate. Odo, Prior of Canterbury, was conſulted on this occaſion; but he pretended that the ſole and excluſive right of electing an Archbiſhop was veſted in the monks of that cathedral over which he was to preſide. This claim, being ſtrongly ſupported by the monks themſelves, gave riſe to a diſpute, which ended in their conſent to propoſe three perſons to the King, who ſhould appoint which of them he choſe to be Primate. This propoſal having been accepted by Richard de Lucy, who was regent of the kingdom in the abſence of his ſovereign, an aſſembly of the Biſhops and Monks was held at London, in the month of February, in which Roger, Abbot of Bec, was unanimouſly elected; but, having refuſed to accept of the dignity to which he had been appointed, another aſſembly was convened in the month of April, in which the ſix vacant Sees of Wincheſter, Ely, Hereford, Bath, Chicheſter, and Lincoln, were filled with the following perſons: Richard de Iviceſtre, Archdeacon of Poictiers; Geoffrey Redel, Archdeacon—by Becket dignified with the title of *Archdevil*—of Canterbury; Robert Foliot; Reginald, ſon of Joceline, Biſhop of Saliſbury; John of Greenford; and Geoffrey, the King's natural ſon by the Fair Roſamond.

No Primate, however, was choſen till the eighth of June; when Richard, Prior of Dover, was elected: but

but young Henry, who was at that time in rebellion againſt his father, having appealed to the Pope againſt his election, he was under the neceſſity of making a journey to Rome, where he was conſecrated at Eaſter, in the year 1174, by his Holineſs, who alſo appointed him his Legate in England.

In the month of May, in the ſubſequent year, a council was held at Weſtminſter, in which the clergy of the dioceſe of St. Aſaph lodged a complaint againſt Godfrey, their Biſhop, for non-reſidence, and he was obliged to reſign his biſhoprick; but no other tranſaction occurred worthy to be recorded.

In autumn, this year, Cardinal Hugo, who had been appointed by the Pope his Legate *a latere*, arrived in England; and, with the King's permiſſion, made a progreſs through many parts of the kingdom, to viſit the opulent churches and abbeys. "As his buſineſs," ſays Gervaſe of Canterbury, "was to root out and to plant, he performed it "with great diligence and aſſiduity, by rooting "out money from the purſes of others, and planting it in his own coffers."

Richard, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, died on the ſixteenth of February, in the year 1184; and was ſucceeded, after the uſual oppoſition from the monks, by Baldwin, Biſhop of Worceſter. Nothing of importance occurred in the hiſtory of the church during the time that the Primacy was enjoyed by this Prelate; who, being ſeized with the epidemic frenzy of the age, aſſumed the croſs in the year 1188, and after a three years preparation for his journey, embarked at Dover, on his road to the Holy Land, in the month of March, in the year 1191, and in the month of November following died before the city of Ptolemais, then beſieged by the Chriſtians. Towards the concluſion of the year 1192, Reginald, Biſhop of Bath, was choſen by the monks of Canterbury to ſucceed Baldwin; but he dying ſoon after his election, and the whole kingdom being thrown into confuſion by the captivity of Richard, their ſovereign, no ſteps were for ſome time taken to fill the vacant ſee. Richard conceiving that the appointment of a zealous friend to that important ſtation might greatly contribute to raiſe his ranſom, and thereby procure his liberty, wrote to his mother, Queen Eleanor, and to his miniſters, earneſtly entreating them to promote the advancement of Hubert Fitz-Walter, Biſhop of Saliſbury—who had accompanied him in his expedition to Paleſtine—to the Primacy; and the affair was accordingly conducted with ſuch addreſs, that Hubert was unanimouſly elected by the monks of Canterbury, on the twenty-ninth of May, in the year 1193, and as unanimouſly approved by the Biſhops of the province on the ſubſequent day.

The King, as well as the Biſhops of the province of Canterbury, had long been exaſperated at the conduct of the monks of that cathedral, in claiming an excluſive right to the election of the Archbiſhops. To effect a diminution of that influence, the late Primate had attempted to eſtabliſh a ſociety of Secular Canons at Hackington, near Canterbury: and though, by the interpoſition of the Pope, he had been prevented from accompliſhing his ſcheme, his ſucceſſor, Hubert, formed the deſign of eſtabliſhing a ſimilar ſociety at Lambeth, hoping that it's diſtance from Canterbury would prevent any oppoſition. But it was impoſſible to elude the vigilant ſuſpicion of the crafty monks; who, reſiſting all the offers of the King and Primate, diſpatched two of their body to Rome, where they obtained a bull from Pope Innocent the Third, dated the twenty-fifth of April, in the year 1197, and addreſſed to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, commanding that Prelate, in the moſt imperious manner, to demoliſh all the buildings he had erected at Lambeth within thirty days, under the penalty of ſuſpenſion: "For it is not fit," ſaid that inſolent Pontiff, "that any man ſhould enjoy the "ſmalleſt portion of authority, who doth not revere "and obey the Apoſtolic See." The King, juſtly incenſed at this application to the Pope, which was made without his knowledge, ſeized all the treaſures and poſſeſſions of the monks; and the Primate diſpatched agents to Rome, to operate a change in the ſentiments of his Holineſs. But all their reſiſtance proved fruitleſs: for the Pontiff obſtinately perſiſted in his deſign, and iſſued another bull, in which he threatened the Archbiſhop with excommunication, and peremptorily commanded the King to reſtore what he had taken from the monks; adding, "That "he would not endure the ſmalleſt contempt of "himſelf, or of God, whoſe place he held on earth; "but would puniſh without delay, and without re-"ſpect of perſons, every one who ſhould preſume "to diſobey his commands, in order to convince "the whole world that he was determined to act in "a royal manner." Such was the intolerable arrogance and impiety of this audacious Prieſt; who, by his pertinacity, enabled the factious monks to obtain a compleat victory over their King and Primate, by procuring the demolition of the buildings which formed the ſubject of their complaints.

Since the Pope could conduct himſelf in ſo imperious a manner towards the lion-hearted Richard, it is not wonderful that he ſhould diſplay his inſolence in a ſtill greater degree to his puſillanimous ſucceſſor, John. He gave an early indication of his deſign to exert his authority over him at the very commencement of his reign, by beſtowing the revenues of the vacant ſee of St. David's, which were the undoubted property of the King, on the famous Giraldus Cambrenſis. This unwarrantable invaſion of the rights of the crown was the more inſulting, as Giraldus was the inveterate and avowed enemy of the King; a circumſtance well known to the Pope.

All the misfortunes that had befallen the Chriſtians in the Holy Land were inſufficient to deter the Sovereign Pontiff from promoting another Cruſade. He accordingly iſſued a bull, towards the concluſion of the year 1199, addreſſed to all the Prelates of the Chriſtian Church, commanding them and all their clergy, by the authority of the Apoſtolic See, of Almighty God, and of the Holy

Ghoſt, and under the penalty of eternal damnation, to pay the fortieth part of all their revenues, for defraying the expences of this expedition, which was to be commanded by two Cardinals, named by the Pope.

This was the firſt attempt to impoſe a tax on the Clergy of all nations by the authority of the Pope, as ſovereign of the church, which ought to have excited the moſt univerſal indignation: but ſuperſtition was too prevalent in theſe unhappy times to admit of reſiſtance to papal uſurpations, however daring and violent.

The money, thus peremptorily demanded, was ſpeedily raiſed, and carried to Rome; and the King, far from reſenting an inſult ſufficient to provoke Meekneſs itſelf to reſentment, voluntarily granted the fortieth part of his own revenues to the Pope; and exhorted his Barons to follow his example.

Innocent, having by theſe means accumulated a ſufficient ſum, diſpatched emiſſaries into the different kingdoms of Europe, to exhort the laity to aſſume the croſs: but, when he had collected a powerful army, inſtead of employing it to reſcue the Holy Land from the hands of the Infidels, he ſent it to dethrone the Chriſtian Emperor of Conſtantinople, in order to reduce that Empire to a ſtate of ſubjection to the See of Rome.

In the hiſtory of John's reign we have been ſo circumſtantial in relating his diſputes with the Pope, which include all the eccleſiaſtical tranſactions of this period, that little remains to be recorded.

The Pope, having eſtabliſhed his ſuperiority over the kingdom of England through the imbecility of it's monarch, had now attained to the zenith of his power; and, in order to diſplay his own greatneſs in all the pomp of prieſtly oſtentation, he aſſembled a general council in the church of St. Saviour de Lateran, at Rome, in the month of November, in the year 1215; which was attended by no leſs than four hundred and twelve Biſhops, beſides an incredible number of Abbots, Priors, and inferior clergy. The ſeventy canons enacted in this council had been previouſly prepared, and paſſed without any deliberation or debate: it was not, therefore, to diſcuſs them that the council was convened, but merely to gratify the vanity of Innocent.

In the Confeſſion of Faith contained in the firſt of thoſe canons, the new doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is inſerted, in the following ſtrong terms:—"The "body and blood of Chriſt are contained really in "the ſacrament of the altar under the ſpecies of "bread and wine; the bread being tranſubſtantiated "into the body of Jeſus Chriſt, and the wine into "his blood, by the power of God." For this miracle of miracles the following curious reaſon is aſſigned:—"That we might receive of Chriſt's na-"ture what he had received of ours!"

The third canon commands Kings and Princes to extirpate all heretics that ſhould be found in their territories, under the penalty of excommunication and depoſition; which gave riſe to ſcenes of cruelty and bloodſhed, as diſgraceful to the tyrant who commanded them as they were repugnant to the mild and beneficent ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion! The ſpirit of theſe canons ſufficiently demonſtrates the darkneſs of the times we have been delineating; and affords the ſtrongeſt proof that the court of Rome had made the moſt daring and dangerous encroachments on the civil and religious rights of mankind.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

THE



Published as the Act directs, by Harrison & Co. May 2. 1791.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

1216 TO 1399.

Settlement of the Government—Death of the Protector—Henry the Third—The King aſſumes the Reins of Government—Civil Wars—Houſe of Commons—Battle of Eveſham—Death of Henry—Acceſſion of Edward the Firſt—Conqueſt of Wales—War with France—Scotland ſubdued—Peace with France—Scotland revolts—Scotland again ſubdued—Third Revolt of Scotland—Death of Edward—Acceſſion of Edward the Second—The King's Attachment to Piers Gavaſton—Murder of Gavaſton—War with Scotland—Civil Commotions—Conſpiracy againſt the King—Inſurrection—The King dethroned, and murdered at Berkeley Caſtle—Acceſſion of Edward the Third—The King's Claim to the Crown of France—War with France—Naval Victory—Domeſtic Commotions—Invaſion of France—Battle of Crecy—War with Scotland—Captivity of the King of Scots—Calais taken—Inſtitution of the Garter—Battle of Poitiers—Captivity of the King of France—Peace of Bretigni—Rupture with France—Death of the Prince of Wales—Death of Edward the Third—Richard the Second—Inſurrection of the Populace—Civil Commotions—Murder of the Duke of Glouceſter—General Inſurrection—Depoſition of the King—Murder of the King.

THE ſituation in which the kingdom was left at the death of John, was ſuch as promiſed the moſt certain and ſpeedy deſtruction to it's welfare and independence. The anarchy and confuſion occaſioned by the late civil commotions were conſiderably augmented by the preſence of the French Prince, to whom a great part of the kingdom had ſworn allegiance; and, to complete the dreary proſpect, Prince Henry, John's eldeſt ſon, was at the time of his father's death only

only in his tenth year. In this critical emergency, the prudent and ſpirited conduct of one brave and loyal nobleman reſcued his country from the dangers that ſurrounded it.

The Earl of Pembroke, Mareſchal of England, had preſerved his loyalty inviolate to his ſovereign amidſt all the difficulties in which his vicious and imprudent conduct had involved him; and, actuated by the ſame principles, he now determined to ſupport his infant ſon with equal firmneſs and perſeverance. Senſible of the importance attached by the people to the ceremony of a coronation, he immediately conducted Prince Henry to Glouceſter, where he had previouſly ſummoned a meeting of the nobles, whom by his perſuaſive eloquence he gained to his purpoſe; and had him ſolemnly crowned, on the twenty-eighth of October, in the preſence of Gualo the Pope's legate, by the Biſhops of Wincheſter and Bath. The concurrence of the papal authority, which at this period had acquired an influence of dangerous extent, being deemed neceſſary to ſupport the tottering throne, Henry was obliged to comply with the requiſition of the legate, who exacted from him an oath of fealty to the Pope, and made him renew that ignominious homage to which his father had ſubjected the kingdom: and, in order to enlarge the authority of Pembroke, and to give him a more regular and legal title to it, an aſſembly of the Barons was ſummoned to meet at Briſtol on the eleventh of November, where that nobleman was unanimouſly choſen Protector of the realm; and the perſon of the King was accordingly committed to his charge.

Pembroke, to acquire that popularity which is ever requiſite to enſure permanency to a feeble government, granted a new charter of liberties; which, though moſt of the articles were literally copied from the Great Charter of John, contained ſome important alterations, worthy of remark. The excluſive privilege of elections, accorded to the clergy by the late King, was not confirmed; nor the liberty of leaving the kingdom without the royal conſent: whence we may be allowed to conjecture, that Pembroke and the Barons, jealous of the eccleſiaſtical power, were both deſirous to renew the King's claim to iſſue a *congé d'elire* to the Monks and Chapters, and anxious to put ſome reſtraint on the frequent appeals to Rome. But what may afford greater ſubject for ſurprize is, that the obligation which John had impoſed on himſelf to levy no aids nor ſcutages till he had previouſly obtained the conſent of the Great Council, was not only omitted, but expreſsly declared to be hard and ſevere, and was therefore left to future deliberation. We muſt, however, conſider, that though this limitation may appear to us of infinite importance, the ancient Barons viewed it in a different light, being more ſedulous to prevent any particular acts of violence in the Sovereign, than to guard againſt ſuch general impoſitions; which, unleſs they were founded in reaſon and neceſſity, could with difficulty be levied againſt the conſent of men who were always prepared for reſiſtance, and could repel any act of oppreſſion by which they were all immediately affected. We accordingly find that Henry, in the courſe of his reign, notwithſtanding his violations of the Great Charter were frequent, never attempted to levy any aids or ſcutages by his own mere will, though he was often reduced to great neceſſities, and ſupplies were refuſed him by his people. So much eaſier was it for him to tranſgreſs the law when individuals alone were affected, than even to exerciſe his acknowledged prerogatives where the intereſt of the community was concerned.

This charter was again confirmed in the enſuing year; with the addition of ſome articles, to prevent the oppreſſions of ſheriffs: and alſo with an additional *Charter of Foreſts*; a circumſtance of infinite moment in thoſe ages, when the nobles were ſo continually engaged in the diverſions of the chace; and when the King monopolized ſo conſiderable a part of the kingdom in his foreſts, which he governed by laws equally ſingular and deſpotic. All the foreſts which had been incloſed ſince the reign of Henry the Second were diſafforeſted; offences committed therein were declared to be no longer capital, but puniſhable by fine, impriſonment, and more lenient penalties; and all the proprietors of land recovered the power of cutting and uſing their own wood as they pleaſed.

The regency could not poſſibly have been conferred on any man ſo capable of holding it with honour to himſelf and advantage to the nation as Pembroke. Independent of his loyalty, he was perfectly acquainted with the cauſe of the late commotions, as well as with the views and intrigues of thoſe by whom they had been excited. He knew how much the Barons repented of their raſh invitation to the French Prince, and how ill-affected they were to him; he was privy to the ſecret negotiation between King John and the forty Barons who had promiſed to renounce the party of Lewis; and he had little doubt but an offer of ſecurity from the penalties of rebellion would enſure the diſſolution of the confederacy. In this hope, he wrote letters, in the King's name, to all the Barons and communities of the kingdom, notifying his coronation, and promiſing a general amneſty to all who would return to their obedience. This aſſurance, enforced by the character of honour and probity which the Regent had ever maintained, had a vaſt influence on the Barons; which was greatly increaſed by the ſentence of excommunication againſt Lewis, repeated by the Legate every Sunday, and in which themſelves were included: for, however theſe haughty nobles might have affected to deſpiſe the thunders of the Vatican when their paſſions were raiſed by hope and enflamed by reſentment, and when their oppoſition was ſupported by the vigorous union and ſpirited meaſures of a ſtrong confederacy; theſe powerful motives had now loſt their principal force, and their conſciences were again open to the pangs of remorſe, and awake to the horrors which, in thoſe ſuperſtitious times, were continually attached to the cenſures of the Church.

Lewis had long ſince loſt the affection of the Barons, and he now became the object of their contempt.

contempt. He had frequently attempted to corrupt the integrity of Hubert de Burgh, the brave Governor of Dover Caſtle; but ſtill found his honour and courage equally invincible. He was employed in the ſiege of this fortreſs when the late King died; and he thought that circumſtance might operate a favourable change in the conduct of Hubert. He again ſummoned him to ſurrender; and repreſented, in a parley, that as he was now diſengaged from his oath of allegiance, he ought to acknowledge a Prince whom his countrymen had received as their ſovereign, and who would be ſtudious to reward his bravery by the moſt ſignal marks of his favour. The Governor, however, replied, that the late King had left a ſon and ſucceſſor, whom it was his duty to obey, and whom he would ſerve while he had life; and, as to the offers of Lewis, he obſerved, that the eſteem of a magnanimous Prince could never be purchaſed by ſuch infamous treachery. Lewis, finding him incorruptible, changed his battery, and threatened to take away the life of his brother, whom he had in his power: but this reſource proving equally inefficacious, he raiſed the ſiege, and repaired to London; from whence, having taken every neceſſary meaſure for ſecuring his intereſt in that capital, he marched againſt the caſtle of Hertford, which ſurrendered, after a faint reſiſtance. The government of this fortreſs belonged, by hereditary right, to Robert Fitz-Walter, who accordingly laid claim to it; but he had the mortification, not only of hearing his claim rejected with ſcorn, but of ſeeing the caſtle beſtowed on a Frenchman, and garriſoned with foreigners. This act, in which deliberate inſult was added to flagrant injuſtice, excited a great clamour among the Engliſh, who plainly perceived that they were to be excluded from every truſt, and that foreigners had monopolized all the confidence and affection of the man whom they had been weak enough to acknowledge for their ſovereign.

Though Lewis, about this time, went over to the continent, and brought back a reinforcement of troops; he found, on his return, that his party was conſiderably weakened by the deſertion of moſt of the Engliſh Barons; and that the death of John, from which he had prognoſticated the greateſt ſucceſs to his cauſe, was likely to render all his projects abortive. The Earls of Saliſbury, Arundel, and Warrenne, together with William Mareſhal, eldeſt ſon of the Protector, had embraced the party of their lawful ſovereign; and all thoſe who did not immediately return to their allegiance were evidently watching for an opportunity to do it with ſafety. Pembroke was ſo much ſtrengthened by theſe acceſſions, that he ventured to detach the Earl of Cheſter with a body of troops to inveſt Mount-Sorel, in the county of Leiceſter, which was in the poſſeſſion of the French: but, on the approach of the Count de Perche with a ſuperior army, that nobleman was compelled to abandon his enterprize, and retire; while the French general advanced to Lincoln, and having obtained admittance into the town, laid ſiege to the caſtle, which ſtill held out for the King. Pembroke reſolved to ſuccour this important place, though at the riſk of an engagement; he therefore aſſembled his forces with ſuch diligence and ſecrecy, that he had marched as far as Newark before the Count de Perche received the ſmalleſt intimation of his approach. The army of the Regent was ſo ſuperior in numbers to that of the French, that the latter determined to ſhut themſelves up in the town, and act merely on the defenſive; but the garriſon having received a ſtrong reinforcement, in compliance with a pre-concerted plan, made a vigorous ſally on the beſiegers, while the Engliſh army attacked the town at the ſame inſtant; and, having forced an entrance, brought the French to a deciſive engagement in the ſtreets of Lincoln. In this action, which was fought on the nineteenth of May, in the year 1217, the French ſuſtained a total defeat; their commander, the Count de Perche, was killed; and many Engliſh Barons of that party, together with four hundred Knights, and a great number of common ſoldiers, were taken priſoners.

Prince Lewis had recommenced the ſiege of Dover, in which he was employed when he received the unwelcome tidings of this fatal diſaſter: he immediately deſiſted from his enterprize, and haſtened to London, to repair, if poſſible, the loſs he had ſuſtained; when the intelligence of a new misfortune put an end to all his hopes. A French fleet, with a ſtrong reinforcement on board, had appeared on the Kentiſh coaſt, where they were attacked by the Engliſh, under the command of William d'Albiney, and were routed with conſiderable loſs. D'Albiney is ſaid, on this occaſion, to have employed a ſtratagem, which greatly contributed to the victory. Having gained the wind of the enemy, he came down upon them with violence; and, throwing in their faces a quantity of quicklime, which he had provided for the purpoſe, ſo blinded them, that they were unable to make the ſmalleſt reſiſtance.

Lewis, now deſpairing of ſucceſs, entered into a negotiation with the Regent, which ſpeedily terminated in a peace; by which he engaged to evacuate the kingdom, on condition that all his adherents ſhould be fully indemnified, and reſtored to their honours and fortunes, together with the free and equal enjoyment of thoſe liberties which had been granted to the reſt of the nation. Thus, by the wiſdom and vigour of the Regent, were thoſe civil commotions, which had threatened to ſubvert the conſtitution of the realm, happily terminated, and the young monarch ſecured in the quiet poſſeſſion of the throne of his anceſtors.

After the departure of the French, the Regent performed every article of the treaty with great punctuality: he reſtored the Barons to the full poſſeſſion of their honours and eſtates; and, by an equal behaviour, ſought to bury all paſt animoſities in perpetual oblivion. He likewiſe ſent itinerant judges into all parts of the kingdom, to ſee that the Great Charter, and the Charter of the Foreſts, were duly executed. The clergy who had adhered to Lewis were the only ſufferers by the late conteſt. As they had rebelled againſt their ſpiritual ſovereign, by a total diſregard of the ſentences of interdict and excommuni-

excommunication, it was not in the power of the Regent to make any ſtipulations in their favour; and Gualo, the Legate, reſolved to take a ſevere vengeance on them for their diſobedience. Many of them were depoſed; ſome ſuſpended; others baniſhed; and all who eſcaped puniſhment, made atonement for their offence by the payment of conſiderable ſums to the Legate; who, by this expedient, was enabled to amaſs an immenſe treaſure.

In the month of March, in the year 1219, the kingdom ſuſtained an irreparable loſs, by the death of the Earl of Pembroke, who had proved the ſaviour of his country. He was ſucceeded in the regency by Peter de Roches, Biſhop of Wincheſter; and Hubert de Burgh, the High Juſticiary; a man whoſe approved loyalty and numerous virtues rendered him a worthy ſucceſſor of the great Pembroke. His authority, however, proved inadequate to reſtrain the licentious ſpirit of thoſe powerful Barons who had obtained by violence an enlargement of their liberties and independence, and in a manner emancipated themſelves from the allegiance due to their ſovereign. Their outrages and diſorders were not more detrimental to the King than injurious to the people. The royal caſtles, which they had either ſeized during the late commotions, or which had been entruſted to their care by the Regent, were now retained by force. The violence and injuſtice of this conduct were highly aggravated by their uſurpation of the King's demeſnes; the oppreſſion of their vaſſals; their tyranny to ſuch of their neighbours as were unable to reſiſt their attacks; and the protection they afforded to all riotous and diſorderly people, whoſe robberies and extortions they encouraged. Yet theſe were the ſame men whoſe *noble ſpirit*, and whoſe *pure patriotiſm*, have been ſo highly extolled by hiſtorians—nay, whoſe *generoſity* and *moderation* have been equally panegyriſed! The reader will now be induced to admit the juſtice of thoſe remarks which a ſtrict regard to impartial truth compelled us to offer on the conduct of theſe imperious Barons in the extortion of Magna Charta: he will be convinced, that they were averſe to enforce the neceſſary diſcrimination between liberty and licentiouſneſs; and were only eager to eſtabliſh a ſpecies of lawleſs independence, that ſhould authorize them to commit their depredations with impunity, and which was equally ſubverſive of every principle of civil government, and deſtructive of that peace and ſecurity which can alone be derived from a regular, well-ſupported ſyſtem of ſubordination.

The Earl of Albemarle was at the head of this licentious crew; and cancelled all the ſervices he had rendered his country in aſſiſting to expel the French, by increaſing to the utmoſt the general diſorder, and committing the moſt violent outrages in all the northern counties. Hubert adopted the moſt vigorous meaſures for reducing this factious nobleman to obedience; but he had formed ſo ſtrong a confederacy, that they proved ineffectual, till Pandulf, who had been reſtored to the office of Legate, interpoſed his authority. With the concurrence of eleven Biſhops, he iſſued a ſentence of excommunication againſt the Earl of Albemarle and his adherents; and an army being levied, and a ſcutage impoſed for it's ſupport, the aſſociates of that nobleman gradually deſerted him, and he was at laſt compelled to ſue for mercy; which was granted him with more liberality than prudence, as he received an unconditional pardon, and was reſtored to his whole eſtate.

This ill-timed lenity encouraged Fawkes de Breauté, who had been raiſed by the late King from a low origin, to perſevere in thoſe habits of rapine to which he ſtood indebted for his fortune, and to diſplay a ſovereign contempt both for juſtice and law. Thirty-five verdicts being found againſt him at one time, on account of his violent expulſion of ſo many freeholders from their poſſeſſions, he entered the court of juſtice with a body of armed men, ſeized the judge who had pronounced the verdicts, and impriſoned him in Bedford caſtle. He then waged open war againſt his ſovereign; but, being conquered and taken priſoner, he was puniſhed by the confiſcation of his eſtates, and the baniſhment of his perſon.

In a violent commotion, however, occaſioned by a wreſtling-match between the citizens of London on one ſide, and the inhabitants of Weſtminſter and thoſe of the neighbouring villages on the other, juſtice was executed with a greater degree of ſeverity. The former, deeming themſelves ill-uſed by the ſteward of the Abbot of Weſtminſter, aſſembled in great numbers, in order to exact vengeance. The mayor endeavoured to quell this tumult, by adviſing them to complain to the Abbot himſelf, who would afford them immediate redreſs: but this prudent advice was rejected, from the interpoſition of Conſtantine Fitz-Arnulf; a citizen, through opulence, proud; by diſpoſition, turbulent; and, from turbulence, popular; who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an active partizan of Lewis and the factious Barons. As the higheſt ambition of this man was to head a mob, and his utmoſt wiſh to revive thoſe civil diſſenſions which had convulſed the nation, he was determined if poſſible to excite a dangerous tumult, as a fit prelude to more ſerious diſorders. With this view he harangued the rioters; and, having ſufficiently inflamed their paſſions, propoſed that they ſhould immediately repair to the Abbot's houſe, and level it with the ground. This expedient having met with univerſal applauſe, he placed himſelf at their head, and proceeded to Weſtminſter, exclaiming, as they marched—"*Montjoye St. Denis!*" which was the cry of war commonly employed by the French troops.

The Juſticiary, being informed of this outrage, aggravated by the traitorous expreſſions of Conſtantine and his followers, which betrayed alarming ſymptoms of attachment to the French intereſt, repaired to the Tower with a body of troops, and ſummoned the rioters to appear before him, and anſwer for their conduct. Conſtantine obeyed the ſummons: and, having the inſolence to juſtify his crime in Hubert's preſence, he was proceeded againſt by martial law, and ordered to be hanged the next morning by the ſimple authority of the Juſticiary, without any formal trial or legal conviction.

viction. Many of the citizens, who were concerned in the tumult, were likewiſe puniſhed with the amputation of their hands and feet.

This act of ſeverity excited an univerſal clamour among the people, who complained of it as a flagrant infringement of the Great Charter: yet Hubert de Burgh, in a ſubſequent parliament ſummoned at Oxford—for the great councils about this period began to receive that appellation—did not ſcruple to grant, in the name of his ſovereign, a renewal and confirmation of that charter. When application was made to the crown for this favour—as in thoſe times the frequent renewal of a law appears to have been neceſſary to enſure it's validity—William de Briewere, one of the council of regency, openly declared that thoſe liberties, having been extorted by force, ought not to be obſerved; but the Archbiſhop of Canterbury reprimanded him ſeverely for this raſh declaration: and Henry himſelf, who had then attained his ſixteenth year, expreſſed his firm intention of obſerving the charter with the greateſt punctuality.

Two years after, a new confirmation was demanded, and granted; and, in return for this indulgence, an aid, amounting to the fifteenth of all moveables, was given by the parliament. When the King iſſued writs anew to the Sheriffs, enjoining the obſervance of the charter, he inſerted a remarkable clauſe; importing, that ſuch as did not pay the fifteenth ſhould be excluded from the benefit of thoſe liberties which it enſured.

Hubert, finding that the ſpirited exertion of that power which he poſſeſſed, as joint-regent of the kingdom, had incurred an odium that might prove dangerous to the authority of the crown, made application to the Pope—who was ſtill conſidered as ſuperior lord of the realm—for a bull, declaring the King to be of full age, and entitled to exerciſe, in perſon, all the acts of royalty; which was accordingly iſſued.

HENRY



Publish'd as the Act directs by Harrison & Co. Feb.y 1789

HENRY THE THIRD.

HENRY, having been declared of full age to exerciſe ſovereign authority, now aſſumed the government of the kingdom. The two important fortreſſes of the Tower of London and Dover Caſtle, which had been committed to the cuſtody of Hubert de Burgh, were reſigned into his hands by that brave nobleman, who at the ſame time required the other Barons to follow his example: many of them, however, refuſed to comply. The Earls of Cheſter and Albemarle; John, Conſtable of Cheſter; John de Lacy; Brian de L'Iſle; William de Cantel; and ſome others, even formed a conſpiracy to ſurprize London, and met at Waltham armed for that purpoſe: but, finding the King duly prepared to repel their rebellious efforts, they were obliged to deſiſt from their enterprize.

When ſummoned to court to anſwer for their conduct, theſe factious Nobles, whoſe licentious ſpirit was wholly unchecked by any principle of loyalty, did not ſcruple to appear and openly avow their deſigns; though they told the King that they had no deſign againſt his perſon, but only againſt Hubert de Burgh, whom they were determined to remove from his office: an aſſertion that was belied by their ſubſequent conduct; for, being too formidable to incur that chaſtiſement they merited, they were ſuffered to paſs unpuniſhed; and, far from being diſcouraged at the failure of their firſt attempt, they again aſſembled at Leiceſter with the intent of ſeizing the King, who then reſided at Northampton. But Henry, being apprized of their deſigns, had provided a ſufficient force to receive them; ſo that the Barons, finding the attempt would be attended with danger, contented themſelves with remaining in the vicinity, in order to ſeize the firſt favourable opportunity that ſhould preſent itſelf.

The Primate, and the reſt of the Prelates, perceiving that a civil war muſt be the inevitable conſequence of ſuch lawleſs proceedings, interpoſed their authority; and threatened to iſſue a ſentence of excommunication againſt the Barons, if they did not immediately forego their traitorous intentions, and reſign the royal caſtles. This well-timed menace, at laſt, produced the deſired effect: moſt of the fortreſſes were ſurrendered, though the Nobles expreſſed their diſſatisfaction with the King for ſoon after reſtoring thoſe which Hubert had reſigned, while he kept theirs in his own cuſtody; aſſerting, that the conduct of the Juſticiary had been ſtrongly tinctured with duplicity. But the character of that gallant nobleman, particularly when contraſted with that of his accuſers, affords the ſtrongeſt proof of the malice of their aſſertions.

At this period there are ſaid to have been eleven hundred and fifteen caſtles in England.

The fifteenth, which had been granted by parliament to the King, was applied to the purpoſe of carrying on a war with France; which, notwithſtanding the rebellious diſpoſition of the Nobles, that rendered the authority of the crown extremely precarious, was now found neceſſary.

Lewis the Eighth, ſurnamed the Lion, had ſucceeded his father Philip in the throne of France; and, on his acceſſion, was addreſſed by Henry to make a reſtitution of Normandy, and all the territories which had been taken by Philip from his father, in compliance with a ſolemn oath which Henry affirmed he had made at the late pacification. Lewis, however, inſtead of granting his requeſt, anſwered that, far from being inclined to make reſtitution, as thoſe territories had been formally confiſcated by a verdict of the Peers of France, he was reſolved to ſeize on ſuch places on the continent as ſtill remained in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

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He accordingly made an irruption into Poictou; took the towns of Niort and St. Jean d'Andely; and, continuing his march to Guienne, reduced all the places that lay in his way, and received the homage of their inhabitants. He next directed his courſe to Rochelle, which he reduced, after an obſtinate reſiſtance. On the news of theſe loſſes, Henry raiſed a conſiderable army, which he ſent into France, under the command of his brother, Prince Richard—to whom he had granted the earldom of Cornwall, which had eſcheated to the crown—and his uncle, the Earl of Saliſbury, who impeded the progreſs of the French arms, and after a conteſt of near two years, brought the King of France, in the year 1227, to conſent to a truce; by which means the nation was reſtored to a ſtate of tranquillity, both at home and abroad.

Soon after the return of Prince Richard, a diſpute occurred between him and the King, that had nearly been attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences to the nation. There was a manor which had formerly belonged to the earldom of Cornwall; but had been granted to Walleran de Ties before that earldom had been conferred on Richard. Richard, however, whoſe ruling paſſion was avarice—a paſſion he was reſolved to gratify at the expence of juſtice—now laid claim to this manor, and expelled the lawful proprietor by force. Walleran complained to the King, who immediately ordered his brother to reſtore him to his rights; but the Earl refuſed to obey, till the cauſe ſhould have been ſubmitted to the judgment of his Peers. Henry replied, that it was firſt neceſſary to reinſtate Walleran in poſſeſſion before the cauſe could be tried; and reiterated his orders to the Earl for that purpoſe. It may eaſily be imagined how very precarious the King's authority muſt have been, when an affair of this kind had almoſt kindled the flames of civil diſſenſion.

The Earl of Cornwall, finding Henry peremptory in his commands, entered into an aſſociation with the young Earl of Pembroke, who had married his ſiſter, and who had conceived a diſguſt againſt the King for having demanded the reſtitution of ſome royal caſtles which were in his cuſtody. Theſe two malcontents engaged in the confederacy the Earls of Cheſter, Warenne, Glouceſter, Hereford, Warwick, and Ferrers, who all entertained a diſlike to the King for a ſimilar reaſon. They aſſembled a numerous army, which Henry had neither power nor courage to reſiſt; he was therefore obliged to have recourſe to negotiation, and purchaſe tranquillity by the ſacrifice of his dignity and legal prerogatives. To gratify the avarice of his brother, he made him a grant of lands of much greater value than the manor which had formed the ſubject of diſpute.

Lewis the Eighth, King of France, had died in the year 1226, after a ſhort reign of three years and four months; and the regency having been entruſted to the care of Blanche of Caſtile during the infancy of his ſon and ſucceſſor, Saint Lewis, that kingdom had become a ſcene of confuſion, and preſented to the Engliſh monarch the faireſt proſpect of recovering thoſe continental dominions which had been wreſted from his father. Henry even received a preſſing invitation from the Normans; who promiſed, if he would land in their province with an army ſufficient to effect their liberation from the yoke of the French, that they would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. He ſuffered, however, this favourable opportunity to eſcape: though, when the political hemiſphere of France had recovered it's ſerenity, and the authority of Blanche was eſtabliſhed on a ſolid foundation, he imprudently reſolved on the adoption of thoſe vigorous meaſures from whence he could not now hope to derive the ſmalleſt advantage. In conſequence of this reſolution, the King ſummoned all his military tenants, both in England and Ireland, to meet him at Portſmouth on Michaelmas-day, in the year 1229, in order to attend him to the continent: but when, in obedience to his ſummons, a numerous and gallant army appeared at the appointed time ready for embarkation, it was found that the number of ſhips prepared to receive them were greatly inadequate to the purpoſe. Whether this circumſtance was owing to the neglect or treachery of his miniſters, is a point undecided by hiſtorians.

The expedition being thus poſtponed, Henry made a progreſs into the north; and paſſed the feſtival of Chriſtmas at York, where he received a viſit from Alexander, King of Scotland. He then aſſembled the Parliament, and obtained a ſcutage for defraying the expences of another armament. The general rendezvous was appointed at Reading, for the beginning of April; from whence he marched to Portſmouth, and on the laſt day of the month embarked for France, and arrived ſafe at St. Malo; where he was received by the Duke of Britanny, who ſurrendered ſeveral places of ſtrength into his hands; and a great number of the nobility did homage to him as their ſovereign.

The young King of France had already taken Angiers, in the vicinity of which his army was poſted to obſerve the motions of the Engliſh, and oppoſe their irruption into Poitou; but, ſeeing that Henry remained at Nantes in a ſtate of inactivity, he advanced towards Amiens, which he inveſted and took, together with ſeveral places in the neighbourhood of Henry's quarters, without having experienced the ſmalleſt interruption from that Prince; who, far from making thoſe exertions which were neceſſary to enſure ſucceſs to his undertaking, devoted his whole time to feſtivity and pleaſure.

Notwithſtanding the prudent and wiſe adminiſtration of the Queen-regent, the diſcontented Nobles of France, in the hope of being ſuſtained by Henry, embraced the opportunity afforded them by the abſence of their monarch, to excite freſh commotions, which compelled Lewis to retire from Anjou, in order to reduce them to obedience; and, had Henry poſſeſſed ſkill and ſpirit ſufficient to avail himſelf of this favourable juncture, there is little doubt that he would have been able to recover the dominions he was anxious to poſſeſs. The French forces were all employed in another quarter; and the Normans continued their ſolicitations to him to go and take poſſeſſion of their country: but, inſtead

of complying with their requeſt, he marched into Poitou, and made himſelf maſter of Mirebeau; then repaired to Guienne to receive the homage of the Gaſcon Barons; and, laſtly, returned to Britanny, where he relapſed into his former indolence, and ſuffered Lewis to compleat, without interruption, the pacification of his kingdom. So impolitic and abſurd was the conduct of Henry on this occaſion, that his miniſters were ſuſpected of maintaining a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy; and the French Barons, finding that from a Prince of this diſpoſition no aſſiſtance was to be expected, unanimouſly conſented to accept of the terms offered them by their ſovereign.

Henry, being tired of a war which through his own imbecility had proved ſo unproductive of honour and advantage, agreed to leave four hundred Knights, and a body of horſe, to aſſiſt the Duke of Britanny; and to remit ſix thouſand marks for the ſervice of that nobleman, as ſoon as he ſhould have arrived in England. His departure from the continent was accelerated by the approach of the French King, who now marched to oppoſe him; and he accordingly embarked for his native dominions, where he landed about the end of October, loaded with diſgrace. But the Earls of Cheſter, Albemarle, and Pembroke, who were appointed to command the troops that were left behind, diſplayed equal activity and reſolution in their exertions after the King's departure: they made incurſions into Anjou, where they took and diſmantled ſeveral important fortreſſes, and afterwards ravaged the frontiers of Normandy.

The late miſcarriage on the continent had rendered the adminiſtration of Hubert de Burgh both unpopular and odious; for the people, who are ever inapt to diſcriminate, continually attribute both ſucceſs and misfortunes to improper cauſes. The ability and virtue of this miniſter had been approved in a thouſand inſtances: by a ſteady repulſion of the dictates of intereſt, he had preſerved his loyalty inviolate in the moſt arduous ſituations; he had held the balance of juſtice with an unbiaſſed hand, equally ſtudious to protect from infringement the legal prerogatives of the crown, and to preſerve the juſt rights of the people from oppreſſion. There is, indeed, one inſtance of his conduct, recorded by Matthew Paris, which, were it fact, would undoubtedly reflect diſgrace on his memory; that is, the adviſing his ſovereign publicly to annul the Charter of Foreſts: a conceſſion founded on the plaineſt principles of reaſon and juſtice, and ſo admirably calculated to acquire popularity. But as this circumſtance is mentioned by no other hiſtorian, and is ſo extremely contradictory to the general tenor of Hubert's conduct, the teſtimony of Matthew Paris muſt be conſidered as more than doubtful: nor, in aſſertions wholly unſupported by proof, and evidently militating againſt reaſon and probability, can we heſitate to diſbelieve an author, in whoſe hiſtorical writings we have had frequent occaſion to remark a moſt ſhameful diſregard to veracity.

Hubert, during the enjoyment of his authority, had acquired the eſteem and confidence of Henry, who diſtinguiſhed him by a profuſion of honours and favours that were richly deſerved. Beſides the acquiſition of many caſtles and manors, he married the eldeſt ſiſter of the King of Scots; was created Earl of Kent; and, by an unuſual conceſſion, was made Chief Juſticiary for life. But all the important ſervices of this nobleman proved inſufficient to ſecure him from perſecution: the miſconduct of his maſter was imputed to him by the people, who were loud in their complaints againſt him; and Henry, whoſe weak mind was ever ſubject to the influence of caprice, evinced the moſt culpable attention to the malevolent ſuggeſtions of his enemies. Among other frivolous accuſations preferred againſt him, were thoſe of gaining the King's affections by the aſſiſtance of magic; and of ſtealing from the royal treaſury a gem, which was endowed with the ſingular virtue of rendering the wearer invulnerable; and of ſending this valuable curioſity to the Prince of Wales. The Barons, whoſe enmity to Hubert had ever increaſed in proportion to his zeal for the ſervice of his maſter in oppoſition to their factious and illegal claims, no ſooner perceived a favourable opportunity for the gratification of their malice and revenge, than they eagerly embraced it; and, by inflaming the King's animoſity againſt his beſt friend and moſt faithful ſervant, urged him to purſue Hubert to deſtruction. He was accordingly deprived of his office of High Juſticiary, and received peremptory orders to deliver an account of the diſpoſal of the royal revenues during his adminiſtration. Perceiving that the intention of his enemies was not only to effect his ruin, but to deprive him of life, he took ſanctuary in the priory of Merton; from whence the King ordered the Mayor of London to bring him, either dead or alive. The citizens of London, to whom the unſhaken loyalty of Hubert had rendered that nobleman peculiarly odious, prepared to execute the royal mandate with ſpeed and effect, and for that purpoſe had aſſembled to the number of twenty thouſand; when a counter order arrived from the King, who had been perſuaded by ſome of his courtiers, poſſeſſed of more prudence than himſelf, not to entruſt the execution of juſtice to an enraged mob. After ſome time, he left his ſanctuary, to viſit his wife; but, his flight being diſcovered, he was purſued by a party of ſoldiers, and compelled to take refuge in a church; from whence, however, they dragged him; and, having treated him with every ſpecies of inſult and indignity, conveyed him to the Tower of London: but the interpoſition of the clergy obliged Henry to reſtore him to his ſanctuary; where, being ſo ſtrictly guarded as to preclude the poſſibility of an eſcape, or the reception of food, he was reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering himſelf, and was once more committed to the Tower. When he was in daily expectation of finding the malice of his enemies attended with the fulleſt ſucceſs, the King's reſentment began to ſubſide; and the miſt of prejudice that had obſcured his reaſon being diſpelled, he abſolutely refuſed his conſent to the death of a man, of whoſe ſervices he now appears to have entertained a very

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juſt idea. But though Hubert recovered a conſiderable ſhare of the King's confidence, he evinced his wiſdom in forbearing to expoſe himſelf to ſimilar dangers, by avoiding all concern in the adminiſtration of public affairs.

This virtuous miniſter was ſucceeded by Peter de Roches, Biſhop of Wincheſter, a Poictevin by birth, who poſſeſſed both courage and talents; but the former only urged him to ſupport his deſpotic principles by a daring violation of the people's rights, while the latter were employed in the creation of a dangerous influence. His firſt ſtep was to perſuade the King that moſt of the Engliſh nobles were ill-affected to his government; and that, ſo long as they poſſeſſed the great offices of the kingdom, he would remain in a ſtate of abſolute dependence. To extricate himſelf from a ſituation ſo degrading to a monarch, this artful Prelate adviſed him gradually to undermine the extenſive power of the Barons, by depriving them of every poſt and government productive of influence or emolument; which he might beſtow on foreigners, whoſe gratitude for favours they could have no right to expect would render them wholly devoted to his pleaſure. Henry, who inherited his father's hatred to the Barons, was highly pleaſed with this advice; and, in a little time, a conſiderable number of Poictevins and other foreigners were imported into England, on whom the King beſtowed all the moſt lucrative employments, procured them the richeſt heireſſes in marriage, and even entruſted them with the wardſhip of the moſt opulent of the royal wards. Thus the revenues of the crown, already too much impoveriſhed, were exhauſted on men whoſe inſolence, ſtill more provoking than their power, excited the hatred and diſguſt of all orders of men in the kingdom. The Earl of Pembroke was the firſt who ventured openly to declare his ſentiments on this unjuſt and impolitic attachment to ſtrangers. He told the King that his partiality to foreigners alienated the affections of his native ſubjects, and produced ſuch diſcontent as would certainly be attended with fatal conſequences. To this remonſtrance the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who was preſent, replied, that the Earl's inſolence deſerved chaſtiſement, for pretending to deprive his ſovereign of the liberty to employ thoſe whom he judged moſt proper for his ſervice; and that, if the foreigners already in the kingdom were inſufficient to reduce his rebellious ſubjects to obedience, a greater number ſhould be brought over for that purpoſe. A declaration ſo replete with arrogance could not fail to irritate the Engliſh nobles; who forthwith retired from court, and began to form aſſociations for their mutual defence. A parliament being ſummoned by the King to meet at Oxford, on the twenty-fourth of June, in the year 1233, the Barons unanimouſly refuſed to attend, on pretence of the danger to which they were expoſed from the machinations of the Poictevins. A ſecond citation to meet at Weſtminſter, on the eleventh of July, was treated with equal neglect; nay, ſo deep was their reſentment, that they ſent a deputation to the King, to deſire that he would immediately diſmiſs the Biſhop of Wincheſter and his foreigners, otherwiſe they ſhould be reduced to the neceſſity of depoſing him, and filling the vacant throne with ſome Prince more worthy to enjoy it. This daring language greatly terrified Henry; and made no ſmall impreſſion on the miniſter, who now perceived that his only hopes of ſafety muſt proceed from the probability of ſowing the ſeeds of diſſenſion among the Barons. This politic ſcheme he accordingly adopted; and it was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that he ſpeedily detached from the confederacy the Earls of Cornwall, Cheſter, and Lincoln; and their example was followed by ſo many of their adherents, that the Earl of Pembroke was nearly deſerted by his whole party, and left to ſuſtain the undivided weight of the royal indignation. After defending himſelf for ſome time with great bravery, ſenſible of the impoſſibility of ſupporting ſo unequal a conteſt, that gallant nobleman at length withdrew into Ireland, where he was treacherouſly murdered by the contrivance of the Biſhop of Wincheſter. Many other Barons were puniſhed by the confiſcation of their eſtates, without legal ſentence or trial by their Peers, in direct violation of one of the principal articles of the Great Charter. Peter beſtowed the poſſeſſions ſo forfeited on his countrymen; and his inſolence had acquired ſuch force from ſucceſs, that he publicly declared, that the Barons of England had no pretenſions to the enjoyment of the ſame liberties as the nobles of France; the monarchs in the former country being endued with a more abſolute power than in the latter. Mr. Hume remarks, that he might with greater propriety have ſaid, that men ſo unwilling to ſubmit to the authority of laws, could with the worſe grace claim any ſhelter or protection from them. Though we heartily ſubſcribe to the juſtice of this obſervation, yet we cannot but regret that an hiſtorian, whoſe authority is ſo greatly, and, in many inſtances, ſo *deſervedly* reſpected, ſhould have beſtowed his praiſe and cenſure on the ſame objects with indiſcriminate profuſion.

We are told by Matthew Paris, that when at any time the King was checked in his illegal practices, and reminded of the ſtipulations of the Great Charter, he was wont to reply—" Why ſhould I obſerve " this charter, which is neglected by all my gran- " dees, both Prelates and nobility." It was very properly ſaid to him—" It is your duty, Sir, to ſet " the example." This anecdote, however, ſufficiently demonſtrates that the Barons, in their eagerneſs to obtain Magna Charta, were not actuated by laudable motives, ſince the whole tenor of their conduct evinced a determination to render it ſubſervient to their own intereſted views and ambitious projects.

The triumph of the miniſter, obtained by the moſt odious and unjuſtifiable means, was too violent to be of long duration; but, it is worthy remark, that what had baffled the moſt ſtrenuous attempts of the nobles, was effected with facility by the church. Edmond, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, repaired, with his ſuffragans, to court, and remonſtrated with Henry on the ruinous meaſures which he had been urged to adopt by the wickedneſs of his miniſters. He accuſed Peter, Biſhop of Wincheſter, as the author

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of thoſe pernicious counſels, which had diffuſed a ſpirit of diſcontent throughout the whole nation; he repreſented, in ſtrong terms, the ſerious danger of entruſting foreigners with the moſt important offices of the kingdom; and, finally, inſiſted on the removal of thoſe evil counſellors, under penalty of excommunication to him and his adherents. The King, alarmed at the urgency of this remonſtrance, deſired time to deliberate; and, having found that the Primate was not to be deterred from his purpoſe, his deliberation ended in ſubmiſſion. The Biſhop of Wincheſter was commanded to retire to his dioceſe; all the Poictevins were deprived of their places, and baniſhed the kingdom; the natives were re-admitted into the privy-council; and the Primate, who had effected this important change, and who, as well from that circumſtance as from his attention to execute the laws with punctuality, and to enforce the obſervance of the Charter of Liberties, merited the higheſt diſtinction, bore a great ſway in the new adminiſtration.

About this time, Henry acquired a powerful ally in the perſon of the Emperor Frederic the Second, who demanded his ſiſter Iſabel in marriage. A propoſal ſo advantageous was immediately embraced, and the articles of the contract ſettled. The Nobles granted a ſcutage, by which thirty thouſand marks were levied for her portion. She was ſent, attended by a numerous and ſplendid retinue, into Germany; and the nuptials were celebrated at Worms with incredible magnificence, in preſence of four Kings, eleven Dukes, thirty Marquiſſes and Earls, beſides a vaſt concourſe of Prelates and gentlemen.

When the King had thus diſpoſed of his ſiſter, he began to entertain ſerious thoughts of marriage himſelf. He had already made advances to ſeveral different Princeſſes; though his ſuit had always been rejected: but having now attained his twenty-ninth year, that levity, which had occaſioned his former diſappointments, had in a great degree ſubſided; and perceiving the expediency of ſettling the ſucceſſion, in order to enſure the tranquillity of his kingdom, he reſolved to eſpouſe Eleanor, the ſecond daughter of Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence, whoſe eldeſt daughter was already married to the King of France.

This alliance being approved of by the Nobles and Prelates, ambaſſadors were ſent with formal propoſals to the Count, who accepted them without heſitation; and Eleanor was accordingly ſent to England, at the commencement of the year 1236. The marriage was celebrated at Canterbury, on the fourteenth day of January; and on the Sunday following ſhe was crowned at Weſtminſter.

This marriage unfortunately counteracted the wiſe regulations and prudential conduct of the new miniſtry, in reviving Henry's infatuation for foreign favourites. The Queen was attended to England by numbers of her relations and countrymen, who were careſſed by the King with the fondeſt affection, and enriched with the ſpoils of the natives. William of Savoy, Biſhop of Valence, and maternal uncle to the Queen, was appointed Prime Miniſter, and entruſted with the chief direction of public affairs; Peter of Savoy, a brother of the ſame family, was created Earl of Richmond, and received the lucrative wardſhip of the opulent Earl Warrenne; Boniface, of Savoy, was promoted to the See of Canterbury; all the principal places of power and truſt were again filled by foreigners; and many young ladies of Provence received invitations to repair to England, where they were married to the chief noblemen of the kingdom, who were wards of the crown: and, as the ſource of Henry's bounty began to fail, his Savoyard miniſtry made application to the ſovereign Pontiff, and obtained a bull, which granted him permiſſion to reſume all paſt grants; abſolved him from the oath which he had taken to maintain them; even enjoined him to make ſuch a reſumption; and repreſented thoſe grants as invalid, on account of their being prejudicial to the intereſt of the Pope, who was ſuperior lord of the realm. The oppoſition, however, made to ſo unjuſt a meaſure, was ſuch as effectually prevented it's execution: but the eagerneſs to adopt it was ſufficiently demonſtrative to the nation of the King's willingneſs to ſubmit to the moſt flagrant indignities, in order to gratify the rapaciouſneſs of his foreign favourites.

About the ſame time, he cauſed to be publiſhed in England the ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſt his brother-in-law, the Emperor Frederic; and alledged, as an excuſe for his conduct, that being the Pope's vaſſal, he was compelled, by his oath of allegiance, to obey all the commands of his Holineſs. Thus was this weak monarch induced to trifle with religious obligations, and taught to conſider an oath as ſacred only when the obſervance of it accorded with his own private intereſt.

For ſome years ſubſequent to his marriage, the King was engaged in continual diſputes with his Barons, who remonſtrated with much earneſtneſs againſt his unjuſt partiality to foreigners. When Henry was preſſed by any ſudden danger, or when his neceſſities compelled him to apply to his parliament for ſupplies, he affected to pay the greateſt attention to their remonſtrances, and promiſed to be guided in future by the ſole advice of the Engliſh Nobles; but the danger was no ſooner vaniſhed, and the ſupplies granted, than he wantonly violated every engagement he had contracted.

Though the continued oppreſſion of his ſubjects had rendered his government extremely unpopular, and the difficulties of extorting ſupplies was augmented in proportion to their repeated miſapplication, Henry imprudently engaged in a war with France, from which no advantage could poſſibly be derived. His mother, Iſabella, who had been unjuſtly taken by the late King from the Count de la Marche, to whom ſhe was betrothed, was no ſooner miſtreſs of herſelf by the death of her huſband, than ſhe married that nobleman. The eſtates of the Count lay in that part of Poitou which was ſubject to France; and which, having been ceded by Lewis the Ninth to his brother Alphonſo, the Barons had received orders to pay homage to their new lord. This homage, however, Iſabella inſtigated her huſband

band to refuſe, as derogatory to his dignity; and farther urged him to emancipate himſelf from his ſubjection to France; and, for that purpoſe, to apply for protection to her ſon, the King of England. An invitation was accordingly made, and accepted by Henry; who, having aſſembled an army, repaired to France to aſſiſt the Count, in the year 1242. But this expedition was attended with no better ſucceſs than his former one to the ſame country. Lewis, after various engagements, reduced his rebellious vaſſals to obedience; and, having taken that part of Poitou which belonged to England, obliged Henry to return to his kingdom with precipitation and diſgrace: though, in order to conceal the ſhame he muſt naturally have experienced on this occaſion, he ſummoned all his military tenants to meet him at Portſmouth, and conduct him to London, with the ſame pomp and parade as if, inſtead of returning humiliated from the ſcene of his diſgrace, he had come back triumphant from the field of honour.

The odium and contempt incurred by the unaccountable weakneſs and profuſion of Henry's government daily augmented; and, as the prodigality of the King involved him in continual diſtreſs, he was compelled, ſoon after his return from the continent, again to have recourſe to his parliament for ſupplies: but, far from complying with his requeſt, the parliament, under pretence of his incapacity to ſway the ſceptre with honour to himſelf and advantage to his ſubjects, formed a ſcheme for depoſing him, and entruſting the helm of government to a ſelect number of Barons, to be choſen by themſelves; the ſudden diſſolution, however, of that aſſembly, prevented the execution of their project.

The diſcontent of the Barons appears to have had little effect on Henry, ſo long as their clamours were unattended by any immediate danger; he ſtill continued to exhibit the moſt flagrant marks of his unjuſt partiality to foreigners; and, in the year 1247, a new ſwarm of them were invited over to partake of his bounty. Among theſe were the King's three uterine brothers, Guy de Luſignan, William, and Aymer de Valence, ſons of the Count de la Marche, and of Queen Iſabella, who was now dead. Henry afforded them the moſt affectionate reception; and neither conſidered his own circumſtances, nor the inclinations of his people, in the honours and riches which he conferred upon them. His continual profuſion had by this time reduced him to ſuch extremities, that he was under the neceſſity of diſpoſing of his plate and jewels, in order to diſcharge a part of his debts. When this idea was firſt ſuggeſted to him, he aſked which of his ſubjects were ſufficiently opulent to become the purchaſers; and when he was anſwered, "The citizens of London," he replied—"On my word, if the treaſury of Au-
"guſtus were expoſed to ſale, the citizens are able to
"purchaſe it. Theſe clowns, who aſſume to them-
"ſelves the appellation of Barons, abound in every
"thing, while we are reduced to neceſſities."

As the parliament, irritated at the conduct of their ſovereign, were often induced to refuſe him the ſupplies which his neceſſities urged him to demand, and that, too, in terms of reproach that frequently bordered on indecency, he obliged his opulent ſubjects, and particularly the citizens of London, of whoſe wealth he had recently experienced the moſt convincing proofs, to grant him loans of money. He likewiſe demanded benevolences, or pretended voluntary contributions, from his Nobility and Prelates. He was the firſt King of England that practiſed the diſpenſing power, and employed the clauſe of *non obſtante* in his grants and patents. When objections were made to this dangerous innovation, he alledged, as an excuſe, that he only followed the example of the Pope, by whom it had been introduced. But the manner in which the Roman Pontiff abuſed his diſpenſing power—in violating the canons of general councils, in invading the privileges and cuſtoms of all particular churches, and in uſurping on the rights of patrons—was more likely to excite the jealouſy of the people, than to reconcile them to a ſimilar practice in their civil government. Roger de Thurkeſby, one of the King's Juſtices, was ſo ſenſible of the pernicious tendency of ſuch a precedent, that he was induced to exclaim—"Alas! into what times are we fallen? "Behold, the corruption of the eccleſiaſtical has "extended to the civil court; and from that foun-"tain is the river poiſoned!" Indeed, the eccleſiaſtical grievances, if poſſible, exceeded thoſe of a civil nature; and the oppreſſions of the King were ſtill leſs burdenſome than the endleſs uſurpations and exactions of the court of Rome.

On the death of Cardinal Langton, which occurred on the ninth of July, in the year 1228, the monks of Canterbury elected Walter de Hemeſham, one of their own body, to ſucceed him in the primacy; but both the King and the Biſhops of the province being diſſatisfied with their choice, an appeal was, as uſual, made to the Pope. His Holineſs, at firſt, pretended to diſcover ſo many doubts and difficulties in the caſe as would render a ſpeedy deciſion impoſſible; but Henry, who knew what arguments could beſt prevail at the court of Rome, having made a promiſe of a tenth of all the moveables, as well of the laity as of the clergy of England, every impediment was inſtantly removed, and the election of Walter annulled. But, to prevent future conteſts, the Pope, without conſulting the King, or waiting for a new election, immediately appointed Richard Le Grand, Chancellor of Lincoln, to be the ſucceſſor of Langton. When this point was determined, the ſovereign Pontiff diſpatched a Legate to England, to collect the tenths which had been promiſed him by the King; and, though the demand experienced great oppoſition from the parliament, the joint force of regal and papal authority overcame every obſtacle, and enforced univerſal ſubjection. The tax was accordingly collected; and, as the Legate ſaw the neceſſity of expedition, he inſiſted that each Prelate ſhould depoſit the quota that was to be paid by the inferior clergy of their dioceſes; and when a want of money was objected to this unreaſonable claim, he introduced to them certain Italian uſurers, whom he had brought over for that purpoſe, who advanced the requiſite ſums at an exorbitant intereſt.

On the death of Richard, in the month of Auguſt, in the year 1231, the monks elected Ralph de Neville, Biſhop of Chicheſter; and, though this election met with the fulleſt approbation of the King, the Pope, from an idea that Ralph's attachment to his ſovereign would prevent him from becoming the paſſive tool of a foreign Prieſt, aſſumed the power of declaring it null and void. Three other clergymen, ſucceſſively appointed by the monks, were rejected for the ſame reaſon; and they were at laſt told, that if they would chuſe Edmund Rich, treaſurer of the church of Saliſbury, the Pope would confirm their election. Having experienced the inutility of reſiſtance, under a monarch who had not ſpirit to defend either the prerogatives of the crown or the rights of the people, they were obliged to ſubmit; and Edmund was accordingly choſen and conſecrated. In both theſe inſtances the Pope had the prudence to fix on men who were in all reſpects worthy to enjoy ſo elevated a ſtation: the precedent, however, was not leſs pregnant with danger; and, indeed, every one was aware of his inſidious intention of thus uſurping the right of appointment to the firſt eccleſiaſtical office in the kingdom.

But the avarice, more than the ambition, of the See of Rome, appears in this age to have been the ſubject of general complaint. The papal miniſters, finding the care of their predeceſſors had been productive of a vaſt accumulation of power, were anxious to convert it to immediate profit; preferring the enjoyment of wealth to the extenſion of authority. Every thing had become venal in the Romiſh tribunals; the practice of ſimony was publicly eſtabliſhed; and a bribe was even neceſſary for the attainment of juſtice. Beſides the uſual perverſions of right in the deciſions of controverſies, the Pope arrogated to himſelf an abſolute and uncontrouled authority of ſetting aſide all particular rules, and all privileges of patrons, churches, and convents. The poverty of the Romiſh See having been artfully alledged as an excuſe for theſe enormities, afforded a plauſive pretext for endleſs exactions. In the year 1237, Cardinal Otho was ſent as the Pope's Legate to England; and during the three years that he reſided in this kingdom, having in vain attempted the clergy in a body, he obtained ſeparately, by intrigues and menaces, ſuch large ſums from the prelates and convents, that on his departure, in the year 1240, he is ſaid to have carried more money out of the kingdom than he left in it.

At this time, three hundred Italians were ſent into England, on whom all the benefices of the kingdom were conferred. Non-reſidence and pluralities were carried to an enormous height: Manſel, the King's Chaplain, is computed to have held at once ſeven hundred eccleſiaſtical livings; and theſe abuſes became ſo palpable as to excite an univerſal ſpirit of indignation. Aſſociations were formed for the expulſion of the Italians: their houſes were pillaged; their lands laid waſte; and their perſons inſulted. Not contented with this exemplary puniſhment, when Innocent the Fourth called a general council at Lyons, in the year 1245, for the purpoſe of excommunicating the Emperor Frederic, the Nobility ſent over agents to complain before the council of the rapacity of the Romiſh Church. They repreſented, among many other grievances, that the church preferments poſſeſſed by the Italians in England had been eſtimated, and found to amount to ſixty thouſand marks: a ſum which exceeded the annual revenue of the crown itſelf. The letter preſented to the council on this occaſion was replete with ſpirit and good ſenſe. After a ſuccinct examination of the various oppreſſions of the Court of Rome, it concluded with obſerving, that the patience of the Barons was exhauſted; and that they were fully determined no longer to endure that tyranny which was deteſtable to God and man. William Powerie, who delivered this letter, made a ſpirited harangue to the council; in which he endeavoured to enforce it's contents, by diſplaying the innumerable frauds and inſatiate avarice of the Pontiff in ſuch ſtrong colours, that his Holineſs was involved in confuſion; and a bluſh, for once, was diſcovered to riſe on the cheek of Infallibility. They could obtain, however, no ſatisfactory anſwer to their remonſtrances: but, as mention had been made before the council of the feudal ſubjection of England to the See of Rome, we are told by Matthew Paris, that the Engliſh agents, at whoſe head was Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, proteſted againſt the claim, and inſiſted that King John had no right, without the conſent of his Barons, to ſubject the kingdom to ſo ignominous a ſervitude. The Popes, indeed, afraid of proceeding to too great extremities againſt England, leſt deſpair ſhould produce effectual reſiſtance, appear from this time never to have inſiſted, with much earneſtneſs, on that pretenſion.

Henry, finding that his parliament entertained ſo juſt a ſenſe of his miſconduct as to refuſe to contribute to the ſupport of his extravagance, was obliged to have recourſe to other illegal and oppreſſive methods of raiſing money. To furniſh a plauſible pretext for new exactions, he aſſumed the Croſs, in the year 1250; and declared his reſolution to repair to Paleſtine, at the head of an army, to reſcue from the Infidels that land which had already reſiſted the attacks of ſo many Chriſtian Quixotes. In order to defray the expences of this expedition, he extorted money from the clergy and merchants, but more particularly from the Jews; which, when he had obtained, he devoted to very different purpoſes, and deferred his voyage *ad calendas Græcas*. But ſuch was the inſatiate avarice of thoſe foreign harpies by whom the King was ſurrounded, that, notwithſtanding the mean expedients to which he had recourſe for the purpoſe of raiſing money, he was ſo reduced in his circumſtances as to be heard to ſay, That alms given to him were more charitably beſtowed than on the wretch who begged from door to door. Nay, if Matthew Paris may be credited, the officers of his houſhold committed robberies on the highway with the knowledge of their maſter, who partook of the produce of their depredations.

The province of Gaſcony, in France, ſtill belonged to the crown of England; but, ſeveral of the Barons having entered into a confederacy to emanci-

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pate themſelves from the Engliſh government, Henry had ſent over Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leiceſter, with an army, to reduce them to ſubjection This nobleman was a younger ſon of that Simon de Montfort who had ſignalized his courage and conduct in the cruſade which he conducted againſt the Albigenſes; and who, though his heroiſm was tarniſhed with cruelty, and his zeal polluted by ambition, had left a name revered by all the bigots of the age, and particularly by the eccleſiaſtics. A large inheritance in England fell by ſucceſſion to this family; but, as the elder brother enjoyed ſtill more extenſive poſſeſſions in France, and could not ſwear fealty to two maſters, he transferred his right to Simon, his younger brother, who came over to England, did homage for his lands, and was raiſed to the dignity of the Earl of Leiceſter. In the year 1238, he eſpouſed Eleanor, widow of William, Earl of Pembroke, and ſiſter to the King: though the marriage of this Princeſs with a ſubject and a foreigner, notwithſtanding it was contracted with the conſent of Henry, was loudly complained of by the Earl of Cornwall, and all the Barons of England, againſt whoſe violence it required all the royal favour and authority to ſupport him. But he had no ſooner eſtabliſhed himſelf in his poſſeſſions and dignities, than he acquired, by inſinuation and addreſs, a ſtrong intereſt with the nation, and gained equally the affections of all orders of men. He loſt, however, the friendſhip of Henry, either from the uſual levity and fickleneſs of that Prince, or from his own imperious and impatient diſpoſition. In conſequence of this he was baniſhed the court; but, having been ſoon after recalled, was now appointed to command in Gaſcony, where he ſucceeded in reducing the revolted Barons to obedience But the ſeverities which he exerciſed after the eſtabliſhment of tranquillity, exaſperated the Gaſcons to ſuch a degree, that they ſent over commiſſioners to England to accuſe him of tyranny and oppreſſion. The Earl, not contented with denying the imputations caſt on his government, with great heat and indecency upbraided the King for liſtening to ſuch frivolous complaints againſt a man who had ſerved him ſo faithfully, and even expended a conſiderable income in the exerciſe of an office by which other governors had enriched themſelves. Henry aſſured him that he did not believe the accuſations; and, in order to manifeſt his innocence, that he would ſend commiſſaries into Guienne, to inveſtigate the conduct of the inhabitants: in the mean time, as a convincing proof of his confidence and regard, he ſupplied him with a ſum of money, and deſired he would hold himſelf in readineſs to return and reaſſume his adminiſtration.

The Gaſcons, being informed of the King's intention, deputed the Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux to repeat their complaints, and renew their petition for another governor; and, during this Prelate's reſidence at London, the commiſſioners returned from Gaſcony, where they had examined the diſputes between the Earl and the people. Their report was favourable to Leiceſter: but, as the Archbiſhop aſſured the King that, if he were permitted to return, a general revolt would be the infallible conſequence, Henry, rather than incur the danger of ſuch a rebellion, reſolved to ſacrifice Leiceſter to their reſentment; and ordered the articles of his impeachment to be laid before his Peers, that he might be tried by the laws of the kingdom. The Earl, knowing the caprice and inconſtancy of his ſovereign, had by this time engaged in his intereſt the Earls of Cornwall and Glouceſter, with ſeveral of thoſe factious Barons who were ever ready to countenance rebellion. Thus ſupported, he appeared in court, and vindicated his conduct to the ſatisfaction of his judges, who had indeed reſolved, at all events, to acquit him. The Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux was ſo confounded by the ſhameful partiality of the court, that he could ſcarcely proceed with his evidence. Henry himſelf was irritated to ſuch a degree by the inſolence of Leiceſter, that he could not refrain from venting ſome injurious expreſſions; which provoked the Earl to accuſe him of ingratitude, and to demand, in the moſt arrogant manner, the recompence he had ſo often promiſed in conſideration of his manifold ſervices. The King anſwered, in a tranſport of rage, that he did not think himſelf obliged to perform his promiſe to a traitor: an appellation that ſo incenſed the proud Earl, that he told his ſovereign he lied; that he believed he never went to confeſſion; and that, if he did, it was not attended with repentance. "I never repented any "thing ſo much," replied the King, "as having "laviſhed ſo many favours on a man, like you, ſo "deſtitute of gratitude and decorum." When he had ſaid this, it was his intention to arreſt the Earl upon the ſpot; but, perceiving a number of Barons prepared to afford him protection, his indignation gave way to his fear, and he was compelled to ſmother his reſentment: he even liſtened to propoſals of accommodation made by ſome of the Barons, and in appearance was reconciled to Leiceſter; but the inſolence of that haughty nobleman had made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on his mind, that he could never afterwards behold him without horror.

Though Henry had ſuch juſt grounds for complaint againſt Leiceſter, he thought it prudent to ſend him back to Gaſcony, leſt the appointment of another governor ſhould occaſion freſh diſturbances; and, by removing him to ſuch a diſtance from the kingdom, he likewiſe ſecured himſelf from the effects of his intrigues and ambitious projects: but, in order to indulge the Gaſcons with the proſpect of being one day relieved from his tyranny, he, by an authentic deed, conveyed that province, together with the Iſle of Oleron, to his eldeſt ſon Edward, only with a reſervation of the ſovereignty during his own life; and ſuch of the natives as were in England at the time did homage to the young Prince.

Meanwhile, Leiceſter repaired to his government, glowing with reſentment againſt the Gaſcons; and, at his arrival, threw the whole province into confuſion. He encouraged the renewal of hoſtilities, and attacked the nobility with implacable fury; but, blinded by his paſſion, he was guilty of ſuch indiſcretion

indiſcretion and miſconduct, that he at length found himſelf blocked up in Montauban, and was obliged to purchaſe a capitulation by the releaſe of his priſoners. Chagrined at this diſgrace, he reſigned his government, and retired to France; though not before he had ſurrendered to the inſurgents three of the moſt important fortreſſes, and had reduced the province to a ſtate of univerſal anarchy.

Alphonſo the Tenth, King of Caſtile, profiting by theſe commotions, formed a ſpurious kind of claim to a part of Gaſcony, founded on a grant of Henry the Second, and Eleanor of Guienne, to Alphonſo the Eighth, who married their daughter. He found means to engage ſeveral of the principal noblemen to ſupport this pretenſion; and the whole province renounced it's allegiance to Henry, except the city of Bourdeaux, and the territories immediately adjoining, which were in the utmoſt danger of being loſt for want of proper aſſiſtance from England. The Pope, however, excommunicated all the adherents of Alphonſo; and Henry reſolved to go thither in perſon. With this view he iſſued writs for a general muſter of ſuch as were obliged to have arms, that they might be prepared to keep watch and ward in the different towns and cities, and maintain the peace of the nation in his abſence: he then levied a ſund for defraying the expences of the expedition, by raiſing an aid on his own demeſnes; and ſummoning all who poſſeſſed fifteen pounds a year by military tenure to come and receive knighthood. He alſo raiſed money by diſpenſing with the execution of ſome ordinances made againſt the Jews; and as, by the feudal tenure, he was authorized to demand a ſcutage of each of his military tenants for the knighting of his eldeſt ſon, he aſſembled a parliament at Weſtminſter, on the fifth of April, in the year 1253, in the hope that the Barons would fix it at a higher rate than he would chuſe to impoſe by his own authority.

On this occaſion the King laid before the aſſembly a long account of his neceſſities; explained to them the preſent ſituation of Gaſcony, which called for immediate relief; and, as a farther ſtimulus to their generoſity, he informed them that he had renewed his intention of undertaking a journey to Paleſtine, and earneſtly entreated their aſſiſtance to promote the accompliſhment of that pious deſign. The parliament, however, for ſome time heſitated to comply with his requeſt; and the eccleſiaſtical order deputed four Prelates, the Primate, with the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Saliſbury, and Carliſle, to remonſtrate with him on the frequent violations of their rights and privileges; the oppreſſions which he had exerciſed over them in common with the reſt of his ſubjects; and the unreaſonable and compulſory elections which were made to vacant benefices and dignities. To this remonſtrance we are told by Matthew Paris that Henry made the following reply—"It is true, I have been ſomewhat to blame in this "particular. I obtruded you, my Lord of Canter-"bury, upon your ſee—I was under the neceſſity "of employing both entreaties and menaces, my "Lord of Wincheſter, to procure your election—"The irregularity of my proceedings, I confeſs, were "deſerving of reproach, my Lords of Saliſbury and "Carliſle, when I raiſed you from the loweſt ſta-"tions to your preſent dignities. I am determined, "henceforth, to correct theſe abuſes; and it will "alſo become you, in order to effect a compleat "reformation, to reſign the benefices you now en-"joy, and try to regain them in a more regular and "canonical manner." The Biſhops, ſurprized at theſe unexpected and pointed ſarcaſms, replied, that the preſent queſtion did not tend to the correction of paſt errors, but to prevent a repetition of ſimilar abuſes in future. Henry faithfully promiſed that all grievances, as well civil as eccleſiaſtical, ſhould be immediately redreſſed; and though the parliament had every reaſon to doubt his ſincerity, yet, after ſome deliberation, they wiſely reſolved to make one farther trial by accepting his promiſes: and accordingly agreed to grant him a tenth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues for three years, and a ſcutage of three marks on each Knight's fee, on his ratification of the Great Charter, which he had voluntarily offered to confirm, in a manner more awful and ſolemn than any which he had hitherto employed for that purpoſe.

In conſequence of this agreement, the King met the whole parliament, on the fourth of May, in the Great Hall at Weſtminſter. The Prelates and Clergy were in full robes, and each held a burning taper in his hand. The Great Charter, and the Charter of the Foreſts, were read aloud before this auguſt aſſembly; and a ſentence of excommunication was pronounced, containing the moſt tremendous maledictions and denunciations of the Divine wrath againſt all ſuch as ſhould violate, or conſent to the violation of them, in any one particular. The Prelates and Clergy then threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed—"May the ſoul of "every one who ſhall incur this ſentence ſo ſtink "and corrupt in hell!" To which the King, laying his hand upon his heart, replied—"So help "me, God! I will preſerve all theſe articles invio-"late, as I am a Man, as I am a Chriſtian, as I "am a Knight, and as I am a King crowned and "anointed." It muſt be confeſſed, that nothing could exceed the awful ſolemnity of theſe obligations; yet, ſuch was the nefarious infatuation of this miſguided Prince, that he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded by his intereſted favourites to be guilty of a continual violation of them.

Henry, by his late proceedings, having in ſome degree regained the confidence of his ſubjects, determined to repair to Gaſcony, in order to recover that province, which had been loſt by the imprudent conduct of the Earl of Leiceſter. With this view he ſummoned all his military tenants to meet him at Portſmouth, at which place he embarked; and, having arrived at Bourdeaux on the fifteenth of Auguſt with a powerful army, ſoon recovered all the places that had been taken by the revolted Barons, and compelled the Caſtilian monarch to make a formal renunciation of his pretenſions to Gaſcony. So compleat was the reconciliation between the courts of England and Caſtile, that a marriage was concluded between the Engliſh Prince Edward,

Edward, and Eleanor, the daughter of Alphonſo. But though, in conſequence of this accommodation, hoſtilities had entirely ceaſed, yet Henry, who wanted freſh ſums to ſupply the rapacity of his favourites, carefully concealed this circumſtance; and ſent over his commands to the Queen, and to his brother the Earl of Cornwall, who governed the kingdom as joint regents during his abſence, to ſummon the parliament, and demand ſupplies for ſupporting the expences of the war. The parliament accordingly met, on the twenty-ſeventh of January, in the year 1254; but, having heard ſome vague reports relative to the pacification, refuſed to grant any ſupplies till they ſhould have verified the fact. Henry, diſſatisfied with the reaſons they alledged for withholding the grant, ſent orders to the regents to reaſſemble the parliament fifteen days after Eaſter. The Earl of Leiceſter, however, returning from the continent in the interim, diſcovered the true ſtate of affairs in Gaſcony; upon which the parliament perſiſted in their refuſal to grant any farther ſupplies. Henry, finding his diſhonourable arts detected, reſolved to return to England; and, preferring a journey by land to a voyage by ſea, made application to Lewis, King of France, who had juſt arrived from his unfortunate expedition to Paleſtine, for permiſſion to paſs through his dominions. This being chearfully granted him, he went to Paris, where he was ſumptuouſly entertained by the French King; and he was ſo well pleaſed with the honours he received at the different towns through which he paſſed, that he was in no haſte to reach England, where he did not arrive till the commencement of the year 1255.

The Pope, by the authority which he poſſeſſed in the kingdom, and by the terror diffuſed by his ſpiritual thunders, had greatly contributed to ſupport Henry in all his illegal exactions, and to prevent the diſcontented Barons from proceeding to extremities: but his Holineſs now cancelled all the obligations which that monarch might have had to him on this account, by engaging him in a project for the conqueſt of Naples, or of Sicily on this ſide the Fare, as it was then called: an enterprize which involved him in diſgrace, and for ſome years was attended with conſiderable trouble and expence.

The Church of Rome had, by a concurrence of favourable circumſtances, been enabled to reduce the kingdom of Sicily to the ſame ſtate of feudal vaſſalage which ſhe had attempted to extend over England; but which, on account of it's diſtance, and the ſpirit of it's inhabitants, ſhe could no longer maintain with that vigour and effect her ambition urged her to enforce. After the death of the Emperor, Frederic the Second, whom his Holineſs had perſecuted to the laſt, the crown of Sicily devolved to Conradine, the grandſon of that monarch; and Mainfroy, his natural ſon, under pretence of governing the kingdom during the minority of the Prince, had formed a ſcheme for uſurping the ſupreme authority. Pope Innocent, whoſe enmity to the Emperor extended to his family, ſtill continued hoſtilities againſt his grandſon: but, all his projects having been fruſtrated by the ſkill and activity of Mainfroy, he found that his own force alone was inſufficient to conduct ſo important an enterprize with any tolerable proſpect of ſucceſs. He claimed a right to the diſpoſal of the crown of Sicily, both as ſuperior Lord of that particular kingdom, and as Vicar of Chriſt, to whom all the kingdoms of the earth were ſubject. In conſequence of this pretenſion, he made an offer of it to the King's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, whoſe immenſe riches, he flattered himſelf, would be able to ſupport the military operations againſt Mainfroy. Richard having had ſufficient prudence to refuſe the preſent, he applied to Henry, whoſe fickle and thoughtleſs diſpoſition afforded him better hopes of ſucceeding in his application, and offered him the Sicilian crown for his ſecond ſon, Edward. The King, allured by ſo magnificent a preſent, without reflecting on the conſequences, or conſulting either his brother or the parliament, accepted the inſidious propoſal; and gave his Holineſs unlimited credit to expend whatever ſums he thought neceſſary for compleating the conqueſt of Sicily. Innocent, whoſe private intereſts engaged him to wage war with Mainfroy, was greatly rejoiced at being able in future to ſupport the conteſt at another's expence. His ſucceſſor in the papal dignity, Alexander the Fourth, continued the ſame policy; and Henry was ſurprized to find himſelf on a ſudden loaded with an immenſe debt, in the contraction of which he had never been conſulted. The ſum already amounted to one hundred and thirty-five thouſand five hundred and forty-one marks, beſide intereſt.

The ſituation of Henry at this period was truly perplexing: if he refuſed to pay the Pope's enormous demand, he muſt infallibly incur the indignation of that Pontiff, whoſe favour was his greateſt ſupport; and, likewiſe, forfeit all hopes of obtaining the crown of Sicily, which he vainly imagined he ſhould have the glory of placing on the head of his ſon. On the other hand, if he paid this debt, he had the proſpect of being ſoon loaded with exorbitant expences; and muſt, beſide, in order to diſcharge it, have recourſe to additional acts of oppreſſion, which might prove highly dangerous. To extricate himſelf from theſe difficulties, he reſolved to apply to parliament; but, in the very act of calling it together, he employed ſuch deceit as defeated the end of his application. He only ſent writs to ſuch Barons as he thought would comply with his deſire; while all thoſe whom he expected to prove refractory he neglected to ſummon. This parliament met on the eighteenth of October, in the year 1255; and when the King expoſed to them his neceſſitous ſituation, the members, ſenſible of the ridiculous cheat impoſed by the Pope, determined not to laviſh their money on ſuch chimerical projects; and, making a pretext of the abſence of their brethren, they refuſed to take the King's demand into conſideration. In this extremity, the Clergy were his only reſource; and, as both their temporal and ſpiritual ſovereigns concurred in oppreſſing them, they were unable to oppoſe their exactions.

The Pope, by virtue of the plenitude of his apoſtolical power, granted the King, by ſeveral

bulls, the effects of all clergymen who died inteſtate, and the revenues of all vacant benefices, as well as thoſe of all non-reſidents. He likewiſe publiſhed a cruſade for the conqueſt of Sicily; and required every one who had aſſumed the croſs in order to oppoſe the Infidels, or had engaged to advance money for that ſervice, to ſupport the war againſt Mainfroy, whom he repreſented as a more terrible enemy to the Chriſtian faith than any Saracen. In addition to the modes of raiſing money abovementioned, he appropriated to his own uſe the tenth of all eccleſiaſtical benefices in England for three years, which had been impoſed by parliament for the purpoſe of defraying the expences of Henry in his pretended expedition to Paleſtine. It would be an endleſs taſk to attempt an enumeration of the various modes of extortion employed at this time both by the King and the Pope; but the moſt ſhameful and onerous impoſition was ſuggeſted by Walleran, Biſhop of Hereford, and was of ſo dangerous a nature as to have opened a door to endleſs and intolerable abuſes. This Prelate, who reſided at the court of Rome by a deputation from the Engliſh Church, drew bills of different values, but amounting in the whole to one hundred and fifty thouſand five hundred and forty marks, on all the Biſhops and Abbots of the kingdom; and all theſe bills were drawn in favour of ſome Italian merchants, who it was pretended had advanced the different ſums therein ſpecified for the ſervice of the Sicilian war.

As there was little probability that the Engliſh Prelates would ſubmit, without compulſion, to ſuch an extraordinary demand, Ruſtand, the Legate, was charged with the commiſſion of employing authority for that purpoſe; and he accordingly ſummoned an aſſembly of the Biſhops and Abbots, whom he acquainted with the pleaſure of the Pope and the King. The ſurprize of the aſſembly was only to be equalled by their indignation. The Biſhop of Worceſter exclaimed, that he would loſe his life rather than comply. The Biſhop of London ſaid, that the Pope and the King were certainly more powerful than himſelf; but, if his mitre were taken off his head, he would replace it with a helmet. The violence of the Legate, however, exceeded that of the Prelates. This imperious Prieſt, the worthy emiſſary of a ſpiritual tyrant, told the aſſembly in plain terms, that all eccleſiaſtical benefices were the property of the Pope, who might diſpoſe of them, either in whole or in part, as he ſhould think proper. At length, the Biſhops and Abbots, finding their reſiſtance ineffectual, and being threatened with a ſentence of excommunication, which would cauſe all their revenues to fall into the hands of the King, were obliged to ſubmit to the exactions; and the only mitigation which they could perſuade the Legate to allow them, was, that the tenths already granted ſhould be accepted as a partial payment of the bills. But the money thus raiſed was ſtill inſufficient for the Pope's purpoſe: the conqueſt of Sicily was as remote as ever; the demands from Rome daily increaſed; Pope Alexander became ſo importunate a creditor, that he ſent over a Legate to England to threaten the kingdom with an interdict, and the King with excommunication, if the arrears which he pretended to be due to him were not inſtantly remitted; and, at laſt, Henry, tired with his continual importunities, and ſenſible of the impoſitions that had been practiſed on him, began to think of annulling the contract, by a reſignation of that crown which it was not the intention of the Pope that either he or any one of his family ſhould ever enjoy.

The Earl of Cornwall had now reaſon to applaud his own ſagacity, which had urged him to reſiſt the inſidious propoſal of the ſovereign Pontiff: but neither his firmneſs nor his avarice was always ſufficiently ſtrong to oppoſe with ſucceſs the flattering dictates of ambition; he was now induced to embark in an expedition not leſs chimerical and deſtructive than the conqueſt of Sicily.

William, Count of Holland and King of the Romans, having been ſlain in Frieſland, the Princes of the Empire were divided in their choice of a ſucceſſor to that dignity: the majority voted for Richard, Earl of Cornwall; while the reſt gave their voices in favour of Alphonſo, King of Caſtile. The election of Richard was highly diſapproved by the French monarch; who, being ſituated between the two powers of England and Germany, was apprehenſive that they might unite their forces againſt him, in order to recover thoſe dominions which had been formerly wreſted from their anceſtors. In this apprehenſion, he fortified his frontiers, and endeavoured to intercept the Earl of Glouceſter and John Manſel, whom Richard had ſent to Germany to make obſervations on the ſtate of the country and diſpoſition of the native Princes, before he would venture his perſon among them; for, though he had corrupted a majority by bribes, the other electors excited great clamours againſt him. The Biſhop of Triers declared for Alphonſo; and even promiſed conſiderable pecuniary rewards to ſuch as would eſpouſe the cauſe of that monarch. The Earl of Cornwall, having received an account from his emiſſaries which he deemed favourable to his deſigns, reſolved to repair to Germany himſelf; and, knowing the venal diſpoſition of the Germans, he provided himſelf with ſuch a fund of money as no ſovereign Prince in Europe could have raiſed on a ſimilar emergency. This he collected, not only from the revenues of his extenſive poſſeſſions, but alſo from the mint, which he farmed; and from the Jews, for whom he exerted his intereſt with his brother to obtain an exemption from talliage for the ſpace of five years. The ſum thus raiſed is ſaid by Matthew Paris to have amounted to no leſs than ſeven hundred thouſand marks, equal in value to eight millions of our preſent money. But this is wholly incredible; for we are told by the ſame author, that the Earl did not ſell his eſtates in England, neither did he cut down his timber: and the King's revenues at this period being below ſixty thouſand marks a year, it is impoſſible his brother, however ſtrict his avarice, or however fertile his mind in expedients for reſource, could ever be maſter of ſuch an enormous ſum.

Richard,

Richard, thus provided, embarked at Yarmouth, with the Biſhops of Cologne, Liege, and Utrecht; Florence, Count of Holland; and ſeveral German noblemen, who had come over to England for the purpoſe of accompanying him in his voyage. He was likewiſe attended by a number of the Engliſh nobility. Having repoſed himſelf two days at Dort, he proceeded to Aix la Chapelle; where he was crowned King of the Romans by Conrad, Archbiſhop of Cologne; as the Elector of Mentz, whoſe right it was to perform that ceremony, lay at that time under a ſentence of excommunication, and was therefore incapacitated from officiating at the coronation. While his money laſted, it procured him friends and partizans: but his treaſures were ſpeedily exhauſted by the avidity of the German Princes, who then treated him with indifference and contempt; and he had the mortification to find, that he had laviſhed away the frugality of his whole life, merely to procure a ſplendid, but unprofitable, title.

The ſums exported by Richard to Germany had conſiderably diſtreſſed the kingdom, by almoſt a total deprivation of it's currency. Nor was this imprudent expedition leſs ſeverely felt by his family, who were greatly indebted for their ſupport to the influence which his riches and power procured him: for though he had frequently joined the diſcontented Barons in their remonſtrances againſt the illegal and arbitrary oppreſſions of Henry's government, yet, whenever their factious ſpirit led them to tranſgreſs the bounds of moderation by attempting to encroach on the conſtitutional prerogatives of the crown, his exertions to repreſs it were conſtant and uniform. But, deprived of this ſupport, the throne was expoſed to the licentious attacks of the turbulent Nobles, who were ſoon ſupplied by their miſguided Prince with a favourable opportunity for renewing their attempts.

Though the eyes of Henry had been opened to the impoſitions of the Pope, that Pontiff had art enough to continue, or rather to renew, the deluſion, and to perſuade him to perſiſt in the ridiculous deſign of conquering Sicily; for which purpoſe he ſummoned a parliament, and demanded the neceſſary ſupplies. This imprudent ſtep afforded a ſpecious pretence to the diſcontented Barons, who were now headed by the Earl of Leiceſter, to attempt an innovation in the government, and to wreſt the crown from it's legal poſſeſſor. That haughty Nobleman, conſcious that his ſovereign muſt view him with an eye of ſuſpicion, found greater advantage in cultivating his intereſt with the public, and in ſeeking to inflame the general diſcontents which prevailed againſt the adminiſtration. He was loud in his clamours againſt the repeated violations of the Great Charters; the numerous acts of oppreſſion committed on the people; the combination between the Pope and the King, formed for purpoſes of tyranny and extortion; Henry's neglect of his native ſubjects; and, though a foreigner himſelf, he was more violent than any in repreſenting the baſe indignity of ſubmitting to the domination of foreigners. By his hypocritical pretenſions to devotion, he acquired the favour of the clergy; by his ſeeming concern for the public good, he gained the eſteem of the people; and, independent of the private friendſhips which he had been ſtudious to cultivate with the Barons, his animoſity againſt the King's favourites created an union of intereſts between him and that powerful body of men.

A quarrel which occurred between Leiceſter and William of Savoy, the Queen's maternal uncle, and Henry's chief favourite, brought matters to extremity, and determined the former to attempt the immediate gratification of that unbounded ambition which equally deſpiſed the reſtraints of law and the dictates of juſtice. To forward his rebellious ſchemes, he called a ſecret meeting of the moſt potent Barons; particularly Humphrey de Bohun, High Conſtable; Roger Bigod, Earl Mareſchal; and the Earls of Warwick and Glouceſter; men whoſe property and connections were the firſt in the kingdom. To them he urged the immediate neceſſity of effecting a reformation in the government, and of placing the execution of the laws in hands more worthy to be entruſted with ſo important a charge. He exaggerated the oppreſſions exerciſed againſt the lower orders of the ſtate; the violations of the privileges of the Nobles; the continual depredations committed on the Clergy; and, in order to aggravate the enormity of Henry's conduct, he appealed to the Great Charter, which that monarch had ſo often ratified, and which furniſhed an infallible remedy for every grievance. He magnified the generoſity of their anceſtors, who had extorted that famous conceſſion from the crown; but expreſſed his concern at their own degeneracy, who allowed ſo important an advantage to be wreſted from them by a weak Prince, and by inſolent foreigners: and he inſiſted that the King's word, having been ſo repeatedly violated, could no longer be relied on with ſafety; and the only ſecurity to be procured for his obſervance of the national privileges, was to place him in ſuch a ſituation as ſhould render him wholly unable to infringe them.

Obſervations ſo well adapted to the ſentiments of the company could not fail to experience univerſal approbation; and the Barons adopted the *loyal* reſolution of redreſſing public grievances, by wreſting the ſceptre from the hands of the King, and placing it in their own. With this view the Barons appeared at the parliament—lately ſummoned by Henry for the purpoſe of obtaining ſupplies for the conqueſt of Sicily—clad in compleat armour, and with their ſwords by their ſide. The King, ſtricken with the unuſual appearance, aſked them what object they had in view, and whether it was their intention to make him their priſoner. Roger Bigod replied, in the name of the reſt, that he was not their priſoner, but their ſovereign; that they even intended to grant him ample ſupplies to fix his ſon on the Sicilian throne; that they only expected an adequate return for ſuch indulgence; and that, as he had made frequent ſubmiſſions to the parliament, accompanied by acknowledgments for his paſt errors, and earneſt promiſes of future reformation,

and

and had ſtill ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded into a ſhameful repetition of his former miſconduct, he muſt now ſubmit to more ſtrict regulations, and conſent to transfer ſuch a portion of his authority as might be deemed neceſſary for the public good to thoſe who were inclined to promote it. Henry, partly allured by the hopes of obtaining ſupplies, and partly intimidated by the daring ſpirit and martial appearance of the Barons, conſented to all their propoſals; and promiſed to ſummon another parliament at Oxford, in order to digeſt the new plan of government, and to elect the perſons who were to be entruſted with the ſupreme authority.

This parliament, which, from the confuſion that attended it's pernicious meaſures, was afterwards denominated *The Mad Parliament*, met on the eleventh of June, in the year 1258; and, as the Barons came attended by their military vaſſals, and accompanied by an armed force, any oppoſition from the court was rendered impracticable; and the King, who had taken no precautions againſt them, could only be conſidered as a priſoner, who was obliged to ſubmit to all the terms which his tyrants were pleaſed to impoſe on him. The regulations adopted were theſe: Twelve Barons were choſen by the King's council, and twelve others by the parliament; to theſe four and twenty unlimited authority was granted to reform the ſtate, and to purſue ſuch meaſures as they ſhould deem moſt proper for the future government of the kingdom. In ſhort, the whole legiſlative and executive powers were veſted in their hands; and the King himſelf took a ſolemn oath that he would obey and maintain whatever ordinances they ſhould chuſe to enact. Leiceſter was at the head of this ſupreme council; and all their meaſures were taken by his ſecret influence and direction.

Their firſt tranſactions were artfully contrived to bear a ſpecious appearance, and ſeemed well calculated to promote the public good, which was the profeſſed object of all theſe dangerous innovations. They ordained, that four Knights ſhould be choſen by each county, to enquire into all the grievances to which their neighbourhood might be ſubjected; that they ſhould attend the enſuing parliament, in order to lay before that aſſembly the ſtate of their particular counties; and that the expences of ſuch Knights in the performance of that ſervice ſhould be borne by their county. This regulation bore a much nearer reſemblance to our preſent conſtitution than that which had been made by Magna Charta, when the Knights were only appointed to meet in their ſeveral counties, and there to draw up a detail of their grievances.

Meanwhile, the twenty-four Barons proceeded to adopt thoſe meaſures which appeared neceſſary for the redreſs of ſuch grievances as were too notorious to require inveſtigation. They ordered, that three ſeſſions of parliament ſhould be held every year, in the months of February, June, and October; that a new Sheriff ſhould be annually elected by the votes of the freeholders in each county; that the Sheriffs ſhould have no power to fine the Barons who neglected to attend their courts, or the circuits of the Juſticiaries; that none of the royal wards ſhould be committed to the wardſhip of foreigners, and no caſtles entruſted to their care; that no new foreſts or warrens ſhould be created; and that the revenues of counties ſhould not be let to farm.

Such were the firſt regulations—which are generally denominated *The Statutes of Oxford*—that were made by the twenty-four Barons, whoſe names, as ſpecified by Matthew Paris, are as follow:—The twelve choſen by the King's council were, the Biſhops of London and Wincheſter; Henry, ſon of Richard, King of the Romans; John, Earl of Warrenne; Guy de Luſignan, and William de Valence, the King's half-brothers; John, Earl of Warwick; John Manſel, a Friar; J. de Derlington, Abbot of Weſtminſter; Henry de Wengham, Dean of St. Martin's, London: the twelfth is omitted, but is ſuppoſed to have been either Peter of Savoy, or James Audley. The other twelve, choſen by the parliament, were: Walter de Canteloupe, Biſhop of Worceſter; the Earls of Leiceſter, Hereford, Glouceſter, and Norfolk; Roger Mortimer; John Fitz-Geoffrey; Hugh Bigod, brother to the Earl of Norfolk; Richard de Gray; William Bardolf; Peter de Montfort; and Hugh de Eſpenſer.

Had theſe Barons purſued the taſk of reformation with the ſame ſpirit of equity and moderation which their firſt proceedings appeared to indicate, the nation would have had but little reaſon to complain of the unlimited authority which they had arrogated to themſelves: but, inſtead of continuing to provide for the public welfare, or of granting to the King that ſupply which they had promiſed him, all their ſubſequent meaſures were only calculated to promote their own private intereſt, and to perpetuate a power they were loth to relinquiſh. They renewed the popular clamours againſt foreigners; and their indignation was principally directed againſt the Queen's uterine brothers, who were ſuppoſed to be the ſecret authors of all the national grievances. Henry being no longer able to afford them protection, they ſought for ſafety in flight, intending to make their eſcape out of the kingdom; but being eagerly purſued by the Barons, Aymer, one of the brothers, who had been elected to the See of Wincheſter, retired for ſhelter to his epiſcopal palace, and took the others with him. The place, however, was ſpeedily ſurrounded; and they were threatened to be dragged out by force, and conſigned to that puniſhment which their crimes and miſdemeanours had merited; and it was with difficulty that the King, who pleaded the ſacredneſs of an eccleſiaſtical ſanctuary, could extricate them from this danger by baniſhing them the kingdom.

The conduct of the twenty-four Barons was now ſuch as muſt have convinced the nation of their intentions to reduce both the King and the people under the worſt of all poſſible governments—an Ariſtocracy. The grand work of reformation, they pretended, was far from compleat; and it was therefore neceſſary they ſhould retain their power till the purpoſe for which it was aſſumed ſhould be effected; in other words, that they ſhould be perpetual dictators, or rather tyrants, of the realm. This dangerous

gerous faction entered into an aſſociation; and, like a banditti embarking in ſome deſperate enterprize, ſwore to ſtand by each other with their lives. They diſplaced all the chief officers of the crown; the Juſticiary, the Chancellor, and the Treaſurer; and advanced either themſelves or their own creatures in their places: even the officers of the King's houſhold were removed, and their offices beſtowed on their own adherents; the government of all the royal caſtles was entruſted to the care of thoſe whoſe rebellious minds rendered them fit objects of their confidence; they enriched themſelves and families by the royal eſcheats and wardſhips; and, the whole power of the ſtate being thus transferred to them, they ventured to impoſe an oath, by which all the ſubjects were compelled, under the penalty of being declared public enemies, that they would execute and obey all the regulations, both known and unknown, of the twenty-four Barons; and theſe tyrannical proceedings, they had the inſolence to declare, were for the greater glory of God, the honour of the Church, the ſervice of the King, and the advantage of the kingdom. The torrent of deſpotiſm was ſo impetuous as to burſt through all impediments; reſiſtance only ſerved to augment it's violence: even Prince Edward, the King's eldeſt ſon, a youth of eighteen, who began to diſplay indications of a ſuperior mind, was, after making ſome oppoſition, conſtrained to ſubmit, and to take that oath which in reality effected the depoſition of his father.

Earl Warrenne oppoſed their authority with the greateſt firmneſs, and was the laſt perſon in the kingdom that could be brought to give the confederated Barons this mark of ſubmiſſion. But theſe factious Nobles, not content with the uſurpation of the royal power, introduced a moſt important and dangerous innovation in the conſtitution of parliament. They ordained, that this aſſembly ſhould chuſe a committee of twelve perſons, who ſhould, in the intervals of the ſeſſions, poſſeſs the ſame authority as the whole parliament; and ſhould, on receiving a ſummons, attend the perſon of the King wherever he went. To ſuch an alarming degree of power had the Barons obtained, that this regulation was likewiſe ſubmitted to; though it reduced the King to a mere puppet, whoſe motions were in future to be directed by the confederated Barons, and entirely ſubverted the fundamental principles of the conſtitution.

The King of the Romans having expreſſed his intention of paying a viſit to his native country, the Barons, alarmed leſt the preſence of a Prince, whoſe influence and authority were ſo extenſive, might prove deſtructive of their new-formed plan of government, ſent over the Biſhop of Worceſter; who, meeting him at St. Omer's, aſked him the purport of his journey, and the intended duration of his reſidence in England; and inſiſted, before he landed in the kingdom, that he ſhould ſwear to obſerve and maintain the regulations eſtabliſhed at Oxford. When Richard rejected this inſolent propoſal with the ſcorn it deſerved to incur, they made as formidable preparations to oppoſe him as if they dreaded the landing of a public enemy. An army was aſſembled; a fleet fitted out; and, the general enmity againſt foreigners being duly inflamed, a report was circulated, with wonderful induſtry, that Richard, aſſiſted by a number of Germans, was coming to reſtore by force the authority of his exiled brothers, and to violate all the proviſions that had been adopted for the preſervation of public liberty. The King of the Romans, unable to reſiſt the torrent, was at laſt compelled to ſubmit to the terms required of him.

Power which is obtained by violence is ſeldom exerciſed with moderation; and they who are oppreſſed by it's exertion, ſhould ever pray for it's augmentation, as an exorbitant increaſe of it is moſt likely to forward it's diſſolution. This was the caſe with the twenty-four Barons; whoſe authority, being now wholly unreſtrained by law, incurred that odium which it's original injuſtice had failed to excite. Men began to perceive that even a monarchy the moſt abſolute is preferable to an unlimited ariſtocracy, as leſs danger is certainly to be apprehended from the tyranny of one deſpot than from the oppreſſions of a number. Indeed, it would be almoſt inconceivable that a truth ſo obvious ſhould for a moment have eſcaped univerſal obſervation, did not the annals of hiſtory convince us that, when public reſentment is artfully inflamed by the deſperate arts of a deſigning faction, the ſtream of prejudice runs with ſuch irreſiſtible force, that every ſpark of reaſon appears to be extinguiſhed; facts the beſt eſtabliſhed are involved in doubt, and maxims of acknowledged veracity are held up as ſubjects of diſputation.

The feudal Nobles were at all times poſſeſſed of a degree of power that was formidable to the people; their preſent authority, therefore, could not fail to increaſe the jealouſy and miſtruſt of the nation in general, whoſe fears were augmented by ſome new edicts of the Barons, ſtrongly demonſtrative of their intentions to exerciſe violence and to ſecure impunity. They ordained, that the circuits of the itinerant Juſtices, the ſole reſtraint on their deſpotic conduct, ſhould be held only once in ſeven years: and the King could not but ſee that a remedy ſo diſtant muſt prove wholly ineffectual to repreſs the abuſes of a power that was perpetual. The Barons were loudly called upon to compleat their intended regulations. The Knights of the ſhires, who appear at this time to have been aſſembled with tolerable regularity, and ſometimes in a ſeparate houſe, made remonſtrances againſt the ſlowneſs of their proceedings: they repreſented that, though the King had complied with all the ſtipulations impoſed on him by the Statutes of Oxford, the Barons had hitherto evinced a greater anxiety to advance their own private intereſts, and to make dangerous encroachments on the royal prerogatives, than to promote the public good; they even appealed to Prince Edward, and earneſtly requeſted that he would interpoſe his authority for the national welfare, and for effecting a reformation in the government.

Theſe remonſtrances, however, were little attended to by the Barons; and the tide of popularity began to turn in favour of the King. The former had little to rely on for their ſupport beſides the

private influence and power of their families; which, though exorbitant, were likely to prove inferior to the combination of King and people; and even this reſource was conſiderably weakened by the ſecret jealouſies and diſputes which aroſe amongſt themſelves. The diviſion of the royal ſpoils revived the ancient animoſities of this lawleſs gang; and the rivalſhip that prevailed between their leaders, the potent Earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, threatened a ſpeedy diſſolution of the confederacy. The latter, endued with more moderation, was deſirous to reſtrain the uſurpations of the Barons within ſome decent bounds; and accuſed the former of arrogating to himſelf a degree of authority ſuperior to that of his colleagues, and of acting independent of their advice.

The King, who had borne with great impatience the ſtate of inſignificancy to which he was reduced, being informed of theſe diſſenſions, began to entertain hopes of recovering his former power. The opportunity appeared favourable. The twenty-four Barons had now enjoyed the ſovereign power near three years, without attempting to operate thoſe reformations to effect which was the declared object of their aſſuming it: the breach of truſt they had committed was apparent to all the world, and excited univerſal murmurs. Theſe conſiderations united, afforded the King the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs in any attempt he might make for the reſumption of his authority: yet he thought it neceſſary to make an application to Rome, in order to procure an abſolution from his oaths and engagements, before he could venture to take a ſtep that was equally reconcileable to juſtice and policy.

The Pope was at this time extremely diſſatisfied with the Barons; who, in order to acquire popularity, had expelled all the Italian clergy from England, had confiſcated their benefices, and expreſſed a determination to maintain the liberties and privileges of the Engliſh church, in which the rights of patronage belonging to their own families were included. Nor was the Pontiff's diſlike to the Engliſh clergy leſs violent, owing to their extreme animoſity againſt the Italians; and an attempt which they had made to obtain farther liberty, and greater independence on the civil power, was therefore leſs acceptable to the Court of Rome.

About the ſame time that the Barons had enforced the enaction of the Statutes of Oxford, an eccleſiaſtical ſynod had been held at Merton; at which the clergy paſſed ſeveral ordinances, founded on a ſimilar principle of promoting their own aggrandizement at the expence of the crown. Among other regulations, they decreed, That to try eccleſiaſtics by ſecular judges was contrary to law; that the prohibitions of civil courts were to be wholly diſregarded by the clergy; that lay-patrons had no right to beſtow ſpiritual benefices; that the magiſtrate was obliged, without farther inveſtigation, to impriſon all perſons againſt whom a ſentence of excommunication had been iſſued; and that preſcription alone, unſanctioned by any particular grant or charter, was a ſufficient authority to offer for any clerical poſſeſſions or privileges. Claims ſo pregnant with prieſtly deſpotiſm could not, about a century before, have failed to experience the moſt ſtrenuous ſupport from the Court of Rome: they were the principal points maintained by that prince of martyrs, Becket; and the reſolution he had diſplayed in their defence, had procured him the diſtinguiſhed rank which he then enjoyed in the catalogue of Romiſh ſaints. But, at this time, the ſovereign Pontiff entertained ſome jealouſy of the great independence of the Engliſh Clergy, which made them ſtand leſs in need of his protection, and even emboldened them in ſome inſtances to reſiſt his authority, and to complain of the preference given to the Italian courtiers, whoſe intereſts, it may naturally be ſuppoſed, were the chief object of his concern. When the King, therefore, applied to him to annul theſe dangerous innovations on the conſtitutions of the Church of England, the Pope willingly aſſented to his propoſal; and, at the ſame time, abſolved Henry and all his ſubjects from the oath which they had taken to obſerve the Proviſions of Oxford.

The King's ſcruples being thus removed, he reſolved, without farther delay, to remove the maſk which he had ſo long worn with the moſt anxious impatience; and, in the mean time, endeavoured to gain over to his intereſt ſome of thoſe Noblemen who had been appointed by the Barons to places of truſt and importance. Theſe attempts having been crowned with a certain degree of ſucceſs, Henry, without communicating his intentions to any perſon whatever, unexpectedly appeared in the parliament, which was aſſembled at London, on the twenty-third of April, in the year 1262; and declared, to the inexpreſſible aſtoniſhment of all who were preſent, that the Barons had promiſed to pay his debts, and augment his revenue, when he ſigned the Proviſions of Oxford; which, though he had religiouſly adhered to them himſelf, they had groſsly violated in various inſtances. Impelled, therefore, by theſe conſiderations, he no longer held himſelf obliged to maintain them; but, by the immediate reſumption of his authority, he was determined to free himſelf from ſuch inglorious bonds, and to aſſert the dignity of his prerogative. After this bold and manly declaration, he retired to the Tower, whoſe Governor he had gained; ſeized a conſiderable treaſure which was there depoſited; and iſſued a proclamation, by which he removed Hugh Le Deſpenſer, and Nicholas de Ely, the Juſticiary and Chancellor, appointed by the Barons, and gave their places to Philip Baſſet and Walter de Merton: he likewiſe diſmiſſed all the great officers of the houſehold, governors of caſtles, judges, and ſheriffs, and ſubſtituted others who were devoted to his intereſt; and, in ſhort, acted with ſuch vigour as ſeemed to be the effect of a ſteady reſolution to retrieve his independence. By this means the kingdom was involved in great confuſion; ſome paying obedience to the officers and magiſtrates nominated by the King, while others ſtill obeyed thoſe who had been appointed by the Barons; and many, profiting by the general anarchy, were wholly unreſtrained by any

any authority whatever, and lived as if a total diſſolution of government had taken place.

During theſe tranſactions, Prince Edward, who was then on the continent, returned to England. His arrival had been anxiouſly expected by the King, who made no doubt that he would prove an important acquiſition to the royal cauſe; but he was greatly diſappointed, when he found that the Prince, who appears to have entertained more juſt ideas of religious obligations than his father, peremptorily refuſed to take advantage of the abſolution offered by the Pope; declaring, that however pregnant with danger to the conſtitution the Proviſions of Oxford might be, and however abuſed by the Barons, they ſtill ought to be adhered to by thoſe who had ſworn to obſerve them: he had himſelf been conſtrained by force to take that oath; and yet he thought it his duty to keep it. This generous declaration acquired him great popularity, though it tended to mortify his father, whoſe confuſion was greatly increaſed by an accommodation between the rival Earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, who ſaw no proſpect of ſucceſs but in the ſacrifice of their private animoſities to the good of that cauſe in which they had both embarked. Theſe noblemen renewed, with added ſolemnity, their oaths to ſupport each other, and to maintain the Statutes of Oxford, with their lives and fortunes.

The party of the Barons being thus fortified, they gave the King to underſtand that, unleſs he would voluntarily remove from about his perſon thoſe evil counſellors who had given him ſuch pernicious advice, they would find means to effect that renewal by compulſion.

Henry, who had engaged in an enterprize he was unable to conduct, had by this time relapſed into his native perplexity and irreſolution; and, as he could not determine upon what anſwer it would become him to make, he took no notice of the meſſage, but remained in the Tower, from an apprehenſion that his perſon would not be ſafe in any other habitation. His fears, however, daily acquiring freſh ſtrength, he was induced to ſeek for a diminution of them, by attempting to increaſe the number of his adherents; and, with this view, publiſhed the Pope's bull, which abſolved him from the obligation of his oath: an imprudent ſtep, which was attended with effects diametrically oppoſite to thoſe which he had expected to derive from it, as it deprived him of that regard which many, from principles of loyalty, ſtill preſerved for his perſon, and furniſhed his enemies with a plauſive pretext for repreſenting him as a Prince on whoſe faith and ſincerity not the ſmalleſt dependence could be placed.

The Barons, encouraged by this defection, reſolved to make ſome deſperate attempt; and accordingly formed a plan for ſurprizing him at Wincheſter, whither he had lately repaired, on the faith of a negotiation with which they ſought to amuſe him: but Henry, having gained intelligence of their deſign, returned to the Tower in time to prevent it's ſucceſs.

A civil war now ſeemed unavoidable; but, each party being unwilling to incur the odium of having cauſed it, they mutually accepted the mediation of the King of the Romans, who effected an accommodation on the following terms, viz. That Henry ſhould once more ſubmit to the Proviſions of Oxford; and that the Barons ſhould change and mitigate certain arrangements which were moſt offenſive to the King. The Earl of Leiceſter, however, proteſted againſt this arrangement; alledging, that they could not, with any regard to their own ſafety and honour, repoſe the ſmalleſt degree of confidence in the profeſſed ſincerity of a Prince who had made the moſt ſacred ties ſubſervient to his own intereſted views: and, having made this declaration, he retired to France in diſguſt. Several other Barons alſo expreſſed their diſlike to the articles; but ſuffered themſelves to be over-ruled by a majority, rather than incur the danger of being reproached as the authors of civil diſſenſion. By this treaty the tranquillity of England appeared to be happily reſtored; yet, under this ſpecious ſemblance of peace, the embers of diſcord ſtill glowed, and in a little time burſt into a flame, that raged with uncommon violence.

After the ratification of this agreement, Richard, King of the Romans, re-viſited Germany, in conſequence of a preſſing invitation from the German Princes, who imagined that by this time he had ſufficiently recruited his finances to enable him to ſatisfy their rapaciouſneſs. Henry himſelf embraced the opportunity afforded him by the pacification to repair in perſon to the continent, in order to regulate the affairs of Guienne; and, being ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper at Bourdeaux, he was under the neceſſity of prolonging his ſtay much beyond the time which he had originally fixed for his return.

Richard, Earl of Glouceſter, dying in the mean time, his ſon Gilbert made a voyage to Guienne to receive the inveſtiture of the earldom; but the conduct of his father had irritated Henry to ſuch a degree, that he was compelled to ſubmit to the trouble of a tedious ſolicitation, and even preſent him with a conſiderable ſum of money, before he could obtain his requeſt.

During the King's abſence, the adherents of Leiceſter, whoſe ambition no ſacrifice could content, and whoſe turbulence no conceſſions could appeaſe, renewed their factious attempts, and endeavoured again to promote a re-union of their party, which had been divided by the laſt accommodation. This taſk was attended with leſs difficulty, as the death of Glouceſter had delivered Leiceſter from the dangerous emulation of a powerful competitor; and as the King had furniſhed him with a ſpecious pretence for complaint by his neglect to confirm the Proviſions of Oxford, according to the ſtipulations of the treaty, previous to his departure for the continent. The Earl, having received intelligence that his emiſſaries had ſucceeded in their attempts to ſet the party in motion, returned to England, where his preſence revived the courage and animoſity of all thoſe Barons who had ſubſcribed the articles contrary to their own inclination.

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The King, too, being apprized of their meaſures, immediately left the continent, in order to anticipate their deſigns; but, before his arrival, they had concerted a plan for their own ſecurity. He had no ſooner returned than the Barons waited on him in a body at Oxford, and preſented an addreſs, in which they inſiſted on the immediate confirmation of the Proviſions of Oxford, in compliance with the laſt treaty; and threatened him, in caſe of a refuſal, to exact juſtice by force. Knowing the native timidity of Henry's mind, they fully relied on a ſpeedy compliance with their demand; but their diſappointment could only be equalled by their ſurprize, when they found themſelves treated as rebels, and menaced with the ſevereſt penalties which offended majeſty could inflict.

The ſpirit which Henry evinced on this occaſion was inſpired by aſſurances of ſupport of which the Barons were ignorant. During his reſidence in Guienne, he had engaged the King of the Romans in his intereſt, and had likewiſe overcome the ſcruples of his ſon, Prince Edward: but ſuch was the vigilance of the Barons, that, before he could raiſe any troops to oppoſe them, they had extended their ravages through a great part of the kingdom; laying waſte the lands of the King and his adherents; making themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities and fortreſſes; and putting to death all the foreigners they could meet with. Thus reduced, Henry was again compelled to ſubmit to ſuch terms as theſe victorious rebels were pleaſed to preſcribe; and a ſecond pacification was concluded on the following conditions—That all the royal caſtles ſhould be delivered into the hands of the Barons; that the Proviſions of Oxford ſhould be rigidly adhered to; that all foreigners ſhould be baniſhed; and that the adminiſtration of public affairs ſhould be entruſted to ſuch perſons as the Barons ſhould chuſe to nominate.

Though the articles of this ſecond accommodation were ſuch as the confederated Barons themſelves had arranged, they were not more willing to obſerve them than the former treaty. Their chief ſtudy was to ſtrengthen their party by threats of puniſhment and offers of reward; and in this they ſucceeded ſo well, that many potent Barons, who had hitherto eſpouſed the royal cauſe with warmth and perſeverance, were now gained over to their intereſts: even Henry, ſon of the King of the Romans, commonly denominated Henry d'Almaine, though a prince of the blood, joined them in oppoſition to the King, who was the head of his own family.

The Princes of Wales, notwithſtanding the various attempts to ſubdue them, ſtill maintained their authority in their own country. Though frequently compelled to pay tribute to the crown of England, they were with difficulty retained in ſubordination, or even in peace; and, almoſt through every reign ſince the Conqueſt, they had infeſted the Engliſh frontiers with ſuch petty incurſions and ſudden inroads as are ſeldom worthy to be recorded in a general hiſtory. The Engliſh, ſtill content with repelling their invaſions, and forcing them back into their native mountains, had never purſued the advantages obtained over them; nor been able, even under their greateſt and moſt active Princes, to reduce them even to a ſtate of feudal ſubjection to the country. This advantage was reſerved for the preſent monarch, who obtained from chance what he could neither derive from his conduct nor courage.

In the year 1237, Lewellyn, Prince of Wales, being old and infirm, and harraſſed with the rebellious and undutiful behaviour of his younger ſon Griffin, had applied for protection to Henry, and conſented to purchaſe peace and ſecurity by ſubjecting his principality—which had hitherto, with ſome ſhort intervals of exception, maintained it's independence—to vaſſalage under the crown of England. His eldeſt ſon and heir, David, renewed this homage; and having taken his brother priſoner, delivered him to Henry, who committed him to cuſtody in the Tower. That Prince, endeavouring to effect his eſcape, loſt his life in the attempt; and David, freed from the apprehenſions of ſo dangerous a competitor, from that time evinced a deſire to liberate his principality from the ſhackles impoſed by his predeceſſor, and even renewed thoſe incurſions by which the Welſh during ſo many ages had been accuſtomed to infeſt the Engliſh borders. Lewellyn, however, the ſucceſſor of David, had been obliged to renew the homage, which was now claimed by England as an eſtabliſhed right; but he was pleaſed with an opportunity of fomenting thoſe civil diſcords, which offered him preſent ſecurity, and afforded him hopes of future independence. He entered into a confederacy with the Earl of Leiceſter; and, collecting all his forces, invaded England with an army of thirty thouſand men. He ravaged the lands of Roger de Mortimer, and of all the Barons who adhered to the crown: he then advanced into Cheſhire, and committed ſimilar depredations on Prince Edward's territories; every place where his diſorderly troops appeared was laid waſte with fire and ſword; and though Mortimer, a gallant and experienced warrior, made an obſtinate reſiſtance, it was found neceſſary that the Prince himſelf ſhould head the army againſt this invader. Edward repulſed Lewellyn, and compelled him to take ſhelter in the mountains of North Wales; but he was prevented from purſuing his advantage, by his attention being called to the civil commotions in England, which now began to wear a moſt ſerious aſpect.

Leiceſter, having collected all the forces of the party, had commenced an open rebellion: the King's demeſnes were ravaged with unbounded fury; and as intereſt prompted the Earl to allure to his ſide, by the proſpect of plunder, all the diſorderly ruffians in England, he gave them a general permiſſion to pillage the Barons of the oppoſite party, and even all ſuch as obſerved a ſtrict neutrality. But one of the principal reſources of his faction was the populace of the great cities, particularly of London; and as he had, by his hypocritical pretenſions to ſanctity, and his zeal againſt the Pope, engaged the monks and inferior clergy in his party, his influence over

over the lower claſs of people became uncontroulable. Thomas Fitz-Richard, Mayor of London, a man of licentious principles, gave the ſanction of authority to theſe diſorders in the capital; and, having declared war againſt the opulent citizens, he withdrew all thoſe ſalutary reſtraints which were ever found neceſſary to keep that turbulent city in awe. On the approach of Eaſter, the ardour of ſuperſtition, the appetite for plunder, or what as often influences the conduct of the populace as either of theſe powerful motives, the pleaſure of being engaged in a riot, and committing havock and deſtruction, impelled them to attack the unfortunate Jews, who were firſt pillaged without reſiſtance, and then maſſacred, to the number of five hundred perſons. The Lombard Bankers were next expoſed to their unbridled rage; and though, by taking ſanctuary in the churches, they eſcaped with their lives, all their money and goods became a prey to the licentious multitude: even the houſes of thoſe Engliſh citizens, whoſe wealth was ſufficient to attract the notice of theſe ſons of plunder, were included in the general pillage; many of them were reduced to aſhes, and their inhabitants periſhed in the flames. The Queen, who reſided with her royal conſort in the ſtrong fortreſs of the Tower, terrified by ſuch dangerous commotions in the vicinity of her reſidence, determined to go by water to the Caſtle of Windſor; but, as ſhe approached London Bridge, ſhe was inſulted in the moſt brutal manner by the populace, who exclaimed—"Drown the witch!" and, not contented with reviling her in terms of the ſevereſt reproach, threw dirt at her, and had actually prepared large ſtones for the purpoſe of ſinking her barge when ſhe ſhould attempt to ſhoot the bridge; but, terrified at their proceedings, ſhe prudently returned to the Tower.

Prince Edward had repaired to Briſtol, with a determination to defend the caſtle of that place againſt all attacks; and for that purpoſe he iſſued orders to the inhabitants to ſupply all the neceſſary ſtores and proviſions at their own expence: but, the people being incenſed at a demand which they deemed arbitrary and oppreſſive, a ſedition enſued; and the Prince was compelled to retire to the caſtle for ſafety, where he was immediately inveſted. Wholly unprepared for ſuſtaining a ſiege, he was compelled to have recourſe to a ſtratagem in order to eſcape the fury of the enraged populace. He deſired to ſpeak with the Biſhop of Worceſter, to whom he declared his intention of eſpouſing the cauſe of the Barons; but obſerved, that he firſt wiſhed to try whether he could not perſuade his father to grant them the ſatisfaction they required without proceeding to extremities; he therefore propoſed, that the Biſhop ſhould exert his influence with the people to procure him permiſſion to attempt the execution of his deſign; and, to favour the deception, he entreated that Prelate to accompany him, that he might aſſiſt him with his advice, and be convinced of the ſincerity of his profeſſions. The Biſhop, ſatisfied with his declarations, repreſented to the populace the evil effects that might ariſe from the detention of the Prince at ſuch a critical juncture. The ſiege was accordingly raiſed; and the Prince departed for London, accompanied by the unſuſpecting Prelate. When they arrived at Egham, Edward bade a haſty adieu to his companion; and, clapping ſpurs to his horſe, rode to the Caſtle of Windſor, where he thought himſelf ſecure: but the Biſhop, provoked at his eſcape, and at the artifice he had employed to effect it, haſtened to London, and perſuaded the Barons to lay immediate ſiege to that fortreſs. The Prince, knowing that he was unable to defend himſelf, was no ſooner apprized of their march, than he advanced to meet the Earl of Leiceſter, in the hope of amuſing him with a negotiation, by which he might be allowed to keep poſſeſſion of the caſtle; but, the Earl refuſing to comply with the terms he propoſed, he was detained as a priſoner, and compelled to purchaſe his liberty by ſurrendering the fortreſs.

Theſe, and ſome other events equally unfavourable to the royal cauſe, again diſcouraged the King, and obliged him to agree to an accommodation with the Barons, on more diſadvantageous terms than any which had hitherto been impoſed on him. A pacification was accordingly concluded, on the eighteenth of July, in the year 1268; by which he agreed to confirm anew the Proviſions of Oxford, even thoſe which tended to the total annihilation of the regal authority; and the Barons were again reinſtated in the ſovereignty of the kingdom. They reſtored Hugh Le d'Eſpenſer to the office of High-Juſticiary; they appointed their own creatures to be Sheriffs in every county of England; they took poſſeſſion of all the royal caſtles and fortreſſes; they named all the officers of the King's houſhold; and they even ſummoned a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter, on the fourteenth of October, in order to ſettle their ſyſtem of government on a more permanent footing. They here produced a new liſt of twenty-four Barons, to whom they propoſed that the adminiſtration of public affairs ſhould be entirely committed; and they inſiſted that their authority ſhould continue, not only during the reign of the preſent King, but even during that of his ſucceſſor.

This laſt condition was particularly diſpleaſing to Prince Edward, who determined to defend the prerogatives of his family; and, having exerted himſelf with great vigour, gained over to the royal party ſeveral powerful Barons, who were either actuated by principles of loyalty to their ſovereign, or motives of envy to the ſelf-created junto, to deſert the rebels, and return to their duty. His couſin, Henry d'Almaine; Roger Bigod, Earl Mareſhal; Earl Warrenne; Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford; John Lord Baſſet; Ralph Baſſet; Hamond L'Eſtrange; Roger de Mortimer; Henry de Piercy; Robert de Brus; Roger de Leybourne, with almoſt all the *Lords Marchers*, as they were called, on the borders of Wales and Scotland, declared in favour of the royal cauſe; and hoſtilities were again renewed in almoſt every part of England. But the parties were ſo nearly equal in point of force, and the clamour of the people, harraſſed with perpetual commotions, became ſo univerſal, that the King

and the Barons were once more compelled to ſet on foot negotiations for peace; and it was agreed on both ſides to ſubmit their differences to the arbitration of Lewis the Ninth, King of France.

This virtuous monarch, during the commotions that had diſturbed the tranquillity of the kingdom, had never ceaſed to interpoſe his good offices between the King and his rebellious ſubjects: he had, even in the ſhort interval of peace that had occurred, invited over to Paris both Henry and the Earl of Leiceſter, in order to accommodate the differences between them; but found inſurmountable obſtacles to his endeavours in their mutual fears and animoſities, and more particularly in the violence of Leiceſter's ambition. When this ſolemn appeal, however, ratified by the oaths and ſubſcriptions of the heads of either party, was made to his judgment, he was not diſcouraged from purſuing his honourable intent: he ſummoned the ſtates of France to meet at Paris on the twenty-third of January; and there, in the preſence of that aſſembly, as well as in that of the King of England, and Peter de Montfort, Leiceſter's ſon, inveſtigated this great cauſe with that attention which the importance of the ſubject required. It appeared to him that the Proviſions of Oxford, even had they not been extorted by force, had they not been ſo exorbitant in their nature, and ſo ſubverſive of the ancient conſtitution, were expreſsly eſtabliſhed as a temporary expedient, and could not, without a flagrant breach of truſt, be rendered perpetual by the Barons: he therefore annulled them *in toto*; reſtored to the King the poſſeſſion of all his caſtles, lands, and revenues; to the power of nominating the great officers of ſtate, and of his houſhold; and, in general, to all the regal rights and prerogatives which he had enjoyed before the meeting of the parliament at Oxford. But, while he thus ſuppreſſed dangerous innovations, and preſerved unimpaired the prerogatives of the Engliſh crown, he was not negligent of the rights of the people. He decreed, That a general amneſty ſhould be granted to all the ſubjects of England for all paſt offences; and that they ſhould be maintained in the full enjoyment of all privileges and liberties which had been accorded them by any former conceſſions or charters.

When this equitable award was notified to the Earl of Leiceſter and his rebellious party, they rejected it with diſdain, and determined to have recourſe to arms, in order to procure by violence and rapine what they had no chance of obtaining by juſtice. Their only pretence for this breach of faith was, that the latter part of Lewis's ſentence was, as they affirmed, a contradiction to the former, as he ratified the Charter of Liberties, yet annulled the Proviſions of Oxford; which, as they maintained, were only calculated to enforce the obſervance of that charter: a point, in their eſtimation, not to be obtained by any other means. Regardleſs of his oaths, Leiceſter directed his two ſons, Richard and Peter de Montfort, in conjunction with Robert de Ferrars, Earl of Derby, to attack the city of Worceſter; while Henry, and Simon de Montfort, two other of his ſons, aſſiſted by Llewellin, Prince of Wales, were ordered to lay waſte the eſtate of Roger de Mortimer, a man whoſe loyalty had withſtood every temptation. The Earl himſelf eſtabliſhed his reſidence at London, the factious diſpoſition and great opulence of whoſe citizens formed the chief ſupport of his deſperate faction; and employing Fitz-Richard, the Mayor, a proper tool for the hand of Sedition, excited ſuch a ferment in the city as could not but prove favourable to his infamous deſigns. The populace formed themſelves into bands and companies; choſe leaders; practiſed all military exerciſes; committed every ſpecies of outrage on the royaliſts; and, to afford them greater countenance and encouragement in their diſorders, an aſſociation was entered into between the city and eighteen great Barons, never to make peace with the King but by common conſent and approbation. At the head of thoſe who bound themſelves by oath to maintain this aſſociation, were the Earls of Leiceſter, Glouceſter, and Derby; with Hugh Le d'Eſpenſer, the Chief Juſticiary; and fourteen other Barons: all of whom had previouſly ſworn to pay implicit ſubmiſſion to the award of the French monarch.

Henry, and his ſon Prince Edward, finding there was no poſſibility of avoiding the horrors of a civil war, began to make vigorous preparations for defence. They ſummoned the military vaſſals from all quarters: and being reinforced by Baliol, Lord of Galloway; Brus, Lord of Annandale; Henry Piercy; John Comyn, and other powerful Barons of the north, they were enabled to aſſemble an army, not more formidable from it's numbers than from it's military proweſs and experience.

The firſt attempt of the royaliſts was the attack of Northampton, which was defended by Simon de Montfort, with many of the principal Barons of that party; and, a breach having been made in the walls by Philip Baſſet, the place was carried by aſſault on the fifth of April, and both the Governor and garriſon were made priſoners. They next advanced to Leiceſter and Nottingham, both which places opened their gates to them. From thence Prince Edward proceeded with a detachment into the county of Derby, in order to commit devaſtations on the eſtate of the Earl of that name, in revenge for his diſloyalty.

The Earl of Leiceſter, who was in poſſeſſion of London, and of the counties to the ſouth-eaſt of England, formed the ſiege of Rocheſter, the only place that declared for the King in thoſe parts, which was defended by the Earl of Warrenne, the Governor, and ſeveral other Barons of the royal party. The King and Prince, apprized of his motions, marched to relieve the place; and, on their approach, Leiceſter raiſed the ſiege, and retired to London; which, being the centre of his power, he was fearful to loſe. Having received a powerful reinforcement of fifteen thouſand Londoners, and ſummoned his partizans to meet him from all quarters of the kingdom, he reſolved to determine the fate of the nation by one deciſive engagement, which might either put an end to his own ambitious hopes, or elſe place the diadem on his brow, which

was doubtleſs the object he aimed at. To ſhelter his iniquitous ſchemes beneath an appearance of moderation, he ſent a meſſage to his ſovereign with conditions of peace, that contained the moſt exorbitant demands, couched in the moſt ſubmiſſive language; and when the meſſenger returned with an anſwer well adapted to the inſolence of the propoſal from the King, the Prince, and the King of the Romans, this proud rebel ſent a ſecond meſſage, renouncing in his own name, and in thoſe of the aſſociated Barons, all fealty and allegiance to Henry. He then quitted London with his army; and conducted his march with ſuch ſkill and ſecrecy, that he had nearly ſurprized the royaliſts, who had taken up their quarters at Lewes, in Suſſex; but the vigilance and activity of Prince Edward ſoon repaired this negligence; and he led out the King's army to the field in three bodies: he himſelf conducted the van, attended by Earl Warrenne and William de Valence; the main body was commanded by the King of the Romans, and his ſon Henry; and the King himſelf was placed in the rear, at the head of his principal Nobility.

The rebel army was formed into four diviſions: the firſt commanded by Leiceſter's two ſons, Henry and Guy de Montfort, aſſiſted by Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, who had lately deſerted to the Barons; the ſecond led by the Earl of Glouceſter, with William de Montcheſney and John Fitz-John; the third, wholly compoſed of Londoners, under the command of Nicholas de Segrave; and the fourth was headed by Leiceſter in perſon. The Biſhop of Chicheſter gave a general abſolution to the rebels; accompanied with aſſurances that, if any of them fell in the action, they would infallibly be received into heaven, as a reward for having ſuffered in ſo glorious a cauſe.

The attack was begun by Prince Edward, who ruſhed with great fury upon the Londoners, who had demanded and obtained the poſt of honour; but who, from their ignorance of diſcipline and want of experience, were incapable of reſiſting the valiant Knights and their martial followers, of whom the Prince's diviſion was compoſed: they were accordingly put to flight at the firſt onſet; and the Prince, tranſported by his martial ardour, and glowing with revenge, that was heightened by the idea of the late inſolence of the Londoners to his mother, he purſued them to the diſtance of four miles, putting all whom he overtook to the ſword. Leiceſter, perceiving the confuſion occaſioned in the royal army by this imprudent purſuit, immediately determined to profit by it; and accordingly led on his remaining forces againſt the diviſions commanded by Henry and the King of the Romans. The body, headed by the latter, was defeated with great ſlaughter, and it's commander taken priſoner by the Earl of Glouceſter. He then penetrated to the body where the King himſelf was placed, which he ſoon routed; and, purſuing his advantage, chaſed it into the town of Lewes, where Henry was obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner.

Prince Edward, returning to the field of battle, was aſtoniſhed to find it ſtrewed with the dead bodies of his adherents; and his ſurprize was greatly increaſed, when he heard that his father and uncle were taken priſoners, together with Arundel, Comyn, Brus, Hamon L'Eſtrange, Roger Leybourne, and many conſiderable Barons of the royal party. Earl Warrenne, William de Valence, Guy de Luſignan, and Hugh Bigod, ſtruck with conſternation and deſpair at this unfortunate event, haſtened to Pevenſey, with ſeven hundred of their followers, and embarked for the continent.

This defection was ſo far from diſpiriting the Prince, that he propoſed to the forces that remained with him to fall inſtantly upon the victors; and, by taking advantage of the confuſion ever attendant on conqueſt, where courage is but ill reſtrained by diſcipline, revenge the injury their friends had ſuſtained; but he found them too much intimidated by their ſituation to liſten to the remonſtrances of their gallant leader: while Leiceſter, who knew his ſpirit and capacity, being afraid of loſing the fruits of his victory by ſome deſperate effort of the Prince, amuſed him by a feigned negotiation, till he was able to collect his ſcattered troops, and ſend detachments to cut off his retreat. The Prince, now finding there was ſcarcely a poſſibility either of effecting his eſcape or making a ſucceſsful reſiſtance, was compelled to accept the conditions preſcribed by Leiceſter, which were ſhort, ſummary, and comprehenſive; ſuch as might naturally be expected from the unfortunate ſituation of the royaliſts, and the known inſolence of the rebel who impoſed them. It was ſtipulated that Prince Edward, and Henry d'Allmaine, ſon to the King of the Romans, ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners to the Barons, as hoſtages for their reſpective fathers; that all other priſoners on both ſides ſhould be releaſed; and that, in order more fully to ſettle the terms of agreement, application ſhould be made to the King of France, to requeſt him to name ſix Frenchmen, three Prelates and three Noblemen; theſe ſix to chuſe two others of their own country; and theſe two to chuſe one Engliſhman; who, in conjunction with themſelves, were to be inveſted by both parties with full powers to make ſuch qualifications or changes in the Proviſions of Oxford, ſhould any be found neceſſary, as to them ſhould appear moſt proper for the final ſettlement of the kingdom.

Such were the terms of this famous treaty, which is commonly denominated the *Miſe* of Lewes; from an obſolete French term of that import: in compliance wherewith, Prince Edward and his couſin Henry immediately ſurrendered themſelves into Leiceſter's hands, who ſent them under a ſtrong guard to Dover Caſtle.

As the chief view of Leiceſter in ſettling the accommodation was to obtain poſſeſſion of the Prince, who was the juſt object of his apprehenſions, as he was the principal ſupport of the royaliſts, he had no ſooner accompliſhed this end than he openly violated every article of the treaty, and acted as the deſpotic monarch of a conquered kingdom. He ſtill detained the King a priſoner in effect, and made uſe of the royal authority for purpoſes the moſt prejudicial to the intereſts of Henry, and the moſt pregnant

pregnant with oppreſſion to his ſubjects. All the royaliſts were diſarmed, while his own party were kept in a continual poſture of defence: the ſame partial conduct was obſerved in the liberation of the captives; and, excluſive of thoſe who had been taken at the battle of Lewes, many of the King's adherents were thrown into priſon. Henry himſelf was conveyed by the arch-rebel Leiceſter from place to place, and compelled to iſſue his orders to the Governors of the royal caſtles to ſurrender them to the Earl, who placed in them governors and garriſons of his own appointment; all the great officers of ſtate, even thoſe of the houſhold, were named by him; and the whole authority, as well as arms, of the ſtate, was lodged in his hands. To render his influence univerſal, he inſtituted in every county a new ſpecies of magiſtrates, called Conſervators of the Peace, who were endued with powers as arbitrary as the tyrant that gave birth to them.

The motives of Leiceſter's paſt conduct were by this time rendered too manifeſt to be miſtaken even by the moſt zealous of his adherents; the maſk of Patriotiſm was laid aſide, and plainly diſcovered, in their native colours, the Traitor and the Tyrant. Grown wanton with ſucceſs that exceeded his fondeſt expectations, he gave a looſe to his favourite paſſions, Ambition and Avarice; and, being wholly unreſtrained either by fear or principle, he reſolved to gratify them to the utmoſt. He ſeized the eſtates of eighteen Barons of the royal party, which he claimed as his ſhare of the ſpoil acquired at the battle of Lewes: he likewiſe appropriated to his own uſe the ranſom of all the priſoners; and told his Barons, with unexampled inſolence, that they ought to be contented with the advantage they had obtained by his means, having by that victory ſaved them from the forfeitures and attainders which otherwiſe they muſt inevitably have incurred. He even treated the Earl of Glouceſter in the ſame injurious manner, engroſſing to himſelf the whole of the ranſom paid by the King of the Romans, who in the field of battle had ſurrendered himſelf priſoner to that Nobleman.

To increaſe the diſtreſs and confuſion in which the nation was involved, Leiceſter's eldeſt ſon Henry monopolized all the wool in the kingdom, the moſt valuable commodity for foreign markets which at that time it produced. The inhabitants of the Cinque Ports, during the preſent diſſolution of government, practiſed the moſt licentious acts of piracy; plundering the ſhips of all nations without diſtinction, and throwing the mariners into the ſea: by which means the Engliſh ports and harbours were ſpeedily deſerted, and the commerce of the iſland was entirely ruined. Every foreign commodity roſe to a price ſo exorbitant as greatly to exceed the ability of the accuſtomed purchaſers: the ſame quantity of wax, or wine, as had been uſually ſold for forty ſhillings, now coſt eight or ten marks, or even more; a pound of pepper, the common price of which was ſixpence, was not to be purchaſed under three ſhillings; and we are told by Thomas Wykes, a contemporary author, in his Chronicle of England, that ſalt, iron, ſteel, cloths, and goods of all kinds, became ſo ſcarce at this period, that the people experienced great want, and the merchants were reduced to beggary. Woollen-cloth, which the Engliſh did not then poſſeſs the art of dying, was worn by them white, and without receiving the laſt hand of the manufacturer. In anſwer to the numerous complaints preferred on account of the deſtruction of foreign trade, Leiceſter replied, that the kingdom was ſufficiently rich and fertile to ſubſiſt on it's own productions, without any intercourſe with foreigners; and it was diſcovered that he even combined with the pirates of the Cinque Ports, encouraged their depredations, and received as his ſhare one third of the prizes they made.

It will eaſily be ſuppoſed that, when every other condition of the treaty was violated, the moſt important article relative to the application to be made to the King of France was wholly neglected. Inſtead of a reference which, from the known juſtice of the French monarch, he well knew muſt have proved detrimental to his own intereſts, Leiceſter boldly ſummoned a parliament, entirely compoſed of his own partizans, in order to obtain from their authority a ſanction to that power which he had acquired by treaſon, and exerciſed with tyranny. An ordinance was there paſſed, to which the King's conſent had been previouſly extorted by threats of perpetual impriſonment, that every act of royal power ſhould be exerciſed by a council of nine Barons, who were to be choſen and removed by the majority of three: Leiceſter himſelf, the Earl of Glouceſter, and the Biſhop of Chicheſter. By this unprecedented plan of government, Leiceſter at length obtained that deſpotic power which he had ſo long been anxious to acquire: for the Biſhop of Chicheſter being wholly devoted to his will, he commanded all the reſolutions of the council of three, who could appoint or diſcard at their pleaſure every member of the ſupreme council.

But the power now enjoyed by Leiceſter was, fortunately for the nation, too exorbitant to be durable: the great Barons of his party became envious of his authority; and his native pride and inſolence augmented their diſguſt, at being excluded from an equal participation in the management of public affairs. The ſtate of miſery to which the royal family were reduced, excited that generous compaſſion which is ſeldom, if ever, entirely with-held from Misfortune, and is not unfrequently beſtowed even on fallen Guilt; and raiſed the warmeſt ſenſations of pity in the boſoms of many who had contributed to their depreſſion. The Earl of Glouceſter, in particular, finding himſelf eclipſed by the ſuperior ſplendour of his daring aſſociate, ſecretly reſolved to effect his ruin.

Nor were theſe the only ſources of anxiety to which Leiceſter was expoſed. The Queen, whom her huſband had left on the continent, was no ſooner acquainted with the unfortunate event of the battle of Lewes, than ſhe collected an army of deſperate adventurers from Germany, Burgundy, and other countries, and aſſembled a great number of ſhips to tranſport them to England, in order to impede the

the farther progreſs of the rebels, and reinſtate her huſband in his regal authority. Lewis, whoſe virtuous mind held in abhorrence the daring uſurpations and repeated perjuries of Leiceſter, ſecretly favoured all her enterprizes, and prepared a powerful armament; which, according to general belief, was intended to be employed againſt thoſe rebellious and faithleſs Barons who had refuſed to abide by his equitable award.

An Engliſh army, by the pretended authority of the captive King, was aſſembled on the ſea-coaſt, to oppoſe their projected invaſion: but ſuch was the diſpoſition of the people at this time, that, had the intended attack been really made, Leiceſter would have found more difficulty in repelling it than his paſt ſucceſſes might probably induce him to believe. The elements, however, were more favourable to him; for the Queen's fleet, having been detained ſome time on the Flemiſh coaſt by contrary winds, at length put to ſea, and was totally diſperſed and ruined in a ſtorm.

The attacks of a ſpiritual adverſary whom Leiceſter had to contend with did not prove more ſucceſsful. The Pope, ſtill adhering to the King's party, ſent Cardinal Guido as his Legate into England, with orders to excommunicate by name the Earls of Leiceſter, Glouceſter, and Norfolk; and all others, in general, who concurred in the oppreſſion and captivity of their ſovereign. Leiceſter threatened the Legate with inſtant death, ſhould he dare to enter the kingdom: but Guido, meeting at Boulogne the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and Worceſter, who had been ſent thither on a negotiation, commanded them, under the penalty of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to carry his bull into England, and publiſh it. When the Prelates, however, arrived off the coaſt, they were boarded by ſome of the pirates of the Cinque Ports, to whom probably they gave a hint of the nature of their cargo; for the bull was torn and thrown into the ſea, by which means they were furniſhed with a plauſive pretext for not obeying the orders of the Legate.

Leiceſter then appealed to the Pope in perſon; but, before the ambaſſadors appointed to defend his cauſe could reach Rome, that Pontiff was dead; and they found Guido, from whom they had orders to appeal, ſeated on the throne, under the name of Urban the Fourth. That aſpiring rebel was not intimidated by this untoward occurrence; but, bidding defiance to the ſpiritual thunders that were levelled at him, proſecuted his meaſures with vigour and perſeverance.

The popular clamours of diſcontent began now to be ſo prevalent, that Leiceſter perceived the neceſſity of attempting to exculpate himſelf from the ſerious accuſations that were preferred againſt him by the public voice; at leaſt, to adopt ſome meaſure of counterbalancing their effects by a new acquiſition of popularity. With this view he aſſumed an appearance of moderation that belied every action of his life; and ſummoned a parliament to meet at London, on the twentieth day of January, in the year 1265, for the pretended purpoſe of releaſing Prince Edward from that ſtate of confinement in which he had been kept ſince the Miſe of Lewes. This memorable parliament merits a diſtinguiſhed place in the Engliſh Hiſtory; not from the tranſactions that paſſed in it, but from the peculiar mode of aſſembling it; being the firſt, ſince the foundation of the monarchy, in which the people were permitted to have any weight or influence.

Leiceſter ſummoned, by particular writs, only eleven Biſhops, five Earls, and eighteen Barons, all of his own party, to attend it; but, in order to ſupply the deficiency occaſioned by the non-attendance of the Prelates, Earls, and Barons, of the royal party, who were not ſummoned, he iſſued writs to ſixty-four Abbots, thirty-ſeven Priors, and five Deans, many of whom were not immediate tenants of the crown. This ſingular circumſtance was probably owing to the great partiality which the Clergy entertained for Leiceſter, whom they regarded as the firm champion of eccleſiaſtical prerogative. Writs were alſo ſent to the different Sheriffs, directing them to ſend from each county two Knights of known diſcretion to attend this parliament. But what is chiefly worthy of remark is, that the citizens of different cities, and the burgeſſes of different boroughs, received ſimilar notice of attendance; each city being required to ſend two of it's citizens moſt renowned for their honeſty and diſcretion, and each borough two of it's burgeſſes moſt famed for their wiſdom and integrity: an order of men which, in former ages, had ever been deemed too inſignificant to enjoy a place in the grand council of the nation. Each of the Cinque Ports was likewiſe commanded to ſend two of it's Barons. But in what manner theſe new members of the parliament were choſen, whether by vote, or by the arbitrary will of the magiſtrates, is not known.

From this parliament the Engliſh Houſe of Commons is generally eſteemed to have derived it's origin; and it is certain that, prior to this period, there is no mention whatever made by hiſtorians of any repreſentatives ſent to parliament by the boroughs. In all the general accounts given in preceding times of thoſe aſſemblies, the Prelates and Barons, or *Magnates et Nobiles*, are mentioned as the conſtituent members; and even in the moſt particular narratives of parliamentary tranſactions—as in the trial of Thomas à Becket, where the events of each day, and almoſt of each hour, are recorded with ſingular accuracy by contemporary writers—there is not throughout the whole the ſmalleſt appearance of a Houſe of Commons. This glorious inſtitution, when matured by the wiſdom of ſubſequent ages, was attended with the moſt beneficial effects to the nation, as it tended to bring the Engliſh conſtitution to that ſuperior ſtate of excellence which at preſent ſo eminently diſtinguiſhes it from all other kingdoms of Europe; by giving the great body of the people an adequate portion of influence in the council, by whoſe decrees they were to be governed, equally to guard themſelves againſt the dangers of deſpotiſm, and the more formidable terrors of an ariſtocracy. From this period, the feudal ſyſtem, ſo inimical to every principle of civil liberty, began gradually to decline, though for a conſiderable time

it's declenſion was almoſt imperceptible; and both the King and the people, who had experienced it's inconveniences, though not in an equal degree, concurred in favouring this new-erected power, which evinced a greater regard to the legal prerogatives of the crown than the imperious Barons, and at the ſame time afforded protection to the inferior orders of the ſtate.

Though Leiceſter had aſſembled this parliament for the pretended purpoſe of liberating Prince Edward from his confinement, he had ſchemes of a far different nature in view. Having excluded from this aſſembly all the King's adherents, and confiding in the approved attachment of the populace of London, he determined to effect the ruin of thoſe Barons whoſe enmity or ſpirit of emulation he had reaſon to dread. An accuſation was preferred, in the King's name, againſt Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby; in conſequence of which that nobleman was apprehended, and committed to cuſtody without the form of a legal trial. John Gifford, being menaced with a ſimilar fate, prudently retired from London, and took ſhelter on the borders of Wales. Even the potent Earl of Glouceſter, whoſe power and influence had ſo greatly contributed to the ſucceſs of the rebels, and conſequent aggrandizement of Leiceſter, finding himſelf in danger from the ſuperior authority of his quondam aſſociate, haſtily quitted the aſſembly.

Theſe imprudent acts of ill-timed rigour, by diſſeminating diſcord among the party, gave new courage to the King's friends; who, being certain of finding in the Earl of Glouceſter a formidable leader, could now venture to avow their loyalty, and began to cheriſh hopes of ſucceſs. Though Roger Mortimer, Hamon L'Eſtrange, and other powerful Marchers of Wales, had been compelled to leave the kingdom, their authority ſtill remained in the territories ſubjected to their juriſdiction; and there were many others whoſe diſpoſition to thwart the ambitious projects of Leiceſter was eager and evident.

In order to avert the dangers that might juſtly be apprehended from theſe alarming diſſenſions, Leiceſter reſolved to fulfil the purpoſe for which he had avowedly ſummoned the parliament to aſſemble. By the adoption of this meaſure he hoped to derive ſome preſent advantages; but, fortunately, his hopes were diſappointed, as it proved the ſource of all his future calamities. Far, however, from reſtoring Prince Edward to unconditional liberty, his releaſe was clogged with ſuch conditions as rendered it a gift ſcarcely worthy of acceptance: he was obliged to promiſe that he would order his adherents to deliver up all the caſtles that had been taken at any time from the Barons of the oppoſite party, particularly thoſe on the borders of Wales; and likewiſe to ſwear, that he would neither depart the kingdom for the ſpace of three years, nor permit the introduction of any foreign forces. The King took an oath to the ſame effect; and alſo paſſed a charter, containing a confirmation of the Miſe of Lewes, and even granting permiſſion to his ſubjects to take up arms againſt him, in caſe he ſhould attempt to infringe it. This convention being ſigned and ratified, Prince Edward was conveyed from Dover Caſtle, the place of his impriſonment, to Weſtminſter Hall, where he was declared free by the Barons; and nine Prelates joined in pronouncing a ſentence of excommunication againſt all ſuch as ſhould be acceſſary to the violation of this agreement. The Prince, however, ſoon diſcovered the treachery of Leiceſter, who placed emiſſaries about his perſon to watch his every motion. Thus, while the faction reaped all the benefit from the performance of his part of the treaty, care was taken that he ſhould derive no advantage from it himſelf.

The Earl of Glouceſter, on his rupture with the Barons, had retired for ſafety to his eſtates on the borders of Wales, whither Leiceſter determined to follow him. He accordingly aſſembled an army for that purpoſe: and, taking with him both the King and the Prince, advanced as far as Hereford; where, finding his rival well prepared to receive him, he propoſed a treaty of accommodation, which Glouceſter, whoſe projects were not yet ripe for execution, found means of protracting, till he had concerted his plan of operations with Roger Mortimer, who had lately joined him from the continent. He juſtly conceived, that the moſt effectual mode of humbling the exorbitant pride of Leiceſter, and of preventing the dangerous conſequences of his ambition, would be to promote the eſcape of Prince Edward, and afterwards to ſupport him with all his power and influence. By means of his brother, Thomas de Clare, who attended on the perſon of Edward, he communicated his intention to that Prince, who readily embraced ſo favourable an opportunity of retrieving his liberty, and promiſed to comply with the directions he ſhould receive. Glouceſter accordingly contrived to convey to him a horſe of extraordinary ſwiftneſs; and, having finally arranged his plan, the Prince feigned an indiſpoſition, which laſted ſome days; when, pretending to find himſelf better, he expreſſed a deſire to take an airing on horſeback for the benefit of his health. Leiceſter, having no ſuſpicion of his deſign, and truſting to the fidelity and vigilance of his own emiſſaries, made no oppoſition to his requeſt. Accordingly, as the Prince was riding with the retinue appointed by Leiceſter to attend his perſon, he artfully propoſed to make matches between the horſes of thoſe who were beſt mounted; while he, as fearful to overheat himſelf before his health was perfectly reſtored, moved gently forwards on the horſe that had been conveyed to him by the Earl of Glouceſter. At length, when he ſaw that the horſes of his attendants were ſufficiently blown, he ſuddenly clapped ſpurs to his own; and, bidding them adieu, rode off at full ſpeed. They purſued him for ſome time, till they were ſtopped by the appearance of Mortimer, who had poſted himſelf with a party of horſe in a neighbouring wood to favour the Prince's eſcape.

Edward's happy deliverance was no ſooner made public than the royaliſts flocked to his ſtandard from all quarters: the Lords Marchers took up arms, and

and reduced all the caſtles they had formerly been obliged to ſurrender; and the Earl of Glouceſter took the field with all the forces he could aſſemble, and broke down the bridges on the Severn, in order to reſtrain the incurſions of Leiceſter. The Prince was likewiſe joined by John Gifford, at the head of a powerful body of horſe and foot, who voluntarily followed the fortunes of that gallant chieftain: and he was reinforced by William de Valence, John Earl of Warrenne, and Hugh Bigod, who had landed in Wales a few days before with a body of hardy veterans, whom they had enliſted on the continent. Thus ſtrengthened, the Prince ſoon found himſelf at the head of a numerous and gallant army; to which, at the inſtigation of the Earl of Glouceſter, he ſolemnly declared that, if his attempts ſhould be crowned with ſucceſs, he would perſuade the King to baniſh all foreigners, to preſerve the liberties of the ſubject, and to govern according to the laws of the realm: a declaration which inſpired his troops with the moſt affectionate attachment to his perſon, and the moſt ardent zeal for the cauſe of their ſovereign.

Though Leiceſter was greatly ſurprized when informed of the Prince's eſcape, yet, foreſeeing the dangers to which it would inevitably expoſe him, he adopted every meaſure that ſkill and ſagacity could ſuggeſt for his own preſervation. The King being ſtill in his power, he compelled him to iſſue a proclamation; declaring his own ſon Prince Edward, together with the Earl of Glouceſter, and all his adherents, traitors to the crown, and expreſsly forbidding his ſubjects to afford them the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance.

Leiceſter wrote to his eldeſt ſon, Simon de Montfort, who was engaged in the ſiege of Pevenſey Caſtle, to relinquiſh that enterprize, and march immediately to his relief. In obedience to this order, Simon returned to London; where he aſſembled a ſtrong body of troops, and began his march to the banks of the Severn: but, when he had advanced as far as Kenilworth, imagining that Edward's attention was wholly engroſſed by his father, he lay encamped in the moſt careleſs ſecurity. The Prince, however, apprized by ſpies of his defenceleſs ſituation, made a ſudden and forced march; ſurprized him in his camp, on the firſt day of Auguſt, in the year 1265; diſperſed his army; put numbers of them to the ſword; and took the Earl of Oxford, and many other noblemen, priſoners.

Leiceſter, ignorant of his ſon's fate, paſſed the Severn in boats during the abſence of Edward, and lay at Eveſham in hourly expectation of being joined by the army from London; when the Prince, who had reſolved to obtain every advantage that could be procured by diſpatch, approached towards him. Edward had ordered one diviſion of his troops to advance by the road which led from Kenilworth to Eveſham, and to carry the banners which they had taken from Simon's army; while he himſelf, making a circuit with the reſt of his forces, purpoſed to attack the enemy in the rear. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect by deceiving Leiceſter, who for ſome time took one body of his army for his friends; but at laſt, perceiving his miſtake, and obſerving the great ſuperiority in point of numbers, as well as the excellent diſpoſition of the royaliſts, he exclaimed, that they had learned from him the art of war; adding, as if conſcious of his approaching fate—" The Lord have mercy on our ſouls! " for I ſee our bodies are Prince Edward's!" He did not, however, abandon himſelf to deſpair; but, finding that he was ſurrounded on all ſides, formed his troops into a compact circle, and exhorted them to fight like brave men, whoſe lives and liberties depended on the event of that day. Before the action commenced, he cauſed the old King to be clad in armour, that he might not be known to his friends, and placed him in the front of the battle. Edward began the attack with ſuch incredible fury, that the Welſh were put to flight at the firſt onſet; while Glouceſter charged the enemy with equal intrepidity in another quarter. Notwithſtanding the aſtoniſhing efforts of theſe valiant leaders, Leiceſter ſuſtained the conteſt, with great valour and perſeverance, from two o'clock in the afternoon till the approach of night. The King was wounded in the ſhoulder, and his life was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger; but crying out—" I am Henry of " Wincheſter, your King!" he was ſaved by Adam de Mouhaut, and conducted to a place of ſafety by his ſon; who, hearing his voice, ran immediately to the ſpot. Before Edward's return to the field Leiceſter was ſlain: his horſe had been killed under him; and when he demanded quarter, he was told that no quarter could be granted to ſuch a traitor. His ſon Henry did not long ſurvive him; and his troops, deprived of their principal leaders, were ſo much diſpirited, that they made no farther reſiſtance: for, by this time, Hugh Le d'Eſpenſer, Ralph Baſſet, Peter de Montfort, John de Beauchamp, William de Mandeville, Guy de Bardolfe, and all the principal rebels, had experienced the fate of Leiceſter; except John Fitz-John, Nicholas de Seagrave, Henry de Haſtings, Guy de Montfort, Humphrey de Bohun, junior, and ſeven or eight other Barons, who were taken priſoners: in ſhort, all the people of any conſequence in the rebel army were either ſlain or taken. A great number of gentlemen and common ſoldiers periſhed in the field; and Prince Edward obtained a compleat victory, with little loſs. This memorable action was fought near Eveſham, on the fourth of Auguſt, in the year 1265.

Thus fell Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leiceſter, who attained to celebrity more from the confuſion of the times, and the timid diſpoſition of the reigning monarch, than from any ſingular abilities of his own: for almoſt every age has produced men of ſplendid talents, warped by ambition and diſgraced by avarice. His mind, like that of moſt of the feudal Barons, was too imperious to ſuſtain with reſignation the galling yoke of deſpotiſm, and too aſpiring to neglect any opportunity of impoſing it on others. Though the character of this Nobleman has been variouſly repreſented by different writers, it will require but a ſmall portion of ſagacity to form a juſt opinion of it from his actions,

which

which evidently betray the ungrateful Traitor and the rapacious Tyrant.

By the victory of Eveſham, and the death of Leiceſter, the royaliſts obtained an advantage that promiſed a total deſtruction of the rebel party. The King of the Romans was reſtored to liberty, and all the other priſoners were releaſed from confinement. Fitz-Richard, the ſeditious Mayor of London, who had doomed to immediate death forty of the moſt opulent citizens, ſtopped the execution of his infamous purpoſe the inſtant he received intelligence of this important event; and the greateſt part of the caſtles occupied by the rebellious Barons haſtened to make their ſubmiſſion, and to open their gates to the King: that of Kenilworth alone made an obſtinate reſiſtance; and, though vigorouſly attacked by the royal army, held out till the month of November, when it was reduced by famine.

Simon de Montfort, the eldeſt ſon of the late Earl of Leiceſter, retired with a party of his adherents to the Iſle of Axholme, which he fortified, and attempted to defend; but was ſoon compelled to yield to the valour and activity of Prince Edward. Adam de Gourdon, at the head of another party of rebels, maintained himſelf during ſome time in the foreſts of Hampſhire, and committed depredations on the adjacent country. The Prince having marched againſt him, attacked his camp, which was ſituated between Farnham and Alton; and, being tranſported by that martial ardour for which he was ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, haſtily leaped over the trench that ſurrounded it, and encountered Gourdon in ſingle combat. The victory was long diſputed with equal bravery, but at laſt declared for the Prince; who, having unhorſed his antagoniſt, wounded and took him priſoner. He not only gave him his life; but, charmed with his valour, introduced him that very night to the Queen, who was then at Guildford, procured him his pardon, reſtored him to his eſtate, received him into his favour, and was ever after faithfully ſerved by him.

The Iſle of Ely was the laſt place that ſubmitted to the King. It was garriſoned by a ſtrong body of the rebels, the moſt formidable remains of that powerful faction which ſo long harraſſed the kingdom; and, being ſtrongly fortified by nature, reſiſted every attempt to reduce it, till the year 1267, when it was ſurrendered, on the twenty-fifth of July, to the royal army.

A victory ſo compleat as that which Henry had juſt obtained over a rebellion ſo powerful, might naturally be ſuppoſed to have enlarged the prerogatives of the crown, and to have increaſed it's influence to a dangerous extent; yet the national liberty did not experience the ſmalleſt diminution on this happy occaſion: the Great Charter was ſtill preſerved inviolate; and the King, convinced by experience that the Barons, to whoſe ſupport and aſſiſtance he was indebted for his preſent ſuperiority, were no leſs jealous of their independence than the oppoſite party, appears from that time to have more carefully abſtained from thoſe undue exertions of power which had afforded ſo plauſible a pretence to the rebels. Nor was the clemency diſplayed after this important victory leſs worthy of remark: no blood was ſhed on the ſcaffold; no attainders, except of the Montfort family, were inflicted; for though a parliament, aſſembled at Wincheſter, attainted all ſuch as had borne arms againſt the King, eaſy compoſitions were made with them for their lands; and the higheſt ſum levied on the moſt obnoxious offenders did not exceed five years rent of their eſtates. Even the Earl of Derby, who again rebelled, after having been pardoned and reſtored to his fortune, was reſtored a ſecond time, on condition of paying only a fine equivalent to ſeven years rent. The inſolence of conqueſt being thus tempered by the mild diſpoſition of the King, and prudence of the Prince, order was gradually reſtored to the ſeveral members of the ſtate; and the magiſtrates reſumed thoſe functions in the diſcharge whereof they had experienced ſuch long and ſuch fatal interruption.

The city of London, whoſe animoſity to the King had been the moſt inveterate, and which ſeemed determined to reſiſt, though deſerted by it's allies, was, after ſome interval, reſtored to moſt of it's privileges and liberties; and Fitz-Richard, the Mayor, who had been guilty of ſo much illegal violence, was only puniſhed by fine and impriſonment. The Counteſs of Leiceſter, the King's ſiſter, who had taken an active part in every attack on the royal family, was baniſhed the kingdom, with her two ſons, Simon and Guy de Montfort, who made a moſt ungrateful return for this inſtance of lenity. Five years afterwards, they aſſaſſinated, at Viterbo in Italy, their couſin, Henry d'Allmaine, who at that very time was endeavouring to make their peace with the King; and, by taking ſanctuary in the church of the Franciſcans, they eſcaped the puniſhment due to ſo enormous a crime.

The Earl of Glouceſter piqued himſelf ſo much on the ſervices he had rendered the King after he had returned to his allegiance, that he thought no honours nor rewards were adequate to requite them. Under pretence that the Prince had not fulfilled thoſe promiſes which he had made to his followers before the battle of Eveſham, he reſolved to raiſe again the flames of rebellion in the kingdom. The firſt ſymptom of his diſcontent was a refuſal to attend a parliament that was aſſembled at St. Edmundſbury, on the tenth of February, in the year 1267, to which he had been ſummoned. The meſſengers ſent to him by the King found him employed in levying troops; but he gave them the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that they were only deſigned to act againſt Mortimer, who was his perſonal enemy: he even delivered to them a declaration, ſigned and ſealed, that he would never bear arms againſt his ſovereign. Notwithſtanding theſe promiſes, he took an opportunity, while the King was engaged in reducing the Iſle of Ely, and the Prince was employed in the north, to march to London, where he inſtigated the mutinous populace to take up arms; and Edward was obliged to raiſe an army of thirty thouſand men in order to ſuppreſs them. Even this ſecond rebellion did not provoke the King

to

to any act of cruelty; and Glouceſter himſelf eſcaped with total impunity: he was only conſtrained to enter into an obligation of twenty thouſand marks, that he never again would incur the guilt of rebellion. Though the conſideration of former ſervices might in ſome degree juſtify this extraordinary inſtance of lenity, it muſt certainly be regarded as a perilous meaſure, as well as a proof of the dangerous independence of the Barons in thoſe ages. Theſe powerful Nobles, fearful of eſtabliſhing a precedent that might afterwards be employed againſt themſelves, were ever averſe to the execution of the laws of forfeiture and felony, when the penalty annexed to thoſe crimes was incurred by any of their brethren; though they could not well refuſe to concur in compelling them to fulfil any voluntary contract and engagement into which they had entered.

Having reduced his Engliſh ſubjects to obedience, the King reſolved to chaſtiſe the Welſh, who had always ſupported the rebels with ſuccours during the late commotions. For this purpoſe he advanced with his army to Shrewſbury; and Llewellyn, unable to contend with ſo powerful a force, was under the neceſſity of ſuing for peace, which was granted him on the following conditions: That the conquered lands on both ſides ſhould be reſtored, and the cuſtoms of the marches preſerved; that Llewellyn and his heirs ſhould bear the title of Prince of Wales; and all the Welſh Barons ſhould do him homage, and ſwear him fealty: but that he and his ſucceſſors ſhould hold the principality as a fief of the Engliſh crown; and that, for this conceſſion, he ſhould pay to the King the ſum of twenty-five thouſand marks.

The troubles of the kingdom being thus appeaſed, Henry convoked a parliament at Northampton, in the month of April, in the year 1268; in which Ottoboni, the Pope's Legate, declared that the ſovereign Pontiff had determined to publiſh a cruſade through all Chriſtendom; and he therefore exhorted the Engliſh to contribute, by their riches and perſonal attendance, to the ſucceſs of an expedition undertaken for the glory of God and the advantage of the church. As the flames of civil diſcord were now totally extinguiſhed, Prince Edward, ſeduced by his thirſt for glory, and by the prejudices of the age, as well as by the earneſt ſolicitations of the King of France, reſolved to aſſume the croſs; and accordingly received it from the hands of the Legate. His example was followed by the Earls of Warwick and Pembroke, and above one hundred and twenty Knights, beſides an infinite number of inferior rank, whom the late civil wars had inured to military toil.

While preparations were making for this holy expedition, another parliament was held at Marlborough, in which ſeveral laws were enacted, which are well known by the name of *The Statutes of Marlebridge*. Among other ſalutary regulations, it was decreed, that all appeals from the Courts of inferior Lords ſhould be carried directly to the King's Courts, without paſſing through the Courts of the Lords immediately ſuperior. It was alſo ordered, that money ſhould bear no intereſt during the minority of the debtor. This law was reaſonable, as the eſtates of minors were always in the hands of their Lords; and the debtors could not poſſibly pay intereſt where they had no revenue. The Charter of King John had firſt granted this indulgence, which was omitted in that granted by Henry at the commencement of his reign, and was not renewed till now. Moſt of the other articles contained in theſe Statutes are calculated to reſtrain the oppreſſions of Sheriffs, and the violence and indignities committed in diſtraining cattle and other perſonal property.

The itinerant Judges, who had been reſtrained from diſcharging the duties of their office during the late commotions, began about this period to reſume the practice of going the circuits, in order to ſettle the adminiſtration of juſtice in the different counties.

Charles, Count of Anjou, had by this time ſeated himſelf on the throne of Sicily, after a victory obtained over young Conradin, whom he cruelly put to death; and, as the King of Tunis had paid an annual tribute to the Emperor, Frederick the Second, Charles pretended that the right devolved to him, as King of the Two Sicilies: he therefore demanded the tribute; and, the Mooriſh monarch having ſcornfully refuſed to comply with his requeſt, he perſuaded his brother, the King of France, to invade his dominions; alledging, that an expedition againſt the Saracens of Barbary would prove as acceptable to God as a new cruſade againſt the Infidels of Paleſtine, where he had already met with ſuch bad ſucceſs. Lewis, whoſe ſuperſtitious zeal enabled him to bear with patience the horrors of captivity, which he had already experienced, and was ſufficiently ſtrong to overbalance every conſideration of policy, and every dictate of common ſenſe, conſented to join the troops of his brother in making a deſcent on the coaſt of Africa, and was very deſirous of engaging Prince Edward in the ſame enterprize. With this view he invited him to his court, where he communicated the ſcheme, and ſecured his aſſociation with a loan of thirty thouſand marks; in conſequence of which the plan of the expedition was finally adjuſted, and the execution of it fixed for the middle of Auguſt in the enſuing year. Accordingly, preparations were made for the Prince's departure; and he previouſly took every poſſible precaution to ſettle the ſtate in ſuch a manner as to dread no bad effects from his abſence. As the extenſive power and known turbulence of the Earl of Glouceſter inſpired him with apprehenſions, he inſiſted on taking him with him, in conſequence of a vow which that nobleman had made to aſſume the croſs and repair to Paleſtine. In the mean time, he compelled him to reſign ſome of his caſtles, and to enter into a new bond not to diſturb the peace of the kingdom.

When theſe neceſſary arrangements were compleated, he ſailed with his army from Portſmouth, in the month of May, in the year 1270, and arrived in Lewis's camp before Tunis, in Africa; where he found that monarch already dead, from an epide-

mical dyſentery, that had likewiſe deſtroyed a great number of his troops. This Prince, who from his exemplary piety received the appellation of Saint Lewis—a title that had ſeldom, in thoſe times, been beſtowed on a man who ſo richly deſerved it—was one of the moſt virtuous ſovereigns that ever filled the Gallic throne. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Philip, denominated the Hardy; a Prince in every reſpect inferior to his father, though not devoid of merit.

Not diſcouraged by this event, Prince Edward continued his voyage to the Holy Land; where he ſignalized his courage and military ſkill; revived the glory of the Engliſh name in that remote country; and inſpired the Saracens with ſuch terror, that they reſolved to aſſaſſinate him. Though the Old Man of the Mountain had been taken in his capital by the Tartars, and put to the ſword, with all his followers who could be found, an Aſſaſſin ſtill remained, who had received his education under that barbarous Prince, and who willingly undertook to murder the Engliſh Prince. This ruffian was furniſhed with letters from the Governor of Joppa, containing propoſals for an accommodation; by which means he obtained admittance to Edward, who converſed with him freely, at different times, in the French language, which the Infidel underſtood. Having thus ſecured free egreſs and regreſs, he entered the Prince's apartment on a ſummer's afternoon; and, the weather being extremely hot, found him ſitting, in a looſe garment, on his bedſide. Nobody being preſent, he judged this a proper opportunity for the execution of his infamous project; and, drawing a dagger from his boſom, aimed a blow at Edward's heart. The Prince, attempting to parry the ſtroke, received a deep wound in his arm; and, perceiving the Infidel about to repeat his blow, he wreſted the weapon from his hand, and plunged it into his boſom. Edward's life being in imminent danger from the wound which had been inflicted with a poiſoned dagger, he made his will, and reſigned himſelf to his fate; but, by the ſuperior ſkill of an Engliſh ſurgeon, the wounded part, which had exhibited ſtrong ſigns of mortification, was ſcarified and healed, and the cure compleated in little more than a fortnight.

But, while the Prince was gathering a profuſion of unprofitable laurels in Paleſtine, his abſence from England produced many of thoſe evil conſequences which, though he had ſufficient penetration to foreſee, he had not been able to prevent. From the time of his departure, his father's health began viſibly to decline; and the old King was ſo ſenſible of his approaching diſſolution, that he wrote letters to his ſon, urging him to return with all poſſible expedition. But the corporeal infirmities of Henry did not cauſe that monarch ſo much anxiety as the mental inquietudes under which he laboured, ariſing from the conſciouſneſs of his own inability to ſuſtain the weight of government: a conſciouſneſs which he derived from the ſalutary leſſons of Experience, now no longer perverted by the paſſions of youth. The great Barons, thoſe proſtituted champions of *feudal* liberty, whoſe precepts and practices were ever at variance, profiting by the weakneſs of their ſovereign, ſanctioned by their example the moſt groſs violations of juſtice and of law: they oppreſſed the common people with impunity; and afforded ſhelter on their eſtates to deſperate bands of public depredators, whom they employed to commit ravages on the lands of their enemies. The populace of London, too, no longer awed by fear of puniſhment, returned to their uſual licentiouſneſs.

A ſerious riot at Norwich, in which a church and convent were burnt by the mob, having claimed the King's particular attention, he repaired to St. Edmundſbury, where he convoked a parliament, to concert meaſures for bringing the rioters to juſtice; and, purſuant to the advice of his Prelates and Nobles, he went to Norwich in perſon, deprived the city of it's liberties, and cauſed thirty of the principal inſurgents to be put to death. On his return to St. Edmundſbury, he was ſeized with the diſorder which put a period to his exiſtence. Having been conveyed by eaſy journies from thence to Weſtminſter, he there expired, on the ſixteenth of November, in the year 1272, which was the ſixty-fifth of his age, and fifty-ſeventh of his reign.

Though Henry the Third was certainly not endued with brilliant talents, he was far from that contemptible idiot which many of the ancient writers have thought proper to repreſent him. Of the truth of this obſervation, ſome of his repartees, which have been preſerved by hiſtorians, are ſufficient to convince us. The anſwer given to thoſe Prelates who were deputed by the Clergy, in the year 1253, to remonſtrate with him on the irregularity of his proceedings in canonical matters, was ſuch as the head of a fool could never have given birth to. The principal misfortune of this Prince aroſe from his being placed in a ſituation which, from the nature of his abilities, and the peculiar bent of his mind, he was incompetent to fill with honour or dignity. Thouſands, in all ages, have worn the appearance of *virtues* which they did not poſſeſs; but it was reſerved for Henry to bear the ſemblance of *vices* that were foreign to his heart. The numerous oppreſſions exerciſed during his reign procured him the character of a tyrant; though his diſpoſition to mildneſs, and averſion to cruelty, betrayed a want of thoſe qualities which are ever deemed eſſential to ſupport it. The frequent and onerous exactions which he levied on his ſubjects have likewiſe cauſed him to be accuſed of avarice; though his extreme profuſion to thoſe who enjoyed his favour, and his own continual poverty, evince the injuſtice of the accuſation. His principal errors, and, indeed, his chief vices, appear to have derived their origin from his unaccountable partiality to foreign favourites: hence the many acts of injuſtice that diſgraced his reign, his repeated violation of ſolemn promiſes, and the burdenſome impoſts laid on his people, for the ſole purpoſe of affording gratification to their rapacity.

In perſonal courage Henry was greatly defective. Among other inſtances of his timorous diſpoſition, hiſtorians

hiſtorians have preſerved the following:—In the year 1256, when Leiceſter had attained the ſummit of his glory, the King, in going to the Tower by water, was overtaken by a ſtorm of thunder and lightning; which ſo alarmed him, that he ordered his barge to be inſtantly rowed to the firſt landing-place: but, Leiceſter being ready to receive him at his landing, his fears increaſed, and the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of terror were viſible in his countenance; which induced the Earl to obſerve that, as the ſtorm was over, his Majeſty had no farther reaſon to be afraid. The King replied—"It is true, I am exceedingly afraid of thunder and lightning; but, by God's head, I fear thee more than all the thunder in the univerſe!" This conſtitutional failing, however, though attended with peculiar diſadvantages in an age when conſtant exertions of mental fortitude, and even of perſonal courage, were neceſſary to reſtrain the licentious ſpirit of the feudal Nobles, cannot certainly be imputed to him as a fault.

Though many circumſtances in the conduct of this Prince might render his pretenſions to ſanctity ſuſpected, it is nevertheleſs certain that he was greatly noted for his piety and devotion, and for his regular attendance on public worſhip. He has been highly commended by ancient writers for an obſervation which he made to Lewis the Ninth, King of France, with whom he was engaged in a diſpute concerning the preference between ſermons and maſſes. Henry maintained the ſuperiority of the latter; and affirmed, that he would rather have one hour's converſation with a friend than hear twenty the moſt elaborate diſcourſes pronounced in his praiſe.

As to his violations of the moſt ſacred oaths and promiſes, at the ſame time that we beſtow on them that juſt condemnation which every deviation from veracity even the moſt trivial ſhould incur, we cannot but recollect that he was abſolved from the obſervance of thoſe engagements by a power which the ſuperſtitious maxims of the age taught him, in ſpiritual concerns, to regard as ſupreme.

Though his reign was almoſt one continued ſcene of turbulence and confuſion, Henry found leiſure and opportunity to afford great encouragement to the arts; and, notwithſtanding the numerous drawbacks on his revenue, expended conſiderable ſums in accelerating their progreſs. His generoſity, as a friend, his fidelity as a huſband, and his affection as a parent, likewiſe entitle him to great recommendation.

In ſhort, from an attentive review of the life and conduct of this monarch, we are induced to believe that his vices were chiefly owing to his ſituation; and that he was endued with ſuch qualities as, in a private ſphere of life, might have enſured him reſpect and eſteem.

Henry left two ſons; Edward, who ſucceeded him in the throne; and Edmund, Earl of Lancaſter, Leiceſter, and Derby, and High Steward of England: and two daughters; Margaret, who was married to Alexander the Third, King of Scotland; and Beatrix, married to John, Duke of Britanny. He had four younger ſons and a daughter, who died in their infancy.

The civil commotions of this reign did not prevent the adoption of many uſeful and ſalutary regulations: conſiderable improvements were made both in the ſtatute and common law of the realm; and the deſpotic influence of the crown was greatly curtailed, by a diminution of it's hereditary funds, and by a nearer approach of the conſtitution of parliament to it's preſent form.

By one of the Statutes of Merton, paſſed in the year 1236, a controverſy which had long ſubſiſted between the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Courts was finally decided. All children that were born before wedlock were, by the common law, deemed baſtards; but, by the canon law, they were legitimate: and, when any diſpute of inheritance aroſe, it had formerly been uſual for the Civil Courts to iſſue writs to the Spiritual, directing them to enquire into the legitimacy of the claimants. The Biſhops always returned an anſwer agreeable to the canon law, though contrary to the municipal law of the kingdom. For this reaſon the Civil Courts had changed the terms of their writs; and, inſtead of requiring the Spiritual Courts to make inquiſition concerning the legitimacy of the perſon, they only propoſed the ſimple queſtion of fact, Whether he were born before or after wedlock? Of this practice the Prelates complained to the Parliament aſſembled at Merton, and requeſted that the municipal law might in this reſpect be rendered conformable to the canon law: but the Barons unanimouſly returned their memorable anſwer—"*Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutare*—We "will not change the laws of England."

By another ſtatute, made in the ſame parliament, it was enacted, that ſuch Lords as married their wards, before they had attained their fifteenth year, to villains or burgeſſes, ſhould loſe the wardſhip of their lands: a proof, with what rigour the haughty Barons of thoſe days were anxious to maintain that degrading inequality eſtabliſhed by the feudal ſyſtem, and of the tardy progreſs of civil liberty.

The improvements in the common law—which are not only evident from a compariſon of Bracton's Treatiſe, who wrote in this reign, with that of Glanville, who wrote in the time of Henry the Second, but from the judicial records ſtill extant, in which the pleadings are much more perfect and regular than thoſe of the preceding period—may be chiefly attributed to the following cauſes: The ſettlement of the court of Common Pleas at Weſtminſter; the retreat of the clergy—whoſe attachment to the canon law rendered them extremely hoſtile to the common law—both from the bench and from the bar, in obedience to a canon enacted in the year 1217; the eſtabliſhment of Law-colleges, or Inns of Court, for the education of thoſe who applied to the ſtudy of the common law; the abolition, by order of council, of trials by ordeal or ſingle combat; and the paſſing a ſtatute which impoſed a fine on thoſe pleaders who ſhould preſume to inſult the court by tedious diſſertations, foreign to the cauſe; or, in other words, "by fooliſh and abſurd pleading."

This

This laſt is one of the few regulations adopted by our anceſtors that ought to enſure the reſpect, and command the imitation, of their deſcendants.

If we may be allowed to judge of the increaſe of money by the price of corn, we may conclude that commerce had rather increaſed ſince the reign of William the Firſt. The medium between the higheſt and the loweſt prices of wheat aſſigned by the ſtatute is four ſhillings and three-pence a quarter; that is, twelve ſhillings and nine-pence of our preſent money. This is more than a third of the middling price in the preſent times: yet the middling price of cattle, ſo late as the reign of King Richard, was above eight times lower than the preſent. Hence it will appear, according to Mr. Hume's opinion, that in all nations imperfectly civilized, cattle, which propagate of themſelves, bear always a lower price than corn, which requires more art and ſtock to render it plentiful than thoſe nations are poſſeſſed of. But, though the national commerce might in this period be juſtly conſidered as an object of importance, it's progreſs was but little attended to by the legiſlature. This is evident from the extreme variation in the price of the ſame commodities at different places in the kingdom at the ſame time: for example, we find in the Chronicle of Dunſtable that, in the year 1258, a quarter of wheat coſt twenty ſhillings at Northampton, when it was ſold at Dunſtable for only eight ſhillings and ſix-pence. Had that facility of intercourſe ſo eſſential to the encouragement of commerce been eſtabliſhed, this circumſtance could never have occurred. The ſame impolitic reſtrictions and onerous impoſts as at preſent tend to damp the commercial ardour of many European nations, were allowed to prevail at this period in England. Taxes, of ſome kind or other, were exacted by every town, and by every Baron, through whoſe territories the traders were obliged to convey their goods, as well as at every place where they expoſed them to ſale.

Intereſt had in that age been raiſed to an enormous height: inſtances occur even of fifty per cent. being paid for money. Such immenſe profits afforded a ſtrong temptation to the Jews—the only uſurers of thoſe times—to remain in England, notwithſtanding the numerous oppreſſions and grievous exactions to which, more from the avidity than from the bigotry of the age, they were perpetually expoſed. The extortions which appear to have been practiſed on this unfortunate people almoſt exceed belief. In the year 1241, Matthew Paris informs us that the ſum of twenty thouſand marks were exacted from them: two years after, they were compelled to make farther contributions; and one Jew alone, Aaron of York, was obliged to pay more than four thouſand marks.

In 1250, the poverty of the King induced him to renew his oppreſſions; and the ſame Aaron was condemned to pay him thirty thouſand marks upon an accuſation of forgery. In the year 1255, Henry demanded eight thouſand marks from the Jews, and threatened to hang them if they refuſed compliance. Their patience being totally exhauſted by the frequent repetition of ſuch oppreſſive demands, they deſired permiſſion to retire from the kingdom, with all their effects: but the King replied—"How "can I remedy the oppreſſions you complain of? "I am a beggar myſelf; I am deſpoiled of all my "revenues; I owe more than twenty thouſand "marks; nay, if I had ſaid thirty thouſand, I "ſhould not have exceeded the truth: I am obliged "to pay my ſon, Prince Edward, fifteen thouſand "marks a year; I am not poſſeſſed of a farthing; "and money I muſt have from any hand, from any "quarter, or by any means!" He then delivered over the Jews to the Earl of Cornwall, that, as Matthew Paris ſhrewdly obſerves, "thoſe whom "the one brother had flayed, the other might em-"bowel."

King John, his father, as we are told by the ſame hiſtorian, once demanded ten thouſand marks from a Jew at Briſtol; and, on his refuſal, ordered one of his teeth to be drawn every day till he ſhould comply. The Jew perſiſted till he had loſt ſeven teeth, and then paid the required ſum. One talliage impoſed on the Jews in 1243 amounted to ſixty thouſand marks: a ſum equal to the whole annual revenue of the crown!

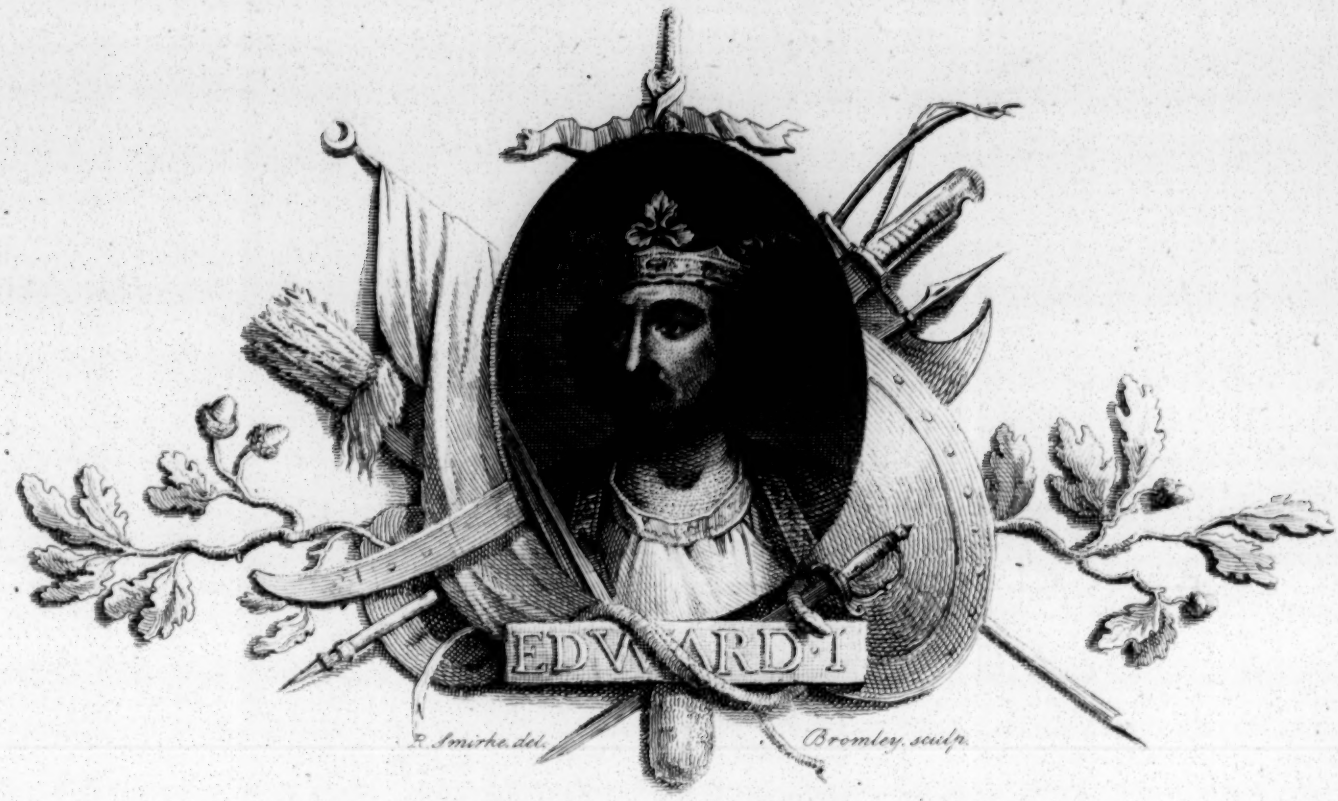
It may eaſily be conceived under what inconveniences commerce was ſuffered to labour, when intereſt was ſo high, and when the ſole proprietors of money employed it in uſury alone, and were themſelves ſubjected to ſuch flagrant oppreſſions. Another material obſtacle to commercial improvements, however, aroſe from the bad police of the country, which rendered all communication dangerous, and all property precarious. The Chronicle of Dunſtable informs us, that men were never ſecure in their habitations; and that, even during the ceſſation of civil commotions, whole villages were frequently plundered by deſperate bands of public depredators.

In 1249, ſome years previous to the grand inſurrection of the Barons, two merchants of Brabant came to the King at Wincheſter, and told him that they had been robbed of all their goods by certain thieves, whom they knew, becauſe they ſaw their faces every day in his court; that ſimilar practices prevailed throughout the kingdom, and travellers were continually expoſed to the danger of being robbed, maimed, and murdered; that theſe crimes were ſuffered to paſs with impunity, becauſe the miniſters of juſtice themſelves were in a confederacy with the robbers; and that they, for their part, inſtead of bringing matters to a fruitleſs trial by law, were willing, though merchants, to decide their quarrel with the robbers by ſingle combat. The King, provoked at theſe enormities, ordered a jury to be incloſed, and to try the culprits. The jury, though it conſiſted of twelve men of property in Hampſhire, were found to be alſo in a confederacy with the felons, whom they acquitted. Henry committed the jury to priſon, threatened them with ſevere puniſhment, and ordered another to be incloſed; who, fearing to incur the fate of their fellows, at laſt found a verdict againſt the criminals. Many of the King's houſhold were diſcovered to have participated in their guilt; and alledged, as an excuſe

excuſe for their crime, that they received no wages from their maſter, and were therefore obliged to rob for a ſubſiſtence. " Knights and Eſquires," ſays the Dictum of Kenilworth, " who were rob-" bers, if they have no land, ſhall pay the half of " their goods, and find ſufficient ſecurity for keep-" ing in future the peace of the kingdom." The confuſion of ſuch times may be eaſily conceived!

Henry granted a charter to the town of Newcaſtle, in which he gave a licence to the inhabitants to dig coal. This is the firſt mention of coal in England.

Matthew Paris, the celebrated Engliſh hiſtorian, flouriſhed in this reign. He was a monk in the Abbey of St. Alban's; and appears to have been held in high eſtimation, not only by his own ſovereign, but by ſeveral other Princes of that age. He is ſaid to have lived on terms of intimacy with Henry the Third, who admitted him to his table; and even aſſiſted him in the compoſition of his Hiſtory of England, if his own teſtimony may be credited. Though his hiſtorical productions are frequently polluted by the introduction of thoſe miraculous ſtories which in that credulous age obtained univerſal belief, and are not in other reſpects exempt from errors; yet they contain a fund of uſeful information, that, examined with caution, muſt greatly facilitate the labours of the modern hiſtorian.



Publish'd as the Act directs by Harrison & Co. March 14. 1787.

EDWARD THE FIRST.

THE commotions which had almoſt invariably occurred between the death of the King and the coronation of his ſucceſſor, afforded ſtrong reaſon to believe that the deceaſe of Henry would be productive of dangerous conſequences, particularly as his ſon Edward was abſent from the kingdom. To obviate theſe, an aſſembly of the principal Nobility was held on the day after the King's funeral, at which every member ſwore obedience to Edward: and Walter Gifford, Archbiſhop of York; the Earl of Cornwall, ſon of Richard, King of the Romans, who had died about ſeven months before his brother; and the Earl of Glouceſter; were appointed Regents of the kingdom. At a ſubſequent meeting of the parliament, that was more fully attended, in the month of January, in the year 1273, this choice was confirmed; and thoſe noblemen were in conſequence permitted to exerciſe the ſupreme authority without oppoſition or diſturbance.

The general tranquillity preſerved on this occaſion, ſo contrary to the expectations of ſuch as had witneſſed the commotions of the late reign, were chiefly owing to the great character for wiſdom, valour, and moderation, which Edward had acquired during the life of his father. As the Earl of Glouceſter was one of the moſt forward and zealous of the Nobles in his profeſſions of loyalty, the ſmall remains of Leiceſter's faction, being deprived of their leader, were compelled, however reluctant, to remain quiet and ſubmiſſive.

Prince Edward, after having ſignalized his courage in the Holy Land, had concluded a truce with the Soldan of Babylon for ten years, ten weeks, and ten days: in conſequence of which he ſailed for England; and had reached Sicily, when news was brought him of his father's death. At the ſame time, he received intelligence of the deceaſe of an infant ſon, whom his Princeſs, Eleanor of Caſtile, had borne him at Acre, in Paleſtine. The deep affliction he betrayed at the former misfortune, and the reſignation with which he bore the latter, induced the King of Sicily to expreſs his ſurprize at a conduct ſo oppoſite, in his opinion, to the genuine dictates of nature. Edward, however, wiſely obſerved to him, that it was poſſible to repair the loſs of a ſon, whereas that of a father was irreparable.

As the kingdom was in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity, Edward did not haſten his return. From Sicily he repaired to Rome, in conſequence of an invitation from Gregory the Tenth, who followed him to Paleſtine, from whence he had been called to fill the chair of St. Peter; and that Pontiff now granted him a certain portion of all eccleſiaſtical revenues throughout England, to reimburſe him for the expences of his expedition. On the frontiers of Savoy he was met by ſeveral Engliſh Prelates and Noblemen; and his Queen, having left him at Lyons, repaired to Gaſcony, where ſhe was ſoon after delivered of a ſon, named Alphonſo. In his paſſage by Chalons, in Burgundy, the Count of that name, who was inſpired with emulation at the military fame acquired by Edward, invited him to a tournament, then preparing; and even defied him to a trial of chivalry. The Engliſh monarch willingly accepted the challenge; and, with his Knights, holding the field againſt all that choſe to enter the liſts, obtained the honour of the day. The Count, enraged at their ſucceſs, converted this image of war into a real engagement, by making a ſerious attack on the Engliſh, which was repulſed with vigour and ſucceſs, though not till much blood had been ſhed in the conteſt. This *rencontre* received the name of *The petty Battle of Chalons*.

From Chalons, Edward proceeded to Paris; where he was ſumptuouſly entertained by Philip,

King

King of France, to whom he did homage for the dominions which he held of the French crown. He thence returned to Guienne, where he ſuppreſſed an inſurrection that had been raiſed by Gaſton, Viſcount of Bearne. After ſome ſtay in that province, he continued his route to England; and at Montrëuil was viſited by Guy de Dampierre, Count of Flanders, who went thither to meet him, in order to accommodate certain differences between the Engliſh and Flemings, which had interrupted the commercial intercourſe that had formerly ſubſiſted between the two countries.

It had been uſual for the Kings of England to grant penſions to the Counts of Flanders, in conſideration of certain ſtipulated ſervices to be performed by them: but the demand of Margaret, the preſent Countëſs, who laid claim to a ſimilar annuity, having been rejected by the Engliſh court, ſhe ſeized the effects of ſome merchants of England and Gaſcony, which happened to be in her dominions at that time; and reprizals were made on her ſubjects in England. Severe penalties were alſo enacted againſt the exportation of wool to Flanders; which ſo diſtreſſed Margaret, that ſhe was compelled to ſue for peace, and ordered her ſon to meet Edward at Montrëuil for that purpoſe. The King ſent for ſome of the principal citizens of London to aſſiſt at the conferences; and a treaty was concluded, on condition that Margaret ſhould relinquiſh all pretenſions to the annuity; make good the damage ſuſtained by the ſeizure of the effects belonging to the Engliſh merchants; and that ſome of her chief nobility ſhould be bound for the faithful performance of this engagement.

The affair being finally ſettled, and a free trade opened with Flanders, Edward embarked for England; landed at Dover on the ſecond of Auguſt, in the year 1274; and was crowned at Weſtminſter on the nineteenth of the ſame month, together with his Queen Eleanora, by Robert Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The firſt acts of Edward's government were a ſtrict inveſtigation of the ſtate of the royal revenues, which was eſſentially neceſſary, as the Exchequer was nearly exhauſted; and an examination into the conduct of magiſtrates and ſheriffs, who had lately abuſed their authority, and oppreſſed the people. He was equally careful to reſtore the internal police of the kingdom, which had been greatly relaxed during the reign of his father, to it's neceſſary vigour: but, as the criminals of every denomination had become ſo numerous and powerful as to deter the ordinary miniſters of juſtice from the diſcharge of their duty, he deemed it neceſſary to appoint commiſſioners of inqueſt, to whom he entruſted the power of extending their enquiries into diſorders and crimes of all kinds, and to inflict the proper puniſhments on the offenders. This, indeed, was an exertion of authority that nothing but the neceſſity of the caſe could poſſibly juſtify, as it was turning the ſtream of juſtice from it's natural courſe. The officers charged with this extraordinary commiſſion made their circuits through the counties that were moſt infeſted with thieves, and ſpread terror wherever they came. Unfortunately, they ſuffered their zeal to ſubdue their judgment; and, from a too great eagerneſs to puniſh crimes, neglected to enforce the neceſſary diſcrimination between innocence and guilt: the moſt vague ſuſpicions were received as ſufficient grounds for trial; and the moſt ſlender evidence was too frequently allowed to operate the conviction of the accuſed. In conſequence of this unjuſtifiable mode of proceeding, the priſons were ſpeedily crouded; fines, greatly diſproportioned to the magnitude of the offences, were daily levied; and the King, though his exhauſted Exchequer was ſupplied by this expedient, ſoon found it neceſſary to put a ſtop to theſe ſeverities. Having ſucceeded in diſſipating, through this tribunal, the dangerous gangs of diſorderly people that infeſted the country, he prudently annulled the commiſſion, and never afterwards renewed it.

In order to prevent a repetition of thoſe diſorders to which the kingdom had been ſo long ſubjected, a parliament was held at Weſtminſter, in the month of May, in the year 1275; at which many wiſe laws were enacted, that have ever ſince been diſtinguiſhed by the name of *The Statutes of Weſtminſter*.

Having taken theſe neceſſary precautions for the ſecurity of the realm, Edward reſolved to march againſt Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, who had refuſed to do homage for his principality, and evinced a determination to renounce his dependence on the crown of England. At the death of Henry, he had received a citation to appear and take the oath of fealty to his ſucceſſor; but he paid no more regard to this than he did to a ſubſequent ſummons that was ſent him, to require his attendance at the coronation of Edward. He alledged, as an excuſe for his diſobedience, that the Engliſh had committed ravages on the frontiers, in violation of the articles of the laſt treaty. In order to remove this objection, the King appointed commiſſioners to inveſtigate and adjuſt all matters in diſpute, and again ſummoned him to appear and perform his homage: but Llewellyn ſtill continued refractory; and his oppoſition was confirmed by an incident that occurred at this period. The Welſh Prince had ever been a ſtrenuous ſupporter of Leiceſter's faction, and ſtill retained his attachment to the exiled family of that nobleman. To ſtrengthen the ties of friendſhip that ſubſiſted between them, he had entered into a contract of marriage with Eleanor de Montfort, daughter of the late Earl; who, in her paſſage from France to Wales, under the conduct of her brother Amaury, was intercepted near the Scilly Iſles, and detained priſoner in the court of England. When Llewellyn was again ſummoned to do homage, he made loud complaints of the inſult that had been offered him; and refuſed to comply, unleſs his bride was immediately reſtored to liberty; and the King's ſon, with the Earl of Glouceſter, and ſome others of the principal nobility, were delivered to him as hoſtages for the ſafety of his own perſon. The latter part of this demand appeared not only unreaſonable, but inſolent, as well to Edward as to the parliament, who had aſſembled at Weſtminſter, in the ſpring of the year 1276, to take

take this affair into conſideration. The parliament likewiſe declared that, by a refuſal to do homage to his ſuperior lord, Llewellyn had incurred the penalties of confiſcation; and that his dominions, therefore, had become the property of the Engliſh crown. They exhorted Edward to reduce them by force of arms; and, to enable him to undertake the expedition, they granted him a ſubſidy, conſiſting of one fifteenth of the moveables both of the clergy and laity.

Thus aſſiſted, the King made every neceſſary preparation for his enterprize: the military tenants of the crown were ſummoned to meet him at Worceſter by the following Midſummer. All the forces in Herefordſhire, Salop, and the adjacent marches, were entruſted to the command of Roger de Mortimer; while William de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and Roger de Chaworth, who commanded in Cheſhire, were empowered to pardon ſuch of Llewellyn's adherents as ſhould be willing to make their ſubmiſſions, and perform homage to the King of England. Beſides Edward's great ſuperiority, the Welſh Prince laboured under other diſadvantages, as his principality was conſiderably weakened by inteſtine diſſenſions. David and Roderic, brothers to Llewellyn, being diſpoſſeſſed of their inheritances, had been obliged to apply to Edward for protection; in return for which, they now ſeconded his efforts to reduce their native country with all their intereſt. The only reſource that Llewellyn could expect was in the inacceſſible ſituation of thoſe mountains which had hitherto proved a ſufficient bulwark againſt every attempt that had been made to enſlave his anceſtors; he therefore retired among the hills of Snowden, reſolved to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity. But Edward, whoſe conduct was equal to his courage, entering by the north with a powerful army, advanced into the heart of his country; and, having cautiouſly explored every avenue before him, and ſecured every paſs behind him, approached the laſt retreat of Llewellyn. Aware of the diſadvantages that muſt attend an attack in ſuch a ſituation, he prudently determined to reduce the enemy by famine. This was more eaſily effected, as the ſtate of the country had induced the natives wholly to neglect tillage, and to truſt to paſturage for their ſubſiſtence. Cooped up in a narrow compaſs, and deſtitute of magazines, they, as well as their cattle, ſoon experienced all the rigours of famine; and their Prince found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the diſcretion of the victor without ſtriking a ſingle blow in his own defence.

The treaty was concluded at Aberconway; and the terms impoſed by Edward were theſe—That Llewellyn ſhould pay him fifty thouſand pounds as a reparation of damages, and a ſatisfaction for the expences incurred by the expedition; that he ſhould totally relinquiſh, for ever, all the country between Cheſhire and the River Conway, and retain the Iſle of Angleſey as a grant from Edward, paying for it an annual tribute of a thouſand marks; that all the Welſh nobility ſhould ſwear allegiance to the King of England, except four Barons of Snowden; that he ſhould ſettle on his brother Roderic a thouſand marks a year, and on David five hundred; and ſhould deliver ten hoſtages as ſecurity for his future ſubmiſſion. This treaty being duly ratified, and the principal articles performed, Edward remitted the payment of the fifty thouſand pounds; delivered to the Welſh Prince his deſtined bride; and accompanied him to Weſtminſter, where he performed homage to the Engliſh monarch, in compliance with the ſtipulations of the treaty, on Chriſtmas-day, in the year 1277, in preſence of all the Nobles and Prelates of the realm.

About this period, too, Alexander the Third, King of Scotland, renewed his homage to Edward before the parliament, for the lands which he held in vaſſalage of the Engliſh crown; and Robert de Brus, Earl of Carrick, took the oath of fealty in his name. In this aſſembly, the Statute of Glouceſter, enacted during the Welſh expedition, was confirmed: it was a compendium of ſome excellent laws for ſecuring the rights and liberties of the ſubject, and providing for the more effectual adminiſtration of juſtice. As the adulteration of the coin was one of the inconveniences moſt univerſally complained of, a great number of Jews ſuſpected of this crime were apprehended in various parts of the kingdom; and, being convicted upon trial, were ſentenced to ſuffer death.

A general prejudice appears to have prevailed againſt this unhappy people, of which Edward himſelf partook; and, his miſguided zeal for the cauſe of Chriſtianity being greatly augmented by his expedition to Paleſtine, he determined that the ſentence of the law ſhould be rigorouſly executed. Two hundred and eighty of them were accordingly hanged at one time, in London alone, beſides numbers that ſuffered in other towns of England. Their houſes and lands—for the Jews had lately ventured to convert their money into real property—were ſold and confiſcated to the uſe of the King; who, willing to convince the world that the guilt of the culprits had not merely conſiſted in their wealth, aſſigned one half of the produce for the maintenance of ſuch Jews as ſhould conſent to embrace Chriſtianity. Great ſums of clipped coin were found in their habitations; and the fines paid by thoſe who eſcaped a ſeverer puniſhment, as well as by the goldſmiths with whom they were concerned, muſt have amounted to an immenſe ſum.

The great poverty of the crown is ſuppoſed to have been one principal reaſon for exerciſing ſuch extreme ſeverity againſt the Jews; though it is probable that they in general merited the fate they experienced. Edward, however, had recourſe to a more honourable means of repleniſhing his exhauſted treaſury, by engaging the merchants to conſent to a perpetual impoſt of half a mark on every ſack of wool exported, and a mark on three hundred ſkins. He alſo iſſued commiſſions to enquire into all encroachments on the royal demeſnes; into the value of eſcheats, forfeitures, and wardſhips; into the titles by which the Barons and others held their lands; and into the means of repairing or improving every branch of the revenue. The commiſſioners, by a vigorous exertion of their authority,

gave

gave infinite trouble and vexation to landed proprietors, brought large ſums of money into the Exchequer by fines and compoſitions for defective titles, and added many eſtates to the King's demeſnes: but, not content with enforcing obedience to their juſt deciſions, they began to harraſs the nobility by queſtioning the validity of titles that had been tranſmitted from father to ſon for ſeveral generations. Earl Warrenne, who had rendered the ſtate ſuch ſignal ſervice in the late reign, being required to produce the inſtruments by which he held his eſtate, drew an old ruſty ſword from it's ſcabbard—"This," ſays he, "is the inſtrument by "which my anceſtors gained their eſtates, and by "which I am reſolved to preſerve them while I have "life!" This bold declaration being reported to Edward, he became ſenſible of the danger and impropriety of proceeding farther in this inveſtigation, and prudently annulled the commiſſion.

In the mean time, the Welſh bore with great impatience the yoke that had been impoſed on them by the Engliſh, and which was rendered more intolerable by the inſolence of the victors; many of whom, ſettling in the country that had been ceded to Edward between Cheſhire and the River Conway, had greatly oppreſſed the ancient inhabitants. The Lords Marchers, too, committed, with impunity, every ſpecies of violence on their Welſh neighbours, whoſe complaints they rejected with ſcorn. Rouzed by theſe injuries, the people of Wales unanimouſly exhorted their ſovereign to make one deſperate effort to recover their ancient independence: but, previous to the commencement of hoſtilities, deeming it neceſſary to effect a reconciliation between Llewellyn and his brother David, whom Edward had lately created Earl of Derby, the Welſh nobility interpoſed their good offices for that purpoſe. David, having ſome reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the King's conduct towards him, readily aſſented to their propoſals for an accommodation; and his brother only exacted an oath from him that he never again would enter into the ſervice of Edward, but always conſider him as the inveterate enemy of his country. This agreement being ratified, David took the field with a body of forces, in the ſpring of the year 1281, and made incurſions on the Engliſh territories. His firſt attempts were crowned with ſucceſs: he took Lord Clifford priſoner in the caſtle of Hurwarden; and defeated a body of troops that were ſent to oppoſe him.

Edward was far from being diſpleaſed with this new inſurrection, as it furniſhed him with a plauſive pretext for making his conqueſt compleat, by reducing the principality to entire ſubjection. For this purpoſe he ſummoned his Barons and military tenants to meet him at Worceſter about Midſummer; and, having collected an adequate force, marched into Wales. Llewellyn, finding himſelf wholly unable to cope with ſo powerful an army in the open field, retired as before to the hills of Snowden, whither he was followed by Edward; who, having made himſelf maſter of all the avenues, reſolved once more to reduce him by famine. The Welſh, however, having defeated a ſmall detachment of troops which had paſſed the Menau, under the command of Luke de Tany, one of Edward's Captains, were ſo elated with their ſucceſs, that they raſhly determined to forego the advantage of their ſituation; and, by advancing into the plain, engage the Engliſh on equal terms.

As Edward had imagined that it would require ſome time to effect their reduction by famine, he had retired to the caſtle of Rudhlan; and left the command of his army to Roger Mortimer, who now obtained a compleat victory over the enemy, on the eleventh of December, in the year 1282. Llewellyn himſelf was ſlain in the action; and two thouſand of his followers were left dead on the field.

David, who ſucceeded him in the principality, could never afterwards collect an army ſufficiently powerful to face the Engliſh. After ſkulking about the country for ſome time, and being obliged to conceal himſelf under various diſguiſes, he was at laſt betrayed to Edward, who ſent him in chains to Shrewſbury. This unfortunate Prince was formally tried by the Peers of England as Earl of Derby, and ſentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered, as a traitor. This cruel ſentence was executed with rigour: his head, together with that of his brother Llewellyn, was expoſed to public view on the walls of the Tower; and his quarters were ſent to York, Briſtol, Northampton, and Wincheſter. Thus miſerably periſhed the laſt of the ancient ſovereigns of Wales!

After this deciſive victory, the Welſh made no farther reſiſtance; but ſubmitted, though with extreme reluctance, to the Engliſh yoke: by which means a final termination was put to that long and bloody conteſt, which had ſubſiſted for more than eight centuries between the Engliſh and the ancient Britons.

The parliament aſſembled at Acton-Burnel, in Shropſhire, granted the King a conſiderable ſubſidy to defray the expences of this war: and here alſo was enacted the law, known by the name of *The Statute of Acton-Burnel*, which enabled merchants to recover their debts, by recognizances, in the three great cities of London, York, and Briſtol; but the ordinances for the incorporation of Wales with England were made at Rudhlan, where Edward had reſided during the whole time of his expedition. He divided North Wales into counties; and appointed ſheriffs and other officers for the due adminiſtration of juſtice, in the ſame manner as in England: but it was decreed that the Welſh ſhould not be ſued for debts and treſpaſſes, except in their own country. He erected Rudhlan, Caernarvon, Aberyſtwith, and other towns, into corporations, and endowed them with particular privileges for the encouragement of trade, and for the purpoſe of alluring the natives from their mountains into a more ſociable way of life, that, by taſting the ſweets of induſtry, their attention might be diverted from the more dangerous objects of war and rebellion. He publiſhed a proclamation, offering peace and ſecurity to all ſuch as would place themſelves under his protection; and he left them in poſſeſſion of the

ſame lands and liberties which they had enjoyed under the government of their own Princes: but he deviated from theſe principles of juſtice in his conduct to the Britiſh bards, whom he treated with unexampled cruelty. From an idea that their traditional poetry, reciting the glorious deeds of their anceſtors, animated by the muſic of their harps, tended to preſerve the ſpirit of their countrymen, and to make a ſtrong impreſſion on the minds of their youth, he collected them together; and from a policy which, however juſt, reflects diſgrace on his memory, commanded them all to be put to death.

Notwithſtanding this variety of precautions, he could not reconcile the Welſh to his government. The idea of paying obedience to a foreigner, and witneſſing the abolition of their ancient laws and cuſtoms in favour of new regulations which they could not underſtand, and which were impoſed on them by a people who were the objects of their deteſtation, inſpired their minds with a diſguſt that could not eaſily be removed. In order, however, to conciliate their affections, we are told by the monkiſh hiſtorians, that Edward promiſed to give them a Prince of unexceptionable manners, a Welſhman by birth, and one who could ſpeak no other language. To fulfil this promiſe, he left his Queen at the caſtle of Caernarvon; where ſhe was delivered of her ſecond ſon, Edward, who was preſented by his father to the Welſh; who, regarding him as a native of Snowden that would govern them as a diſtinct people from the Engliſh, received him with acclamations of joy and promiſes of obedience. Though ſuch an expedient may appear at firſt ſight to have ſavoured of puerility; on reflection, it's probable effects on the minds of a people who even in the moſt important tranſactions were continually ſwayed by ſuperſtitious motives muſt be conſidered as powerful.

The death of the King's eldeſt ſon Alphonſo, which occurred ſoon after, made young Edward heir to the monarchy; and, the principality of Wales being fully annexed to the crown, Edward received the title of *Prince of Wales*; which has ever ſince been enjoyed by the eldeſt ſons of the Kings of England.

The final reduction of Wales produced a profound peace, which continued for ſeveral years without the ſmalleſt interruption; and afforded an opportunity to the King of making great improvements in the laws and government of the realm.

Edward had received frequent citations, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, to attend the French monarch as a vaſſal of the crown of France, in virtue of thoſe territories which he poſſeſſed on the continent His engagements at home had hitherto prevented him from obeying them: but being now at leiſure, and having recently received a ſummons from Philip the Fair, who had lately ſucceeded his father, Philip the Third, he determined to repair to the continent; and, having appointed the Earl of Pembroke regent of the kingdom, he accordingly ſailed for France, on the twenty-fourth of June, in the year 1286, attended by ſeveral of his Nobles and Prelates. The object for which Philip required his preſence was to make peace between himſelf and Alphonſo, King of Arragon, whoſe difference had ariſen about the kingdom of Sicily; which the Pope, after he failed in his views upon England, had beſtowed on Charles, brother to Lewis the Ninth; and which was claimed, in virtue of more ſubſtantial titles, by Peter, King of Arragon, father to Alphonſo. Edward was entruſted by each competitor with full powers to ſettle the terms of accommodation; and his endeavours were crowned with ſucceſs: but, as the controverſy has no relation to England, it would be ſuperfluous to enter into particulars. This, together with the proſecution of ſome claims which he had to certain territories in France as heir to his mother, Eleanor of Provence, detained him more than three years on the continent; ſo that he did not arrive in England till the twelfth of Auguſt, in the year 1289.

The abſence of Edward had been productive of conſiderable diſorders in the kingdom. During his reſidence in France, underſtanding that the Statute of Winton—which had been enacted in 1285, for the more effectual ſuppreſſion of robbers, and the prevention of public outrages—was wholly diſregarded; that the number of thieves had greatly increaſed, and that they exerciſed their depredations with impunity; that the want of civil policy was owing to the privileges of the Barons, who interrupted the courſe of juſtice by affording protection to criminals on their own eſtates; he aboliſhed the office of Chief Juſticiary, and appointed a new ſpecies of magiſtrates, immediately dependent on the royal authority, and empowered to adminſter juſtice in all parts of the kingdom to which their commiſſions extended. Theſe offices were granted to certain Knights in every county of England, in order to maintain the peace, and to enforce a due obſervance of the Statute of Winton; and the Sheriffs were directed to aſſiſt them, in caſe of neceſſity, with the *poſſe comitatus*, for the execution of their orders and warrants. Such was the origin of *Juſtices of the Peace*, ſo denominated from the object of their inſtitution.

On Edward's return, he found that the Welſh, profiting by his abſence, had raiſed an inſurrection, which was ſuppreſſed with ſome difficulty. In England, too, the diſorders that ſtill prevailed, notwithſtanding his late regulations, as well from open violence as from the ſecret corruption of juſtice, were truly alarming. Thomas Chamberlain, a gentleman of good family, but deſperate fortune, had aſſembled ſeveral of his profligate aſſociates at Boſton, in Lincolnſhire, under pretence of holding a tournament, an amuſement only permitted to be enjoyed by the gentry; but, in reality, with the view of plundering the rich fair that was held at that town, and of robbing the merchants. To facilitate the execution of his infamous project, he privately ſet fire to the town; and, while the inhabitants were employed in extinguiſhing the flames, accompliſhed his plan by breaking into the booths, and carrying off the goods. Chamberlain himſelf was detected, and hanged; but could not be prevailed on to diſcover

cover his accomplices. Many other flagrant acts of violence were committed in different parts of the kingdom; but this is the only one which, from the particular circumſtances attending it, has been deemed worthy to be recorded by hiſtorians.

But the evils proceeding from the corruption and venality of the Judges were ſtill more pregnant with danger. To remedy this abuſe, the King ſummoned a parliament; who, after a due inveſtigation, found the charges preferred againſt the Judges to be ſtrictly true. Only two of them, who were eccleſiaſtics, were acquitted; the reſt were convicted, fined, and depoſed. Were the magnitude of their guilt to be eſtimated by the amount of the fines that were levied upon them, it muſt appear great indeed, as they produced no leſs than one hundred thouſand marks; which in thoſe days was an immenſe ſum. The King exacted an oath from all the new Judges that they would take no bribes; but the ſeverity which he had exerciſed on the old ones was a ſtronger ſecurity againſt the commiſſion of injuſtice than any obligation he could impoſe.

The Jews, too, appear to have profited by the abſence of the King, and the corruption of the Judges to encourage thoſe uſurious extortions which, as well as their religious opinions, had rendered them ſo odious to the nation; for the cry at this time had become ſo loud and ſo univerſal againſt them, that the parliament, aſſembled at Weſtminſter on the fourteenth of January, in the year 1290, iſſued an order for the expulſion of the whole race of Iſraelites. They were commanded to leave the kingdom, on pain of death, before the firſt of November; and all their effects were confiſcated to the King, except a trifling ſum of money, barely ſufficient to defray the expences of their journey into foreign countries. The King furniſhed them with a ſafe conduct; which was, however, violated by the piratical inhabitants of the Cinque Ports; who, not contented with plundering this devoted people of the little property that was left them, threw, from mere wantonneſs, ſome hundreds of them into the ſea. This contempt of his orders Edward puniſhed with a proper degree of ſeverity, inflicting a capital puniſhment on all who had been concerned in it. No leſs than fifteen thouſand Jews were at this time baniſhed the kingdom, and deſpoiled of their effects. Very few of that people have ſince reſided in England; and, as no commercial nation can ſubſiſt without lenders of money, and none will lend without an adequate compenſation, the practiſe of uſury, as it was then called, was thenceforth exerciſed by the Engliſh themſelves, or by Lombards, and other foreigners. It is highly probable that the dealings of theſe new uſurers were equally flagitious with thoſe of the old ones; and certainly more dangerous, from being leſs public. By a law of Richard the Firſt, it was enacted, that three copies ſhould be made of every bond given to a Jew; one to be depoſited with a public magiſtrate; a ſecond to be lodged in the hands of ſome man of credit and reſponſibility; and a third to remain with the Jew himſelf: but as Chriſtians were prohibited, as well by the canon law, as by the municipal law, from taking intereſt for money, all pecuniary tranſactions muſt, after the expulſion of the Jews, have become more ſecret and clandeſtine; conſequently the lender would require to be paid, not only for the uſe of his money, but for the infamy and danger to which he expoſed himſelf by lending it.

The utmoſt harmony had prevailed for a ſeries of years between the crowns of England and Scotland; and the ties of blood by which the two royal families were united, had been greatly ſtrengthened by a continued intercourſe of friendſhip and mutual good offices: but that happy period was approaching to it's termination, and a ſcene of deſolation preparing to ſucceed it that was deſtined to involve the two kingdoms in the moſt ſerious calamities.

Alexander the Third, King of Scotland, who had eſpouſed Margaret, ſiſter to Edward, had been killed by a fall from his horſe, in the vicinity of Kinghorn, on the nineteenth of March, in the year 1286. This monarch left no children; and only one grandchild, named Margaret, daughter of Eric, King of Norway, and of Margaret, daughter to Alexander. This Princeſs, commonly called the Maid of Norway, though a female, an infant, and a foreigner; yet, being the undoubted heireſs of the crown of Scotland, was recognized as the ſucceſſor of Alexander by the ſtates of the kingdom, which aſſembled about three weeks after his death. Five Noblemen were appointed to act as Regents during the abſence of their infant ſovereign, who was now only in her fourth year: theſe were the Biſhops of Glaſgow and St. Andrew's; the Earls of Fife and Buchan; and James, Steward of Scotland.

Under their care the government was conducted for ſome time with ſuch wiſdom, prudence, and unanimity, as afforded univerſal content; but the death of the Earl of Buchan, and the aſſaſſination of the Earl of Fife, gave riſe to diſputes among the ſurviving Regents that were highly detrimental to the welfare of the kingdom.

Eric, King of Norway, being apprized of theſe commotions, began to entertain apprehenſions for the intereſts of his daughter; and, in order to ſecure the quiet poſſeſſion of her rights, made application for aſſiſtance to her great-uncle, Edward. This circumſtance could not fail to excite pleaſure in the breaſt of the Engliſh monarch, who had already formed a ſcheme for uniting the two kingdoms, and thereby reducing the whole iſland into one monarchy. He purpoſed to effect his plan by the marriage of his eldeſt ſon Edward with the young Queen of Scots; and had actually obtained a diſpenſation from the Pope for that purpoſe. Conferences were held at Saliſbury between the Norwegian ambaſſadors, ſome of Edward's miniſters, and plenipotentiaries from the regency of Scotland; in which every thing was arranged for conveying the young Queen from Norway into her own dominions.

The King, judging by the ſituation of affairs that his favourite project was now ripe for execution, ſent an embaſſy to the parliament of Scotland, aſſembled at Brigham, near Kelſo, on the eighteenth of July, in the year 1290, to make a formal demand of their

their Queen for his ſon; and entruſted his ambaſſadors with full powers to ſettle all the conditions of the marriage. The parliament readily aſſented to his propoſals, which they juſtly deemed advantageous to the intereſts of both parties; and even agreed that their young Sovereign ſhould receive her education in the Engliſh court. Anxious, however, to preſerve the liberty and independence of their country, they were careful to make the moſt equitable ſtipulations, in order to obviate any poſſible danger that might ariſe from an alliance with ſo powerful and ambitious a neighbour. It was agreed, that Scotland ſhould for ever enjoy all it's ancient rights, liberties, and cuſtoms; and the crown revert, free, abſolute, and independent, to the next heir, in caſe Edward and Margaret ſhould die without iſſue: that the military tenants of the crown ſhould never be obliged to go out of Scotland in order to do homage to the Sovereign of the united kingdoms; nor the chapters of cathedral, collegiate, or conventual churches, in order to aſk *congés d'elire*, preſent their elect, or take an oath of fealty to their own monarch: that the natives of the country ſhould not be ſued or compelled to anſwer to any charge out of the realm: that all rolls, charters, privileges, and records, belonging to the crown and kingdom of Scotland, ſhould be depoſited in a place of ſecurity, under the ſeals of the Nobility: that the late monarch's great-ſeal ſhould continue to be uſed till the arrival of the Queen; and then a new ſeal be made, with the uſual arms and inſcription, to be delivered into the poſſeſſion of the Chancellor, who, as well as the Judges and other great officers of juſtice, ſhould always be a native of Scotland, and reſident in that kingdom: that all parliaments, ſummoned for Scottiſh affairs, ſhould be held within the Scotch boundaries: that all writs iſſued out of Chancery ſhould be framed according to the uſual cuſtom of the King's chapel and realm: that no alienation, nor alteration whatever, in any thing that appertained to the royal dignity, ſhould take place before the Queen's arrival: that the wards of the crown ſhould not be married to their diſparagement: that no impoſts of any kind ſhould be impoſed on the Scots, nor levies of men made, except according to the ancient cuſtom of their Kings, and for the common benefit of the kingdom: and that Edward ſhould bind himſelf to the due obſervance of theſe various articles, under the penalty of one hundred thouſand marks, to be paid to the Pope, for the uſe of the holy wars; and any violation of them to be likewiſe puniſhed by a ſentence of excommunication on himſelf, and of interdict on his dominions.

This treaty evinces a perfect equality between the nations who ſigned it; and the ſubſtance of it diſplays a juſt and equitable regard in the Scotch to the preſervation of their natural rights and liberties. Edward, indeed, gave but a *conditional* aſſent to that article which relates to the future independence of the Scottiſh crown, annexing to it *a ſaving of his former rights:* but this reſerve, though the effect of policy in Edward, afforded no ſubject for alarm to the Nobility of Scotland; both becauſe thoſe rights were undefined, and had never yet occaſioned the ſmalleſt diſturbance, and becauſe they were on the point of being ſunk in the intended alliance.

Theſe preliminaries being amicably ſettled to the mutual ſatisfaction of the contracting parties, Sir Michael Scot and Sir David Weems were ſent as commiſſioners from Scotland to Norway, to conduct the young Queen into her own dominions. But the well-founded hopes of laſting amity and concord, built on this propitious alliance, were ſuddenly deſtroyed by the untimely death of Margaret, who expired on her paſſage to Scotland.

The ſucceſſion of the Scottiſh crown now became a ſubject of diſpute; and, though the authority of the Regents for the preſent prevented any dangerous commotions, it was not reaſonable to ſuppoſe that their power was ſufficiently extenſive or reſpected to enſure obedience to their award in the deciſion of a controverſy ſupported by ſo many powerful rivals, and whoſe object was of ſuch magnitude and importance.

The poſterity of William, King of Scotland, who was taken priſoner by Henry the Second, being all extinct by the death of Margaret of Norway, the right to the crown devolved on the iſſue of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to William; whoſe male line being alſo extinct, left the ſucceſſion open to the poſterity of his daughters. The Earl of Huntingdon had three daughters: Margaret, married to Alan, Lord of Galloway; Iſabella, wife of Robert Brus, or Bruce, Lord of Annandale; and Adama, who eſpouſed Henry Lord Haſtings. Margaret, the eldeſt of the ſiſters, left one daughter, Devergilda, married to John Baliol, by whom ſhe had a ſon of the ſame name, one of the preſent competitors for the crown; Iſabella, the ſecond daughter, gave birth to a ſon, Robert Bruce, who was now alive, and who alſo inſiſted on his claim; and Adama, the third, left a ſon, John Haſtings, who maintained that the kingdom of Scotland, like many other inheritances, was diviſible among the three daughters of the Earl of Huntingdon, who were to be conſidered as coheireſſes; and that he, therefore, in right of his mother, had a title to one-third of it. Baliol and Bruce united, in oppoſition to the laſt claimant, in aſſerting the indiviſibility of the kingdom; but each of them ſupported by plauſible reaſons the ſuperiority of his own title. Baliol was ſprung from the elder branch: Bruce was one degree nearer to the common ſtock. If the principle of repreſentation was regarded, the former had the better claim: if propinquity was conſidered, the latter was entitled to the preference. The ſentiments of men were divided; all the Nobility had taken part with one ſide or the other; and the people implicitly followed their leaders: ſo that the kingdom was threatened with the moſt fatal convulſions. After long and fruitleſs debates, all parties unanimouſly agreed to refer the conteſt to the Engliſh monarch, who in a ſimilar commiſſion had recently acquitted himſelf with honour. William de Fraſer, Biſhop of St. Andrew's, was accordingly ſent, with other deputies, to notify this reſolution to Edward; and to requeſt that he would accept the office of umpire,

umpire, and thereby reſcue the kingdom from the dangers with which it was threatened.

Edward granted their requeſt with the greateſt pleaſure, as it afforded him an opportunity of effecting the plan which he had propoſed to accompliſh by the marriage of his ſon with the Queen of Scots, but which the death of that Princeſs had prevented him from putting in execution. His project, however, was concealed with the utmoſt care, till he had every reaſon to believe in the certainty of it's ſucceſs. In conſequence of the power entruſted to him as arbitrator, he ſummoned the parliament of Scotland, and all the competitors for the crown, to attend him at Norham, a ſmall town, ſituated on the ſouthern banks of the Tweed, a few miles diſtant from Berwick; and, to remove any objection they might have to quit their own territories, he made a public declaration that, though at that time they paſſed the frontiers, this meaſure ſhould never be eſtabliſhed as a precedent, to afford pretence to the Engliſh Kings for exacting a ſimilar ſubmiſſion in any future tranſaction.

When all the parties had met, Edward opened the conference at Norham on the tenth of May, in the year 1291. He informed the parliament that he was come thither to determine between the different claims that were advanced to the crown; that he was reſolved to do ſtrict juſtice to all parties; and that he was entitled to the authority he was about to exerciſe, not in virtue of their requeſt to aſſume it, but in quality of ſuperior and liege lord of the kingdom. He then produced his proofs of this ſuperiority, which he aſſerted were unqueſtionable; and he required they would acknowledge it, before any ſtep was taken in the buſineſs they were aſſembled to tranſact. The Scottiſh parliament were greatly aſtoniſhed at a demand ſo unexpected, which they only anſwered by their ſilence: but the King, in order to maintain the appearance of freedom and regularity in their proceedings, deſired them to remove into their own country to examine the validity of his claim, by a due inveſtigation of the proofs he had adduced to ſupport it, and to inform him of their reſolutions. The Scotch Nobles, being ſurrounded by a powerful army, which Edward had brought with him in order to enforce his pretenſions, durſt not expreſs their ſentiments on the ſubject; but were obliged quietly to ſubmit to that which they wanted ſtrength to oppoſe.

Edward had been ſtudious to furniſh himſelf with every argument that could give a ſhadow of juſtice to his claim: he had cauſed all the Saxon and Norman annals to be ſearched with the utmoſt preciſion; all the chronicles of the different abbeys had been ranſacked; every paſſage that bore the moſt remote tendency to favour his pretenſions was carefully extracted; and, for want of better authorities, even legendary tales were adduced to demonſtrate the juſtice of his title. It would be tedious and unneceſſary to detail the various arguments that were employed on this memorable occaſion; ſuffice it to obſerve, that the facts ſupplied by Edward's laborious inveſtigators appear to have been theſe—That certain parts of Scotland had at different times been conquered by the Saxon monarchs, during the Heptarchy; and that, *for thoſe territories*, the Kings of Scotland had done homage to thoſe of England. Some of the Scottiſh monarchs had likewiſe received grants of lands in England, for which alſo they did homage: but that the Kings of England had never obtained a feudal ſuperiority over the whole kingdom till the reign of Henry the Second; when that monarch, having taken William, King of Scotland, priſoner, at the battle of Alnwic, compelled him to purchaſe his liberty by reſigning the independence of his kingdom, and acknowledging Henry for his liege lord. The enjoyment of this ſuperiority, however, was not of long duration; for it was formally renounced by Richard the Firſt, previous to his departure for Paleſtine. From that time no homage had been paid to the Engliſh Kings by the Scottiſh Princes, except for thoſe territories in England, and in parts of Scotland, which they continued to hold as fiefs of the Engliſh crown.

From hence it will eaſily be perceived that Edward muſt have expected to derive ſucceſs, rather from the ſtrength of his arms than from that of his arguments, which the Scotch Nobility would have found no difficulty in confuting, could the confutation of them have been productive of any good conſequences. Edward had required their anſwer on the following day; but having obſerved to him, that a ſubject of ſuch importance demanded ſerious deliberation, he indulged them with a farther delay of three weeks; and appointed them to meet him on the ſecond of June, in a plain at Upſettleton, on the northern banks of the Tweed, when they were requeſted to deliver their final anſwer to his propoſal.

Edward employed this interval in ſtrengthening his party among the Scottiſh Nobility, many of whom were induced, either by threats or promiſes, to ſupport his cauſe. On the appointed day the whole aſſembly met; and though, from the genealogy of the royal family of Scotland, it was evident that the three claimants already mentioned could alone have any pretenſions to the crown, no leſs than nine others now appeared to demand it. The names of theſe new competitors were—John Comyn, or Cummin, Lord of Badenoch; Florence, Count of Holland; Robert Dunbar, Earl of March; William de Veſcey; Robert de Pynkeny; Nicholas de Soules; Patrick Galythly; Roger de Mandeville; Robert de Roſs; and Eric, King of Norway, who claimed as heir to his daughter Margaret.

Some of theſe competitors were deſcended from remote branches of the royal family; others were even ſprung from illegitimate children; and, as none of their pretenſions could be ſupported by juſtice, it has been ſaid by the Scotch writers that Edward had ſecretly urged them to enlarge the liſt of claimants, for the purpoſe of augmenting the diſputes of the Scotch Nobles, rendering the cauſe more intricate, and being able from a great number to chuſe that candidate who ſhould appear moſt willing to comply with his demands: but we ſee no reaſon to ſuppoſe that theſe rivals for regal authority were the mere tools of Edward. It ſurely

requires no great encouragement to urge men to aſpire to the attainment of power, when they can incur no poſſible danger in the attempt to procure it; and, when the gratification of vanity or ambition is to be promoted, they are ſeldom very ſcrupulous in examining the validity of their own titles.

The Biſhop of Bath and Wells, Chancellor of England, was ſent to repreſent the King at this meeting of the Nobles, and to report the reſult of their deliberations. Some of the Scottiſh Barons ventured to obſerve, that the queſtion concerning the ſuperiority of England could not with propriety be decided till a King was appointed, as the honour and intereſt of the ſovereign would be ſo materially affected by the deciſion: but the competitors for the crown, fearful of offending Edward, expreſſed an earneſtneſs to determine this important queſtion without farther delay; and the reſt of the aſſembly, at length, were induced to comply with their deſires.

Robert Bruce was the firſt that acknowledged Edward's right of ſuperiority over Scotland; and, as he had been aware of the King's deſigns in his petition, where he ſet forth his claim to the crown, he had previouſly applied to him as liege lord of the kingdom: a ſtep which was not taken by any other competitor. They all, however, with apparent willingneſs, made a ſimilar acknowledgment, when the queſtion was put to them; though Baliol, anxious to preſerve the good opinion of his countrymen, did not attend the aſſembly during the firſt day, and was the laſt of the claimants that recognized the King's title. The members of the Scottiſh parliament, ſeduced by the influence and example of theſe competitors, either confirmed their acknowledgement by an open approbation or tacit aſſent.

This point being eſtabliſhed, the diſcuſſion of the grand controverſy for the crown next came to be conſidered. As the ſucceſſion was declared to be indiviſible, the claim of Haſtings was of courſe rejected; and, thoſe of the ten ſubſequent claimants having experienced a ſimilar fate, the pretenſions of Baliol and Bruce were alone entitled to conſideration. To proceed with due deliberation, Edward ordered that each competitor ſhould chuſe forty commiſſioners, to which number he added twenty-four Engliſhmen; and to them he entruſted the power of inveſtigating their reſpective claims, and commanded them to acquaint him with the reſult of their enquiries, promiſing to give his determination with all convenient ſpeed. In the mean time, he required that all the fortreſſes of Scotland ſhould be delivered into his hands, that he might be enabled, without fear of oppoſition, to put the lawful heir in full poſſeſſion of the crown; and both the parliament and the claimants complied with his requeſt. All the Governors of caſtles immediately reſigned their command, except Umfreville, Earl of Angus; who refuſed, without a formal indemnification from the parliament and the ſeveral claimants, to ſurrender his fortreſſes into the hands of a monarch whoſe views he deemed hoſtile to the welfare of his country.

Before this aſſembly broke up, Edward exacted an oath of fealty from all the Prelates and Barons who were preſent; and likewiſe appointed commiſſioners to receive a ſimilar oath from all the other Nobles of Scotland.

The King, having left the hundred and four commiſſioners at Berwick to purſue their enquiries into the validity of the claims of Baliol and Bruce, repaired to Ambreſbury, to attend the funeral of his mother, which was performed with great pomp and ſolemnity. This was the ſecond loſs which Edward ſuſtained in his family in the courſe of a year; for a few months before, his Queen, Eleanor of Caſtile, had expired at Grantham. This Princeſs, not leſs celebrated for her conjugal affection and maternal tenderneſs than for every amiable quality which can dignify and embelliſh the female mind, was interred at Weſtminſter.

While the King had been employed in aſſerting his claim to the ſuperiority of Scotland, ſome diſturbances had ariſen among his principal Nobility, which he now haſtened to quell.

Gilbert, Earl of Glouceſter, the moſt powerful nobleman in England, had married the King's daughter; and, being elated by that alliance not leſs than by his own power, which made him ſpurn the reſtraints of law, when prompted either by intereſt or caprice, he permitted his bailiffs and tenants to commit depredations on the lands of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, who had recourſe to retaliation. Edward was not a Prince in whoſe reign ſuch dangerous proceedings could be ſuffered to paſs with impunity: he ordered the conduct of theſe violators of the public tranquillity to be duly inveſtigated; and, the fact being verified by a verdict of jurors, he committed both the Earls to priſon, and there detained them, till Hereford had paid a fine of one thouſand marks, and Glouceſter one of ten thouſand.

During this interval, the titles of John Baliol and Robert Bruce had undergone a moſt ſtrict examination by the commiſſioners, who had commenced their enquiries on the ſecond of Auguſt, in the year 1292; and after a minute inveſtigation, which laſted three months, made known the reſult of them to Edward, who appointed the ſeventeenth of November for pronouncing ſentence. Accordingly, on that day, the competitors, as well as the parliament and nobles of Scotland, attended him in the Great Hall of the Caſtle of Berwick, where he formally adjudged the crown of Scotland to John Baliol. Orders were immediately iſſued for delivering to him the full poſſeſſion of the kingdom; and all the fortreſſes that had been ſurrendered to the King were now reſtored to the new monarch, who took the oath of fealty, acknowledging the ſovereignty of Edward and his ſucceſſors over Scotland in the moſt explicit terms. Baliol was then crowned at Scone, with the uſual formalities; and all the Scotch Noblemen ſwore obedience to him, except Robert Bruce, who abſented himſelf from the ceremony; which was no ſooner finiſhed, than the new King repaired to Newcaſtle upon Tyne, where he renewed his homage and fealty to Edward.

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The King's proceedings in regard to Scotland, if we except his claim to a ſuperiority to which he was certainly not entitled, were hitherto ſtrictly juſt; but his ſubſequent conduct was marked by continual deviations from thoſe rules which till now he had thought proper to obſerve. He ſoon betrayed his deſign to eſtabliſh his abſolute dominion over that kingdom without the ſmalleſt reſerve; and, by the indignities which he offered to the Scottiſh monarch, ſought to provoke him to the commiſſion of ſome act of rebellion to his liege lord, which might furniſh him with a ſpecious pretext for aſſuming the government of his dominions, as a puniſhment for his treaſon. In the courſe of a year he ſent the King of Scotland no leſs than ſix different citations to appear at the bar of his parliament as a private perſon; and even refuſed him the privilege of anſwering, by a procurator, ſome frivolous complaint that had been urged againſt him. Baliol, though a Prince of a mild and gentle ſpirit, experienced the deepeſt reſentment at this illiberal uſage; and determined to take advantage of the firſt favourable occurrence to ſhake off a yoke which had now become inſupportable. A war which ſoon after broke out between France and England, afforded him a fair opportunity for the execution of his purpoſe.

This rupture was occaſioned by a diſpute between the crews of an Engliſh and a Norman ſhip; who, having occaſion to land at the ſame time on the coaſt near Bayonne, in ſearch of water, happened to meet at the ſame ſpring; when a ſcuffle enſued, in which a Norman ſailor was killed. The Normans, determined to revenge this injury, ſoon after ſeized an Engliſh veſſel in the Channel, and hung ſeveral of the crew at the yard-arm. This was the ſignal for war. The inhabitants of the Cinque Ports immediately armed ſeveral ſhips for the purpoſe of retaliation; and the ſea was ſoon filled with pirates of both nations; with this difference, that the depredations of the French were ſanctioned by their monarch, whereas thoſe of the Engliſh were wholly unknown to Edward. A fleet of two hundred Norman veſſels, ſailing towards the ſouth for wine and other commodities, took every Engliſh ſhip they met with, hanged the crews, and ſeized the cargoes. The inhabitants of the Engliſh ſea-ports, informed of this incident, fitted out a fleet of ſixty ſail of ſtronger veſſels than the French, and waited for the enemy on their return. The two fleets met; and, after a deſperate engagement, the Engliſh obtained a compleat victory, having taken or deſtroyed the greateſt part of the enemy's ſhips. No quarter was given; and it is ſaid that the French loſt fifteen thouſand men in the action; which is probable, as they had a conſiderable body of troops on board the fleet.

This conteſt now wore ſo ſerious an aſpect, that the interference of the Sovereigns could no longer be diſpenſed with. Philip, incenſed at the loſſes he had ſuſtained, ſent an envoy to London to demand reparation; and Edward, willing to accommodate the diſpute amicably, diſpatched the Biſhop of London to the court of France, who made the moſt juſt and equitable propoſals for adjuſting the matter. Every expedient, however, which he ſuggeſted, was rejected by the French King; who appears to have been more eager to gratify a lawleſs ſpirit of revenge than to purſue any claim that was founded in juſtice: the war, therefore, continued; and depredations were daily committed on both ſides.

Philip, on the twenty-fourth of November, in the year 1294, ſummoned the King, as Duke of Guienne, to appear in his court at Paris, and anſwer for the offences he had committed againſt his liege lord; but Edward, inſtead of obeying the citation, ſent John de St. John, an experienced ſoldier, to Bourdeaux, with orders to put the province of Guienne in a poſture of defence. Anxious, however, to prevent a final rupture with France, he diſpatched his brother Edmund, Earl of Lancaſter, to Paris; and as this Prince had eſpouſed the Queen of Navarre, mother to Jane, Queen of France, he appeared from this alliance to be the moſt proper perſon for deviſing expedients to accommodate the difference between the two monarchs. But the reſentment of Philip was not eaſily appeaſed: he ſeemed, indeed, ſo intent on proſecuting the war with vigour, that Edmund, deſpairing of ſucceſs in his negotiation, was about to leave the kingdom; when the Queen of France, and Mary the Queen-dowager, pretended to interpoſe their good offices. They told the Earl of Lancaſter, that the greateſt obſtacle to the concluſion of an amicable treaty aroſe from the difficulty of adjuſting the *point of honour* with Philip, who conceived the affront offered him by his ſub-vaſſals in Guienne to be of that flagrant nature as to require ſome ſignal ſatisfaction. They added, that the only reparation which Philip could poſſibly accept was the formal reſignation of that province, which he would undertake immediately to reſtore, when, by the adoption of that meaſure, his honour had been fully ſatisfied. This inſidious propoſal was made known to Edward; who, being juſtly apprehenſive of a war with Scotland, which he regarded as a concern of greater importance, imprudently accepted it, and ſent orders to his brother to ſign the treaty with the two Queens, Philip having ſolemnly promiſed to confirm it. The dukedom of Guienne was accordingly delivered to the Conſtable de Niſle, who took poſſeſſion of it in the name of the King of France; but, when the Earl of Lancaſter required the reſtoration of it, he met with a peremptory refuſal. Edward, too, was again ſummoned to appear; and, not obeying the citation, was condemned to forfeit the province of Guienne, which by a formal ſentence of the court was declared to be annexed to the crown of France.

The King, though extremely incenſed at the perfidious conduct of Philip, acted with that prudence and moderation which are ſo eſſentially requiſite to enſure ſucceſs in any enterprize of difficulty. His firſt object was to procure money for defraying the expences of the war in which he was engaged: he ſeized many large ſums which had been collected for the holy wars, and were depoſited in different convents; he likewiſe obtained very conſiderable

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ſupplies from his parliament. The Clergy at one time granted him one-half, the merchants one-ſixth, and the reſt of the laity a tenth, of all their moveables. Theſe ſums were increaſed by the ſale of a quantity of wool and hides, which had been prepared for exportation, and were ſeized by Edward, who promiſed to pay the full value of them to the proprietors at a future time. His next care was to counterbalance the loſs of his continental territories, by forming alliances with ſeveral of the German Princes; and, among others, with the Duke of Brabant, and the Count of Barre, who had married his two daughters, Margaret and Eleanor. He then collected an army, chiefly compoſed of criminals, taken from the different jails of the kingdom. But theſe precautions for a time proved fruitleſs; his allies were prevented, by a variety of circumſtances, from affording him the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance: he was himſelf detained for ſome weeks by contrary winds; and, when he was ready to ſail, his attention was attracted to another quarter by an inſurrection of the Welſh, excited, if Mezeray may be credited, by the intrigues of Philip. Edward, therefore, marched in perſon againſt his rebellious ſubjects; and ſent a ſmall army into Guienne, under the command of his nephew, John de Bretagne, Earl of Richmond, who was aſſiſted by John de St. John, Robert de Tribetot, and other experienced officers. Richmond at firſt gained ſome conſiderable advantages, by the ſeizure of many important places in the vicinity of Bourdeaux; by which means that city, being deprived of it's reſources, was reduced to extremity. Had theſe advantages been purſued with judgment, they might have proved deciſive; but the miſconduct of ſome of the officers entirely defeated the end of the expedition. The Gaſcon Nobility were greatly attached to the Engliſh government, and numbers of them had joined the army on it's firſt landing: but Charles de Valois, Philip's brother, having laid ſiege to Podenſac, a ſmall fortreſs near Reole, in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, where many of the Gaſcons had retired, Gifford, the Governor, being reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating, ſo far neglected to provide for their ſafety, that fifty of them were hanged as rebels by the French. This produced an irreparable breach between the Engliſh and Gaſcons, who afterwards joined the French, and aſſiſted them in defeating the Earl of Richmond; ſo that the Engliſh, being conſiderably weakened, were compelled to act merely on the defenſive.

Philip, not content with theſe ſucceſſes, projected an invaſion of England: and accordingly fitted out a ſtrong fleet; which, under the command of Matthew de Montmorency and John de Harcourt, infeſted the Engliſh coaſt, and even effected a deſcent at Dover, which they took by ſurprize; but, the militia of the country aſſembling, and advancing to attack them before they had time to fortify the place, they were compelled to retire to their ſhips with precipitation.

In the mean time, Edward, having quelled the inſurrection of the Welſh, determined to ſuppreſs a ſpirit of rebellion which evinced itſelf in Scotland. For this purpoſe he required the King of Scots to deliver into his hands the caſtles of Berwick, Jedburgh, and Roxburgh, as a ſecurity for his peaceable demeanour during the war with France. This requeſt, and the ſubſequent meaſures adopted by Edward for the ſame ſalutary purpoſe, Dr. Henry unjuſtly aſcribes to his want of a plauſive pretext for the invaſion of Scotland; whereas it is notorious that the King's conduct, in this particular, was actuated by the moſt juſtifiable motives, as he had received intelligence of a treaty which the Scottiſh King had entered into with Philip, and which was ſigned on the twenty-third of October, in the preceding year, 1295. By this treaty, the two monarchs engaged to afford aſſiſtance to each other againſt the King of England, whom they termed their common enemy, and not to make peace but by common conſent; and the alliance was confirmed by a ſtipulated marriage between Edward, eldeſt ſon to the King of Scotland, and Jane, daughter of Charles de Valois. In conſequence of this treaty, and of an abſolution from all the oaths of fealty that he had before taken, which through the intereſt of his new ally he had lately received from Pope Celeſtine, he refuſed to obey the citation of Edward; and, farther to diſplay his hoſtile intentions, he ordered every Engliſhman to quit his kingdom. The King, reſolved to ſubdue this rebellious vaſſal, collected a numerous army; and, in the ſpring of the year 1296, advanced to Newcaſtle upon Tyne, with thirty thouſand infantry and four thouſand cavalry. When he arrived at that city, he held a parliament, which he ſummoned the Scottiſh monarch to attend; but John, having paid no more reſpect to this citation than to the former one, hoſtilities immediately commenced.

The Scottiſh nation was ſo truly ſenſible of the inability of their Prince to conduct the helm of government in this tempeſtuous ſeaſon, that they aſſigned him a council of twelve Noblemen, in whoſe hands the whole power of the ſtate was in fact depoſited; and who haſtened to put the kingdom in the beſt poſture of defence which the preſent diſtractions would allow. A great army, conſiſting of forty thouſand infantry, though ſupported only by five hundred horſe, advanced to the frontiers; and, at the commencement of the campaign, experienced ſome trifling ſucceſs. Robert de Ros, Lord of Werk, revolted to the Scots, though his brother William preſerved his loyalty, and kept the caſtle of Werk for his ſovereign. A thouſand men being detached by Edward to reinforce the garriſon, were intercepted in their march by Robert, at the head of a body of Scottiſh troops, and entirely defeated. The King was no ſooner apprized of this action than he advanced with his whole army to Werk, where he encamped: while ſome of the Scottiſh Barons invaded the Engliſh territories; and, having made an unſucceſsful attempt on Carliſle, marched eaſtward, to defend thoſe provinces which Edward was preparing to attack. Others, however, and thoſe the moſt conſiderable, of the Scottiſh Nobles, unwilling to ſacrifice their private quarrels to the welfare of their country, and anxious

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to ingratiate themſelves with Edward, thereby to obtain a more compleat revenge on their rivals, made an early ſubmiſſion to that Prince. Among theſe were Robert Bruce, John's competitor for the crown of Scotland, with his ſon, and the two potent Earls of March and Angus. The King, having croſſed the Tweed at Coldſtream without oppoſition, advanced to Berwick, which he immediately inveſted. The town was ſoon taken by aſſault: Sir William Douglas, the Governor, was taken priſoner; and more than ſeven thouſand of the garriſon were put to the ſword. The caſtle of Roxburgh was ſoon after ſurrendered by James, Steward of Scotland, who ſubmitted and ſwore fealty to the Engliſh Prince. In order to improve theſe ſignal advantages, Edward diſpatched Earl Warrenne with twelve thouſand men to beſiege the caſtle of Dunbar, which was defended by the flower of the Scottiſh Nobility.

The Scots, ſenſible of the importance of this fortreſs, which, if taken, muſt leave their whole country expoſed to the incurſions of the enemy, advanced to it's relief with their main army, under the command of the Earls of Buchan, Lenox, and Marre. Warrenne, undiſmayed by the ſuperiority of their numbers, marched out to give them battle; and, having attacked them with great impetuoſity, ſoon threw their undiſciplined troops into confuſion, and obtained a compleat and deciſive victory. This action took place on the twenty-ſeventh of April. The loſs of the Scots is ſaid to have amounted to twenty thouſand men; and the nation was ſo totally diſpirited by the defeat they ſuſtained on this occaſion, that Edward met with little farther reſiſtance. The caſtle of Dunbar, with it's garriſon, immediately ſurrendered at diſcretion: the fortreſſes of Edinburgh and Stirling made but a feeble defence; and, before Midſummer, all the ſouthern parts of Scotland were ſubdued. The King, in order to reduce the northern parts of the kingdom to a ſimilar ſtate of ſubjection, ſent for a ſtrong reinforcement of Welſh and Iriſh; who, being accuſtomed to a deſultory kind of war, were beſt able to purſue the fugitive Scots into their mountainous receſſes.

After the victory of Dunbar, the King of Scots had retired with the remains of his army to the north-ſide of the Tay. His native timidity being increaſed by misfortune, and ſuſpecting the fidelity of his own troops, he deſpaired of making any effectual efforts for the recovery of his kingdom; and therefore determined to ſubmit to the conqueror, whoſe mercy he implored in the moſt abject terms. Edward had advanced as far as Perth, when he was met by the agents of Baliol, whom he ſent back, accompanied by Anthony Beck, Biſhop of Durham, who was inſtructed to treat with that Prince; and, as he aſſented to every propoſal that was made him, an interview was appointed between the two monarchs, on the ſecond of July, at a place called Stroutharrack. Baliol there made his ſubmiſſions to Edward; who, probably from diſguſt at the ſervility of his diſpoſition, treated him with ineffable contempt. This Prince profeſſed his ſorrow and penitence for having, from motives of hoſtility to his liege lord, contracted an alliance with the King of France; which he now ſolemnly renounced for himſelf, for his ſon Edward, and for all his ſubjects in Scotland. An inſtrument, containing the form and ſubſtance of this ſubmiſſion, was ſealed and authenticated by the Nobility then preſent; and, as if this act of humiliation had not been ſufficiently degrading, it was repeated in the caſtle of Brechin; where Baliol, by letters patent under his hand and ſeal, reſigned his perſon, crown, dignity, and private eſtates, into the hands of the conqueror, who ſent him to London, where he was committed to cuſtody in the Tower. After a confinement of two years, he was reſtored to liberty; and ſubmitted to a voluntary baniſhment in France, where he died in obſcurity, at an advanced age.

The great-ſeal of Scotland was now broken; and another, with the Engliſh arms, was made, and delivered to the care of Walter de Agmondeſham. The King appointed Hugh de Creſſingham Treaſurer; William de Ormeſby, Juſticiary; Henry Piercy, Warden of Galloway; and Earl Warrenne, Governor of the kingdom.

Edward, having advanced as far north as Murray, and finding the whole country tranquil and ſubmiſſive, returned by the way of Scone; from whence he carried off the famous ſtone chair, on which the Kings of Scotland were ſeated when they received the rite of inauguration: and this precaution, trivial as it may appear, eſſentially contributed to the ſubjection of that fierce people to the Engliſh yoke; for that chair was the object of univerſal veneration, and was implicitly believed to be the palladium of their monarchy. At the ſame time, he ordered all the records of the kingdom to be removed or deſtroyed, that the Scots might have no monuments of their former independence.

Having thus compleated the conqueſt of Scotland, he returned to Berwick; where he convened the prelates, nobility, freeholders, with the deputies of the royal boroughs, and other communities of the realm; who renounced their alliance with the King of France; did homage for their lands; ſwore fealty to the King of England, as their lord paramount; and ſubſcribed an authentic deed, containing a ſpecification of the different articles of their ſubmiſſion. Having attempted to ſecure the future tranquillity of the country by the adoption of many wiſe regulations, he diſbanded his forces, and returned to the ſouthern parts of his dominions, accompanied by ſome of the Scottiſh Nobles, whom he thought proper to detain as priſoners of war til the final termination of his diſpute with France.

While Edward was ſucceſsfully employed in Scotland, the Engliſh arms made but a tardy progreſs in the recovery of Guienne. A reinforcement of ſeven thouſand troops had been ſent thither, under the command of the Earl of Lancaſter, the King's brother, who at firſt had obtained ſome advantage over the enemy; but was ſoon after ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he died, at Bayonne. The command then devolved on the Earl of Lincoln; who, from the ſuperior number of the French, was compelled

pelled to remain in a ſtate of inactivity during the reſt of the campaign. The King, being now at leiſure, reſolved to renew his efforts with additional ſpirit; but, having experienced the inconveniences of maintaining a conteſt at ſuch a diſtance from his kingdom, wiſely determined to change his plan of operations, and direct his attacks againſt France in a quarter where ſhe appeared more vulnerable. With this view he gave his daughter Elizabeth in marriage to John, Earl of Holland; and, at the ſame time, contracted an alliance with the Emperor, the Dukes of Auſtria and Brabant, and Guy, Earl of Flanders; who engaged, for certain ſtipulated ſums of money, to ſupply him with troops for his projected invaſion of France. He entertained hopes that, when he himſelf, at the head of the united forces of England, Flanders, Holland, and Germany, ſhould enter the frontiers of France, and threaten the capital itſelf, Philip would at laſt be compelled to relinquiſh his acquiſitions, and to purchaſe peace by the reſtitution of Guienne. But, in order to accelerate the motion of this great machine, conſiderable ſupplies were requiſite: the King, therefore, aſſembled a parliament; and, without much difficulty, obtained from the Barons and Knights a new grant of a twelfth of all their moveables; and from the boroughs that of an eighth. The great and almoſt unlimited power of the Sovereign over the latter, enabled him to levy more onerous impoſts upon them than upon the Barons: and the prejudices which he appears always to have entertained againſt the Clergy, on account of their factious adherence to the partizans of the rebellious Leiceſter, made him reſolve to exact from them a contribution ſtill more conſiderable; he accordingly required one-fifth of their moveables. But he here experienced an oppoſition which he little expected, and which for ſome time diſconcerted all his meaſures, and engaged him in enterprizes that would have proved fatal to moſt of his predeceſſors; and, even to him, were not unattended with danger.

Archbiſhop Peckham dying in the year 1292, Robert Winchelſea was promoted to the See of Canterbury, after it had remained vacant for two years. The numerous applications of Edward to the Clergy for pecuniary grants, which were conſidered as encroachments on the immunities of the church, rendered the enjoyment of the primacy deſirable only to ſuch as were willing to ſacrifice tranquillity to ambition. On the twenty-firſt of September, in the year 1294, the King ſummoned an aſſembly of the Clergy, and demanded from them one-half of their revenues, as well temporal as ſpiritual. This demand, however, being deemed exorbitant, they obtained an audience of Edward, in the hope of perſuading him to accept a more moderate contribution: but William Montfort, Dean of St. Paul's, whom they had appointed to addreſs the King on this occaſion, experienced ſo violent an agitation of ſpirits ſoon after the commencement of his harangue, that he dropped down, and expired on the ſpot. After a ſhort interval they purſued their deliberations on the ſubject; which, being overawed by the menaces of Edward, terminated in a compliance with his requeſt. Intelligence of theſe continued exactions being tranſmitted to the Primate, who was then at Rome, he obtained a bull, calculated to prevent a repetition of them, from Pope Boniface the Eighth, who had ſucceeded Celeſtine in the papal chair; and who, ſenſible of the errors committed by his immediate predeceſſors in alienating the affections of the Clergy by oppreſſing the church, had ſagaciouſly adopted a different line of conduct, avowed himſelf the champion of eccleſiaſtical privileges, and expreſſed his determination to protect them from all invaders.

This famous bull prohibited all Princes from levying any taxes whatever on their Clergy without the expreſs permiſſion of the Holy See; and forbade all clergymen to ſubmit to ſuch impoſitions: and both Princes and Clergy were menaced, in caſe of diſobedience, with the dreadful ſentence of excommunication.

The Primate had not long returned to England with this ſpiritual edict before he had an opportunity of trying it's efficacy, by producing it to ſanction his refuſal to comply with the King's demand on the Clergy of a fifth of their moveables. Though Edward was greatly enraged, not only at the refuſal, but at the deed on which it was founded, he forbore for a while to proceed to extremities; and gave them time for deliberation, hoping that reflection would urge them to compliance. But, at the next meeting of parliament, which aſſembled on the fifteenth of January, in the year 1297, the Clergy ſtill perſiſted in their refuſal; and the Primate told him, that they owed obedience to two Sovereigns, their ſpiritual and their temporal; but that they were bound by their duty to pay a much ſtricter attention to the former than to the latter; they therefore could not comply with his demands, in defiance of the expreſs prohibition of the ſovereign Pontiff.

Edward was not a prince to ſuffer ſuch conduct to paſs with impunity: he entertained too juſt a ſenſe of his own dignity to admit of a competitor in the exerciſe of regal authority; and he regarded the aſſumed power of the Pope as a daring uſurpation which none but weak Princes would endure. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, he informed the Clergy, that, ſince they refuſed to contribute to the ſupport of his government, they could not reaſonably expect to receive any advantage from it; and that he would therefore deprive them of the protection afforded by the laws to the reſt of his ſubjects. This vigorous meaſure was no ſooner conceived than executed: orders were iſſued to the Judges to take cognizance of no cauſes in which the plaintiffs were clergymen; to hear and decide all in which the clergymen were defendants; to do every man juſtice againſt them; not to do them juſtice againſt any man. At the ſame time, he iſſued writs to all the Sheriffs in England, commanding them to ſeize all the lay-fees of the Clergy, as well ſecular as regular, together with their goods and chattels, and keep them in their cuſtody till they ſhould receive farther orders from him. By this means the Clergy were reduced to the moſt diſtreſſing ſituation: deprived of ſubſiſtence, they were unable to remain in their own habitations;

habitations; and, if they went abroad in ſearch of maintenance, they were inſulted by every ruffian they met, robbed of their horſes, and even of their cloaths, and could obtain no redreſs for the moſt violent injury. The Primate himſelf was attacked on the highway, ſtripped of his equipage and furniture, and at laſt reduced to board, with a ſingle attendant, in the houſe of a country clergyman. He iſſued, indeed, a ſentence of excommunication againſt all ſuch as ſhould inſult the perſons, or commit depredations on the property, of eccleſiaſtics; but it was wholly diſregarded.

The Clergy finding, at length, that no advantage could be obtained from perſeverance, and that the Pope was unable to afford them the ſmalleſt protection againſt a Prince who was reſolved to be the ſole ſovereign in his own dominions, were reduced to the neceſſity of complying with the King's demand.

The whole province of York, probably through apprehenſion of danger from their vicinity to the Scots, had voluntarily, from the firſt, voted a fifth of their moveables. The Biſhops of Saliſbury, Ely, and ſome others, made a compoſition for the ſecular Clergy within their dioceſes: they agreed, however, not to diſobey the Pope's mandate by paying the fifth, but to depoſit a ſum equivalent in ſome church appointed them, from whence it was taken by the King's officers. Many particular convents and clergymen paid a ſimilar ſum, and received the protection of their Sovereign. Such as had not ready-money, gave ſecurities for the payment; and the Primate himſelf, the chief promoter of this diſturbance, was at laſt obliged to follow the example of his brethren, and to pay a fifth of his moveables to redeem the reſt of his poſſeſſions.

But, as the ſupplies which had been granted by parliament, though conſiderable, were inadequate to anſwer the King's preſent demands, and the money levied by compoſitions with the Clergy came in but ſlowly, Edward was obliged to exert his arbitrary authority for the purpoſe of raiſing farther ſums. He reſtrained the merchants from exporting more than a limited quantity of wool; and, at the ſame time, obliged them to pay him a duty of forty ſhillings a ſack, which was computed to be above one-third of it's value. He ſeized all the reſt of the wool, as well as all the leather, in the kingdom, and appropriated them to his own uſe: he required the Sheriffs of each county to ſupply him with two thouſand quarters of wheat, and as many of oats, which he authorized them to ſeize wherever they could find them. The cattle, and other commodities neceſſary for ſupplying his armies, were taken without the conſent of the owners; and, though he promiſed to pay, at a future period, the full value of all theſe goods, they ſaw but little probability that a Prince, who made the limitations of law ſubſervient to his own wants, could ever, amidſt his multiplied neceſſities, be brought to a ſtrict obſervance of his engagements. At the ſame time, he evinced a total diſregard to the principles of the feudal law, by which all the lands of his kingdom were held. In order to increaſe his army, and ſtrengthen the powerful effort which he purpoſed to make againſt France, he required the attendance of every proprietor of land poſſeſſed of twenty pounds a year, even though he did not hold of the crown, and was not by the nature of his tenure obliged to perform any ſimilar ſervice.

Theſe acts of violence created murmurs throughout the kingdom; which were at firſt, indeed, confined to the lower claſs of people, but ſoon after extended to the Barons. Edward had aſſembled an army on the ſea-coaſt, which he intended to ſend into Guienne to make a diverſion in that quarter, while he attacked the French territories in perſon on the ſide of Flanders; and he appointed Humphrey Bohun, High Conſtable, and Hugh Bigod, Earl Marſhal of England, to command it. But theſe powerful Noblemen, probably diſguſted at his late proceedings, refuſed to accept the appointment; and affirmed, that they were only obliged by their office to attend his perſon in war. This refuſal produced a violent altercation between the King and the High Conſtable; and Edward, tranſported with rage, exclaimed—"By the eternal "God, Sir Earl, you ſhall either go or hang!" To which Hereford replied, with equal ferocity—"By "the eternal God, Sir King, I will neither go nor "hang!" And he immediately departed, accompanied by the Marſhal, and more than thirty of the moſt powerful Barons.

The King, having experienced this oppoſition, judged it prudent to lay aſide his expedition to Guienne; and collected the forces which he intended to tranſport into Flanders: but the two Earls, emboldened by the moderation of their Sovereign, who had ſuffered their late conduct to paſs with impunity, refuſed to perform the duties of their office in muſtering the army. Edward, inſtead of purſuing the natural dictates of reſentment on this freſh inſtance of diſobedience, wiſely liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of prudence, and determined to effect by moderation what it might be dangerous to attempt by force. Inſtead of attainting the Earls, who poſſeſſed their dignities by hereditary right, he appointed Thomas de Berkeley, and Geoffrey de Geyneville, to act in that emergency as Conſtable and Marſhal. He endeavoured to reconcile himſelf with the church by taking the Primate into favour; and making him, in conjunction with Reginald de Grey, tutor to the Prince, whom he intended to appoint Regent of the kingdom during his abſence. He even aſſembled a great number of the Nobility in Weſtminſter Hall, to whom he deigned to make an apology for his paſt conduct. He pleaded, by way of palliation, the urgent neceſſities of the crown; his extreme want of money; his engagements, as well from honour as intereſt, to ſupport his foreign allies: and he aſſured them, if ever he returned in ſafety, to redreſs all their grievances; to enforce a due execution of the laws; and to make all his ſubjects ample compenſation for the loſſes which they had ſuſtained in the ſeizure of their effects. Meanwhile, he entreated them to ſuſpend their animoſities; to judge of him by hi future conduct, which he truſted would be ſuch

as muſt ſecure their approbation; to preſerve their fidelity to his government; or, if he ſhould periſh in the preſent war, to transfer their allegiance to his ſon and ſucceſſor.

Edward's moderation in the moment of danger, thus tending to counteract the effects of his miſconduct, moſt probably preſerved the nation from the calamities of a civil war; while his vigour and abilities deterred the Barons from proceeding to extremities, The Earls of Hereford and Norfolk contented themſelves with framing a remonſtrance, which was delivered to the King at Winchelſea, when he was ready to embark for Flanders. They there complained of the violations of the Great Charter, and of that of the Foreſt; the violent and illegal ſeizures of corn, leather, cattle, and, above all, of wool, a commodity which they affirmed to be equal in value to half the lands of the kingdom; and the arbitrary impoſition of forty ſhillings a ſack on the ſmall quantity of wool which he allowed to be exported by the merchants; and they required that theſe various grievances ſhould be immediately redreſſed. But the King replied that, as the greater part of his council were abſent, he could not attempt to deliberate on matters of ſuch importance without their advice.

Edward, however, had no ſooner embarked for Flanders, than the two Earls reſolved to profit by his abſence, and wreſt from the parliament a compliance with thoſe demands which they had not been able to obtain from their Sovereign. With this view, when they were ſummoned to attend it, they came accompanied by all the Barons of their party, and by a conſiderable body of troops, and refuſed to enter the city before the gates were delivered into their cuſtody. With this requeſt the council, by the advice of the Primate, who ſecretly favoured the pretenſions of the Nobles, agreed to comply; and by that means the Barons became maſters of the perſon of the young Prince, whom his father had left Regent of the kingdom; and were, moreover, enabled to command the reſolutions of parliament. Their demands, however, were ſuch as proved that in their paſt meaſures the welfare of their country had been the chief object they had in view. They only required that the two charters, which had been ſo frequently violated, ſhould be confirmed with due ſolemnity; that a clauſe ſhould be added to ſecure the nation from all future attempts to impoſe taxes, or levy contributions, without the previous conſent of parliament; and that they themſelves, and their adherents, who had refuſed to attend the King into Flanders, ſhould be pardoned for their diſobedience, and again received into favour. The young Prince and his council aſſented to theſe conditions; and the charters were ſent over to the King in Flanders, that they might receive his confirmation. Edward evinced the greateſt reluctance to conſent to a meaſure which he conceived would prove detrimental to his intereſt, by encroaching on his prerogatives, and rendering him in ſome meaſure dependent on his Barons. After a delay of three days, however, convinced by the deputies of the pernicious conſequences that muſt inevitably reſult from his refuſal, he was compelled to affix his ſeal to the charters, as well as to the clauſe which reſtrained him from impoſing arbitrary taxes on his ſubjects.

The various obſtructions to his embarkation which Edward had experienced retarded his departure ſo long, that he loſt the proper ſeaſon for action; and, after his arrival, was unable to accompliſh the plan he had projected. The King of France, encouraged by this circumſtance, had made an incurſion into the Low Countries; had obtained a victory over the Flemings in the battle of Furnes; had taken the towns of Liſle, St. Omer, Courtrai, and Ypres; and threatened to take ample vengeance of the Earl of Flanders, his rebellious vaſſal. But Edward, at the head of an Engliſh army, which is ſaid to have conſiſted of fifty thouſand men, ſoon ſtopped his victorious career; and Philip, finding the feeble reſources of his kingdom nearly exhauſted, began to tremble for the ſafety of his own dominions. The King of England, on the other hand, being diſappointed of the aſſiſtance promiſed him by Adolphus, King of the Romans, which he had purchaſed at a very high price, and finding many urgent calls for his preſence in England, was anxious to terminate, on any honourable terms, a war which only ſerved to divert his force from the execution of more important projects. This diſpoſition in both monarchs produced a ceſſation of hoſtilities for two years, and an agreement to refer all their differences to the arbitration of the ſovereign Pontiff.

While the King was thus engaged on the continent, ſome extraordinary occurrences had taken place in Scotland, which afforded a fair proſpect to the natives of emancipating themſelves from that yoke to which they had been conſtrained, though with the utmoſt reluctance, to ſubmit. The Governors appointed by Edward to rule over that country wanted the prudence and moderation ſo eſſentially requiſite to reconcile the minds of a people recently ſubdued to their new government. Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, having been obliged to retire to England on account of his bad ſtate of health, had left the adminiſtration entirely to Ormeſby, a man of a ſevere and imperious diſpoſition, who was appointed Juſticiary of Scotland; and to Creſſingham, who had the office of Treaſurer, and the ſole object of whoſe life was the gratification of his avarice by the moſt rapacious and illegal means. Theſe haughty Governors concurred in their oppreſſion of the Scots, and made them experience all the miſeries of ſervitude: they imprudently ventured to exaſperate the nation by continued exertions of tyranny, without the force of the tyrant, who commands that obedience from fear which he diſdains to procure from reſpect; they enraged the Barons, by ill-timed and indiſcriminate ſeverities, iſſuing ſentences of outlawry and impriſonment, and even inflicting more rigorous puniſhments on all proprietors of land, who refuſed or delayed to ſwear fealty to Edward. By theſe means they had rouzed the ſpirit of the nation, which their military force was wholly inadequate to repreſs.

Every

Every thing was now ripe for a revolution; and a leader was only wanting to head an enraged people, who evinced a determined reſolution to reſcue their country from the yoke of oppreſſion. The taſk was arduous; it required extraordinary courage to attempt, and ſingular talents to accompliſh it. The Scottiſh Nobles, aware of the difficulties that muſt attend the deſperate undertaking, ſtood aloof: that prudence which has ever diſtinguiſhed the wary natives of Caledonia was diſplayed in it's full vigour; their valour, at this time impetuous, was rendered ſubſervient to it; and this national virtue was ſo ſtrongly implanted in their boſoms as to damp even the ardour of patriotiſm.

In this emergency, Scotland was indebted for the recovery of her liberty to an obſcure adventurer, William Wallace, the ſon of a private gentleman in the weſt of Scotland, whoſe patrimony was ſmall, though his family was ancient. The exploits of this man have been ſo groſsly exaggerated by his countrymen, that the readers of their accounts would naturally take him for the hero of a romance; his actions, however, appear to have been ſuch as juſtified the higheſt commendations, and were ſufficiently brilliant in themſelves to deſpiſe the aid of artificial embelliſhments. Both his body and mind ſeem to have been formed by nature for great undertakings: his perſon was gigantic, and poſſeſſed of ſtrength proportionate to it's ſize; his mind was endued with the moſt heroic courage, tempered with an adequate portion of prudence, with magnanimity unalloyed by ſelfiſhneſs, and patience that no provocations could ſubdue: he was neither elated by proſperity, nor depreſſed by adverſity; and was able to bear fatigue, hunger, and all the ſeverities of the ſeaſons.

This extraordinary perſon had been provoked by the inſolence of an Engliſh officer to put him to death; and, dreading to incur the puniſhment annexed to murder, fled to the woods; whither he invited all thoſe to repair whoſe crimes, misfortunes, or avowed hatred to the Engliſh, compelled them to lead a fugitive life. His firſt exploits were confined to petty ravages, and occaſional attacks on detached parties of the Engliſh; in which, being always ſucceſsful, he acquired ſuch reputation, that numbers of his countrymen ſoon flocked to his ſtandard. When, by continual excurſions, he had inured his followers to military toil, and inſpired them with a due confidence in their own valour, he formed a plan for ſurprizing Ormeſby at Scone, and for puniſhing him for the numerous acts of violence and oppreſſion of which he had been guilty. The Juſticiary, apprized of his intentions, fled with precipitation into England; and all the Engliſh officers followed his example. The Scots, encouraged by their flight, took up arms in every quarter; and many of the prudent Barons, finding the proſpect of ſucceſs increaſed in proportion to the diminution of danger, ventured to declare their ſentiments in favour of Wallace and his party. Among theſe was Sir William Douglas, who joined him with his followers; while Robert Bruce, with more caution, contented himſelf with ſecretly ſupporting the ſame cauſe.

But Warrenne, having aſſembled an army of forty thouſand men in the north of England, endeavoured, by the celerity of his motions, to compenſate for his paſt negligence, to which the revolt of the Scots had been principally owing. By a forced march he entered Annandale, and overtook the enemy at Irvine, before they had fully collected their forces, and put themſelves in a proper poſture of defence. Many of the Scottiſh Barons, alarmed at the danger of their ſituation, haſtened to avert the reſentment of the Engliſh by a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion: they renewed their oaths of fealty, conſented to deliver hoſtages for their good behaviour, and received a full pardon for their paſt offences; and ſome others, among whom were Richard Lundy, the Earl of Lenox, and James, Steward of Scotland—from whom the royal family of Stuart is deſcended—went over with their followers to the Engliſh army.

Wallace, far from being intimidated by this deſertion of the Nobles, whoſe abſence increaſed his own authority in the army, reſolutely perſevered in his purpoſe; but being unable, from the inferiority of his numbers, to give battle to the Engliſh, he marched northwards, in order to prolong the war, and to profit by thoſe advantages which the mountainous and ſterile ſtate of the country could afford him. He was purſued, however, by Warrenne; who, when he had advanced as far as Stirling, found Wallace encamped near the Abbey of Cambuſkenneth, on the oppoſite ſide of the Forth. In that advantageous poſition did Warrenne, prompted by the impetuous Creſſingham, prepare to attack the Scots, notwithſtanding the urgent remonſtrances of Richard Lundy, who offered to ford the river with a detachment of horſe, to divert the attention of the enemy till the main body of the army ſhould have paſſed over a narrow bridge that was in front. This offer, however, was rejected, and the whole army ordered to paſs the bridge; when Wallace, attentive to their motions, ſuffered as many of them to paſs as he thought proper; and, attacking them before they had time to form on the oppoſite plain, ſoon threw them into confuſion, put numbers of them to the ſword, and obtained a compleat victory. In the heat of the action, the bridge, which was compoſed of wood, gave way, and many of the Engliſh periſhed in the river; while Warrenne, with the reſt of his army, were compelled to remain paſſive ſpectators of the deſtruction of their countrymen. Among the ſlain was Creſſingham himſelf; whoſe memory was ſo extremely odious to the Scots, that they are ſaid to have flayed his dead body, and to have made ſaddles and girths of his ſkin. Such ſavage ferocity beſpeaks a people but little advanced in civilization!

This ſevere repulſe which the Engliſh ſuſtained on the eleventh of September, in the year 1297, having not only weakened but diſmayed the army, Warrenne judged it prudent again to evacuate the kingdom, and retire into England. The caſtles

of Roxborough and Berwick, ill fortified and feebly defended, fell, ſoon after the departure of the Engliſh, into the hands of the Scots.

Wallace, by whoſe gallantry his country had recovered her ancient liberty, was now proclaimed by his followers Regent of the kingdom; and, finding that a ſucceſſion of unfavourable ſeaſons, aided by almoſt a total neglect of agriculture, had produced a famine in Scotland, he wiſely reſolved to transfer the ſeat of war to the enemy's country, for the twofold purpoſe of ſubſiſtence and revenge. He accordingly entered the northern counties; and, having extended his ravages as far as the Biſhopric of Durham without incurring the ſmalleſt oppoſition, returned to Scotland loaded with ſpoils.

The diſorders which prevailed in England at this period, from the refractory conduct of the High Conſtable and Marſhal, rendered it impoſſible to collect an army ſufficiently powerful to oppoſe the enemy, and ſubjected the nation to this loſs and diſhonour.

The intelligence of theſe extraordinary events being tranſmitted to Edward, who was ſtill on the continent, accelerated his return to England; where he arrived in the month of March, in the year 1298. His firſt care was to conciliate the eſteem and confidence of his ſubjects; for which purpoſe he employed both conceſſions and promiſes. He reſtored to the citizens of London the privilege of electing their own magiſtrates, of which they had been deprived towards the concluſion of his father's reign: he ordered a ſtrict enquiry to be made into the value of the corn and other goods, which he had cauſed to be ſeized for his own uſe, as if he intended to pay for them immediately; and, by public profeſſions of his intention to confirm and obſerve the charters, he regained the confidence of the diſcontented Nobles. Having by theſe popular acts acquired the affections of his people, he haſtened to join his troops, which had aſſembled at the general rendezvous at Roxborough; where he found himſelf at the head of a powerful army, conſiſting of eighty thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe.

Nothing but the moſt cordial unanimity could have afforded the Scots the ſmalleſt proſpect of ſucceſs againſt ſuch a formidable force, conducted by ſo experienced a leader; but their country was divided by thoſe factions and animoſities which are almoſt inevitable in a nation deprived of it's chief or ſovereign; concern for the public welfare was ſunk in the proſecution of private feuds: in ſhort, Envy had riſen ſuperior to Patriotiſm, and the proud Nobles repined at the elevation of Wallace, though the ſaviour of his country; enraged to ſee merit preferred to rank, and ſuperior talents rewarded by ſuperior dignity.

Wallace, whoſe ſole object appears to have been the good of his country, aware of their jealouſies, and dreading the fatal conſequences that might ariſe from them, made a voluntary reſignation of his authority; and only reſerved the command of his immediate followers, who refuſed to fight under the banners of any other leader. The chief power now devolved on the Steward of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenoch, men of high birth, under whom the great chieftains were more willing to ſerve in defence of their country.

About Midſummer, Edward left Roxborough, and marched with his army to Berwick, which he entered without oppoſition; and from thence advanced to the north by eaſy marches, taking ſuch fortreſſes as lay on his road, and laying waſte the country as he proceeded. When he had reached Tenepleliſton, now Kirkliſton, his army began to experience great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, the fleet which had been appointed to ſupply him, and to ſail up the Frith of Forth for that purpoſe, having been detained by contrary winds; ſo that he was on the point of returning to Edinburgh. At this critical conjuncture, he received intelligence that the Scottiſh army lay encamped in the vicinity of Falkirk, at the diſtance of about eighteen miles from the ſpot in which he then was: he therefore determined to attack them; and advanced the firſt day as far as the fields of Linlithgow, where his troops lay all night on their arms. Very early in the morning of the twenty-firſt of July, Edward, though he had received a violent bruiſe in the night by a blow from his horſe, put his army in motion, and ſoon came in ſight of the Scots, whom he found drawn up in order near the village of Falkirk. Their army was divided into three bodies; the firſt commanded by the Steward of Scotland; the ſecond by Cummin of Badenoch; and the third by the gallant Wallace. They had placed their pikemen in the front of their line; their archers were poſted in the intervals between the different diviſions; and, dreading the great ſuperiority of the Engliſh cavalry, they had endeavoured to ſecure their front by palliſadoes faſtened together by ropes. When Edward perceived the diſpoſition of the Scots, he formed his own army likewiſe in three diviſions, and led them to the attack.

The particulars of this battle have been ſo variouſly deſcribed by different authors, that we ſhall not attempt to enter into a detail of it: ſuffice it to ſay, that the Scots were ſoon routed; and that Edward obtained a compleat victory, with little loſs.

After this action, the King paſſed ſome time at Stirling, for the recovery of his health; while his troops were employed in ravaging the country, and reducing the towns of Perth and St. Andrew's to aſhes. He then directed his march weſtward; and found the caſtle of Ayr abandoned and burnt by Robert Bruce, who had once more forſaken the Engliſh intereſt. Edward would have purſued this wavering chieftain into Galloway; but was prevented by a ſcarcity of proviſions: he therefore continued his march through the Foreſt of Selkirk to Annandale, where he reduced the caſtle of Lochmaban; and from thence porceeded to Carliſle.

We have before obſerved, that Edward, previous to his departure from the continent, had concluded a truce for two years with the King of France, and had referred all his diſputes with that Prince to the deciſion of Pope Boniface. This Pontiff was the laſt who claimed the ridiculous privilege of exerciſing

ciſing an authority over the temporal juriſdiction of Princes; and theſe exorbitant pretenſions, which the example of his predeceſſors had induced him to aſſume, but which were no longer received with that reſpect they formerly commanded, involved him in ſo many calamities, and were attended with ſo unfortunate a cataſtrophe, that his ſucceſſors in the Apoſtolic Chair have never ſince thought proper to inſiſt on them.

Edward and Philip being equally jealous of papal encroachments, were careful to inſert in their reference, that they ſubmitted their diſputes to Boniface, not in his capacity of Pope, but merely as a private perſon. This mortifying clauſe, however, did not prevent him from accepting the commiſſion; and from diſcharging it in ſo equitable a manner, that both of them willingly acquieſced in the ſentence pronounced. In order to eſtabliſh a laſting peace between them, the Pope perſuaded them to cement their union by a double marriage: that of Edward himſelf, who was now a widower, with Margaret, ſiſter to Philip; and that of the Prince of Wales with Iſabella, daughter of that monarch. Philip conſented alſo to reſtore Guienne to the Engliſh; but inſiſted that the Scots, and their King, John Baliol, ſhould, as his allies, be comprehended in the treaty. To this, however, Edward poſitively refuſed to aſſent; alledging, that Baliol was his vaſſal; and that, having formerly renounced his engagements with France, he could not poſſibly be conſidered as Philip's ally. After much debate, the difference was at laſt compromiſed by mutual conceſſions, or rather by mutual treachery. Edward agreed to abandon his own ally, the Earl of Flanders, on condition that Philip ſhould forſake the King of Scots. The proſpect of conquering theſe two countries, whoſe ſituation rendered them ſo commodious an acquiſition to the reſpective kingdoms, prevailed over every other conſideration, and Honour was ſacrificed at the ſhrine of Intereſt. A peace was accordingly concluded at Montrëuil, on the ninth of June, in the year 1299; was ratified by the two monarchs on the third of Auguſt following; and, about a month after, Edward was married to the Princeſs Margaret of France.

The Scots had by this time begun to recover from the conſternation into which they had been thrown by the victory of Falkirk; and, being determined to renew the conteſt for their independence, had collected a body of troops, and inveſted the caſtle of Stirling. In order to preſerve that important fortreſs from falling into their hands, Edward, ſoon after his marriage, ſet out to join his army in the north: but when he arrived at Berwick, his Barons, diſcontented with his neglect to perform the promiſes he had made them, refuſed to proceed into Scotland, under pretence that the ſeaſon was too far advanced for ſuch an expedition; the King, therefore, was conſtrained to diſband his troops, after ſending permiſſion to the garriſon of Stirling Caſtle to ſurrender on the beſt terms they could procure. But, as he had reſolved to perſevere in the conqueſt of Scotland, he found it neceſſary to remove the diſcontents of his Barons; and for that purpoſe he ſummoned a parliament to meet at London, in the time of Lent, in the year 1300. He there ſolemnly confirmed the two charters; and the Sheriffs throughout England were ordered to publiſh them in the courts of juſtice every quarter. Farther ſecurities were likewiſe provided for the eſtabliſhment of national privileges. Three Knights were appointed to be choſen in each county, who were inveſted with the power of puniſhing, by fine and impriſonment, every violation of the charters. But, in order to execute the Charter of Foreſts, it was requiſite by new perambulations to aſcertain the exact boundaries of the royal foreſts, and to diſafforeſt all lands which former encroachments had comprehended within their limits: for this purpoſe Edward iſſued writs to the Sheriffs; and the bounds were finally fixed by a jury in each county.

Having adopted theſe popular meaſures, he aſſembled his army about Midſummer; and, entering the weſt of Scotland, took ſome caſtles, and penetrated into Galloway; where a petition was preſented to him from the guardians and community of the realm, requeſting he would permit their lawful ſovereign, John Baliol, to return to his dominions, and reign over them in peace; and allow the Scottiſh Nobles to redeem their lands from the Engliſh, to whom they had been granted. This curious petition, as might naturally have been ſuppoſed, was rejected with diſdain.

Edward's progreſs was interrupted by the preſence of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who arrived in the Engliſh camp on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, and preſented to the King a letter which he had received from the Pope. The Scots, during Edward's negotiation with the King of France, had endeavoured, by applications to foreign courts, to procure ſome aſſiſtance. Though Philip had rejected their ſupplications, the Scottiſh miniſters had experienced greater ſucceſs with the court of Rome. Boniface, pleaſed with an occaſion of exerting his authority, wrote a letter to Edward, exhorting him to deſiſt from his attempts on the liberty of Scotland; and diſplaying all the proofs, ſuch as he had probably been furniſhed with by the Scots themſelves, of the ancient independence of that kingdom. Among other arguments, he mentioned the treaty which Edward himſelf had propoſed and compleated for the marriage of his ſon with the young Queen of Scots: a treaty that would have been abſurd, had that monarch poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of the kingdom, and enjoyed, as he muſt have done by the proviſions of the feudal law, the ſole privilege of diſpoſing of his ward in marriage. He enumerated ſeveral other circumſtances equally convincive; and, had he confined himſelf entirely to this topic, the letter of his Holineſs might have paſſed for a reaſonable, if not a ſeaſonable, remonſtrance. But the Pope had only been thus ſtrenuous to confute the pretenſions of Edward in order to make room for his own. The extreme abſurdity and imprudence of this claim, certainly not leſs unjuſt than the other, muſt have excited ſurprize equal to the indignation it inſpired, had it iſſued

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from any other quarter; but papal ambition had been ſo accuſtomed to ſoar on the wings of injuſtice, that no flight it could take, however lofty, or into regions hitherto unexplored, was able to create the ſmalleſt aſtoniſhment. His Holineſs pretended to derive this curious claim to the feudal ſovereignty of Scotland from the moſt remote antiquity; and it was certainly a proof of his ſagacity to place it's foundation in times immemorial—in times that not only defied the exertions of memory, but rendered abortive the moſt laborious reſearches of plain temporal ſenſe, unaſſiſted by ſpiritual inſpiration. But he ſeems to have deviated from his accuſtomed policy, in boldly aſſerting that the juſtice of his claim was notorious, and it's validity fully ſupported by preſcription, when not a man in the kingdom had ever heard of it's exiſtence. He ſurely ſhould have been content to reſt his right in the mere antiquity of his claim, and have imputed it's apparent novelty to the meekneſs and forbearance of of his predeceſſors; and more eſpecially to the *mild*, *gentle*, and *unaſpiring*, ſoul of the pious Hildebrand, whoſe mind, wholly abſorbed in ſpiritual contemplations, deigned not to beſtow one ſolitary thought on the vain treaſures of the earth; but, continually bent on the Deity, recollecting that "all his paths are peace," and encouraged by the benedictions of his Redeemer on the promoters of concord, wiſely forbore to engage in terreſtrial diſputes; and rather choſe to forego his pretenſions, though founded in juſtice, or ſuffer claims of acknowledged validity to lie dormant, than by his powerful interference to give birth to diſcord, ſcatter deſolation over the land, and deluge the plains with the blood of his fellow-creatures.

It is ſomewhat extraordinary that arguments, ſuch as Boniface advanced in ſupport of his claim, ſhould have been productive of conſiderable trouble both to the King and to his miniſters. After ſome time paſſed in collecting materials for an anſwer to his Holineſs, they laid the affair before the parliament, which aſſembled at Lincoln on the twentieth of January, in the year 1301. The Engliſh Barons, inſpired with indignation at the preſumption of a foreign Prieſt, in ſummoning their Sovereign to appear before him—for the Pope had cited Edward to appear and plead his cauſe, either in perſon or by deputy, in his preſence, before the expiration of ſix months—unanimouſly declared that they would not ſuffer their King to ſubmit to ſuch an indignity. A deed, expreſſive of their ſentiments, dated at Lincoln the twelfth of February, was ſigned and ſealed by one hundred and four of the temporal Barons in the name of the whole parliament of England. Edward alſo made a reply, in his own name, to the letter of Boniface; which contains particulars not leſs remarkable than the letter itſelf. He there attempts to prove the ſuperiority of England by hiſtorical facts, deduced from the period of Brutus the Trojan, who he ſaid founded the Britiſh monarchy in the age of Eli and Samuel: he quotes all the tranſactions which occurred in the iſland, previous to the invaſion of Julius Cæſar, in ſupport of his arguments; and, after dwelling with great emphaſis on the extenſive poſſeſſions and heroic victories of King Arthur, he vouchſafes at laſt to deſcend to the reign of Edward the Elder; with which, in his firſt ſpeech to the ſtates of Scotland, he had choſen to begin his claim of ſuperiority. He aſſerts it as a fact, *notorious and confirmed by the records of antiquity*, that the Engliſh ſovereigns had often conferred the kingdom of Scotland on their own ſubjects, had dethroned them at their pleaſure, and ſubſtituted others in their ſtead. He diſplays with great pomp the full and unreſerved homage which William had done to Henry the Second; but forbears to mention the formal renunciation of that homage by King Richard. Had Edward confined himſelf to the ſimple promulgation of abſurdities, we might have been induced to believe that he meant to ridicule the pretenſions of his Holineſs, and to parody the ſtrain in which they were conveyed: but, unhappily, this ſingular reply not only expoſes it's author to cenſure for the numerous falſhoods it contains, but ſubjects him to reprobation for it's impious commencement, which conſiſts in a ſolemn appeal to the Almighty, the Searcher of hearts, for his own firm perſuaſion of the juſtice of his claim. When the ſpiritual ſovereign of the Chriſtian world could deſcend to untruths, though we muſt lament, yet we cannot be ſurprized, that a Prince, whoſe predominating vice was ambition, ſhould endeavour to promote it's gratification by groſs deviations from veracity.

At the time when the Primate delivered the Pope's letter to his Sovereign, Edward, whoſe troops were in great diſtreſs from a ſcarcity of proviſions, had marched them back into England, and granted the Scots a truce from the thirtieth of October to Whitſunday in the following year. That time being now expired, he re-entered Scotland about Midſummer, attended by his ſon, the Prince of Wales, and a powerful army. The Scots, being in no condition to hazard a battle, retired to their woods and mountains; contenting themſelves with making occaſional excurſions, in which they ſometimes cut off detached parties of the Engliſh, and intercepted ſome convoys of proviſions. Thus the whole campaign was paſſed without any action of importance; and Edward retired to Linlithgow at the approach of winter, where he ſigned a truce with the Scots, on the twenty-ſixth of January, in the year 1301, that was to continue till the thirtieth of November following. At the expiration of this ſecond truce, he ſent an army into Scotland under the command of John de Segrave, one of the moſt celebrated warriors of that age. This General divided his forces into three bodies, that marched at the diſtance of ſome miles from each other; and, as he expected no oppoſition, he advanced with the moſt careleſs ſecurity as far as Roſlin, in the vicinity of Edinburgh. There he was attacked unexpectedly by the Scottiſh army, under the command of Cummin, the Regent, and Sir Simon Frazer, who ſoon put his firſt diviſion to flight. The next advanced to the relief of their General; and, as it equalled the Scots in number, charged them with great impetuoſity: but the attack was ſuſtained with

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equal firmneſs; and, after an obſtinate engagement, the Scots again proved victorious. At the concluſion of the action, in which the Scots had ſuffered conſiderably, the third diviſion of the Engliſh appeared in ſight, advancing with haſty ſteps to retrieve the honour of their countrymen; and, as their number was greatly augmented by thoſe who eſcaped from the two former engagements, they approached in full confidence of obtaining an eaſy victory. The Scots, diſmayed at their appearance, would have quitted the field, had not they been reſtrained by the urgent remonſtrances of their leaders, who exhorted them to make one farther effort to increaſe the glory they had already acquired, and to preſerve the ſpoils they had made. Thus animated, they ſupplied the followers of their camp with the arms of the vanquiſhed, and ſtood the ſhock of another battle, which they gained with great difficulty.

Thus, according to Buchanan, from whom this account is extracted, did the Scots, in one day, obtain three compleat victories; which made the Regent maſter of the whole kingdom, and rendered it neceſſary for Edward to begin his conqueſt anew.

The Scots, independent of the advantages they had recently obtained, derived ſome encouragement from their hopes of aſſiſtance from France: but theſe were ſpeedily defeated by a treaty of peace that was concluded on the twentieth of May, in the year 1303, between the Kings of England and France, in which they were totally neglected.

The King, having now no other enemies to contend with, determined to direct his whole force againſt Scotland, again to compleat the conqueſt of that devoted kingdom. For this purpoſe he made the moſt vigorous preparations; and, that the progreſs of his army might not be impeded for want of proviſions, he fitted out a large fleet, which ſailed along the coaſts, and afforded continual ſupplies to the troops. Thus provided, he entered the frontiers of Scotland about Midſummer, and marched from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, laying waſte the open country, reducing all the caſtles, and receiving the ſubmiſſions of the principal Nobility. The moſt obſtinate reſiſtance he experienced in his whole progreſs was at the caſtle of Brechin, defended by Sir Thomas Maude, which ſuſtained a regular ſiege, and for ſome time defied all his efforts to reduce it; nor were it's gates opened till the garriſon had loſt their gallant Governor, who was killed by a ſtone diſcharged from one of the enemy's engines. Having proceeded as far north as the extremity of the province of Moray, he returned to Dunfermline, where he paſſed the winter.

At the commencement of the ſubſequent year, 1304, Cummin, Baliol's nephew, and Regent of the kingdom, finding it impoſſible to reſiſt the enemy, repaired to Dunfermline, and made his ſubmiſſion to the King, in imitation of Robert Bruce, who had taken the ſame ſtep the preceding year. All the Barons who ſubmitted were ſecured in their lives, liberties, and eſtates, but were ſubjected to certain pecuniary fines: ſome, indeed, who had been moſt active in their oppoſition, were baniſhed the kingdom for a limited time; and the garriſon of Stirling Caſtle, the only fortreſs in Scotland that had refuſed to ſurrender, were declared outlaws, in a parliament held at St. Andrew's in the month of April. This ſentence, however, did not induce them to relax the vigour of their defence; and Edward was under the neceſſity of laying ſiege to this important fortreſs. He accordingly commenced his operations ſoon after Eaſter; but the ſpirited reſiſtance of the garriſon baffled his utmoſt efforts for more than three months; and they did not ſubmit till a practicable breach was effected, when Sir William Oliphant, the Governor, was compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion. Having compleated his conqueſt, Edward appointed John de Segrave Governor of the kingdom, and returned to England at the beginning of autumn.

But, ſo long as the renowned Wallace was alive, Edward juſtly deemed his new acquiſition unſafe; he therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to get the perſon of that hero into his poſſeſſion. After a vigilant ſearch, his retreat was at laſt diſcovered by Sir John Monteith, Governor of the caſtle of Dunbarton. The Scottiſh writers alledge that he was betrayed in the moſt perfidious manner, and apprehended as he lay aſleep in the neighbourhood of Glaſgow: but it has juſtly been obſerved that, although he was ſurprized by a party under the command of Monteith, it cannot be fairly ſaid that he was betrayed, as that officer was profeſſedly attached to the intereſt of the Engliſh. This heroic captive was immediately conveyed to London; and, on the day after his arrival, was brought to his trial at Weſtminſter Hall. Being accuſed of treaſon, he pleaded "Not Guilty," though he objected at the ſame time to the competency of the court; he expatiated on the injuſtice and abſurdity of preferring an accuſation of treaſon againſt him, when he had never made ſubmiſſions, ſwore fealty, or in any way acknowledged the ſovereignty of that Prince againſt whom the treaſon was ſaid to be committed: he farther affirmed, that as he was a free-born native of an independent kingdom, he could not be deemed ſubject to the laws of a foreign country. But Edward, being enraged at ſome acts of violence committed by Wallace during the fury of war, had reſolved to over-awe the Scots by an example of ſeverity: the Judges, therefore, over-ruled a plea that ſhould have been received as unanſwerable, and condemned Wallace to die the death of a traitor. He was accordingly executed on Tower Hill, on the twenty-third of Auguſt, in the year 1305. The conduct of Edward in this particular muſt reflect diſgrace on his memory: brave and magnanimous himſelf, he ſhould have reſpected ſimilar qualities in an enemy, nor have ſuffered the voice of Revenge to ſilence the dictates of Juſtice. Though the character of Wallace has been variouſly repreſented, yet his actions muſt convince every impartial mind that his courage was intrepid, his patriotiſm ardent, and his integrity incorruptible.

The King now determined to render his new acquiſition durable, by the eſtabliſhment of a new form of government, and the introduction of a

new ſyſtem of laws. But, in the purſuit of his plan, he appears to have proceeded with too little caution, and to have paid too little attention to the national prejudices of the natives. He abrogated all the Scottiſh laws and cuſtoms, and endeavoured to ſubſtitute the Engliſh in their place. He entirely deſtroyed all the monuments of antiquity, burnt or diſperſed ſuch records or hiſtories as had eſcaped his former ſearch, and ſeemed anxious to promote a total annihilation of the Scottiſh name. But this raſh and precipitate mode of proceeding, as might naturally be expected, produced very different effects to thoſe which he hoped to derive from it.

Robert Bruce, grandſon of that Robert who had been one of the competitors for the crown of Scotland, had ſucceeded, by the death of his father and grandfather, to all their rights, titles, and eſtates: and the recent demiſe of John Baliol, together with the captivity of Edward, eldeſt ſon of that Prince, opened a full career to the aſpiring genius of this young nobleman, who reſolved to aſſert the rights of his anceſtors, and reſcue his native country from oppreſſion. The firſt man to whom he communicated his important deſign was John Cummin, Earl of Badenoch, a nobleman of great power and extenſive influence, with whom he lived on terms of the ſtricteſt intimacy. Cummin expreſſed the ſtrongeſt approbation of his ſcheme, highly applauded the ſentiments that gave birth to it, and entered into a ſolemn engagement to ſupport him with all his intereſt in his attempts to liberate the kingdom from the Engliſh yoke. But, whether he was inſincere in his profeſſions, or was terrified by his ſubſequent reflections on the deſperate nature of his undertaking, he ſoon repented of his conduct; and, in order to atone for his crime in aſſenting to his rebellion, determined to reveal the ſecret to the King of England.

Edward received this advice juſt as Bruce arrived in London to concert meaſures for the execution of his plan with ſome of the Scottiſh nobility who were then at the Engliſh court; but he did not cauſe Bruce to be immediately apprehended, becauſe he intended at the ſame time to ſeize his three brothers who reſided in Scotland: he therefore contented himſelf with ſecretly ſetting ſpies upon that nobleman, and ordering all his motions to be ſtrictly watched.

A nobleman of Edward's court, Bruce's intimate friend, was apprized of his danger; but, not daring to hold any converſation with him, he deviſed an expedient for informing him that his perſon was not in ſafety, and that it was time to depart. He ſent him, by his ſervant, a pair of ſpurs and a purſe of gold, which he pretended to have borrowed from him; and truſted to his friend's ſagacity for diſcovering the import of ſuch a gift. Bruce took the hint, and immediately contrived the means of his eſcape: and, as the ground was then covered with ſnow, he adopted the precaution, as we are told by the Scottiſh writers from whom theſe particulars are taken, of ordering his horſes to be ſhod with their ſhoes inverted, that he might deceive thoſe who ſhould attempt to trace him over the open fields or croſs roads through which he intended to direct his way. In a few days he arrived at his own caſtle at Lochmaban, where he found ſome of his particular friends, to whom he communicated the treachery of Cummin; and, being told that Cummin himſelf was at Dumfries, in Annandale, he immediately repaired thither, in order to expoſtulate with him upon his perfidy.

Whether Bruce had formed his reſolution previous to this interview, and from motives of policy had determined to get rid of a nobleman whoſe powerful oppoſition might defeat his own projects of ambition; or whether his conduct was influenced by any altercation that occurred at this interview, in conſequence of his reproaches, and was the effect of a ſudden tranſport of rage; it is wholly impoſſible to decide: the only fact of which we can ſpeak with certainty is, that he met with Cummin in the cloiſters of a monaſtery belonging to the Grey Friars, at Dumfries, on the tenth of February, in the year 1306; and that he plunged a poniard into his boſom, and left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kirkpatric, one of Bruce's friends, aſked him, ſoon after, if the traitor was ſlain? "I believe ſo," replied Bruce. "And is that a "matter of ſuch little importance," ſaid Kirkpatric, "as to be left in doubt? *I will ſecure him.*" Upon which he haſtened to the convent; and, by ſtabbing Cummin to the heart, compleated the work which Bruce had begun. This deliberate murder —for in Kirkpatric, at leaſt, it muſt be deemed ſuch—which no provocation could juſtify, was in thoſe times regarded as an act of heroic valour; and the family of Kirkpatric, proud of the exploit, *took* for their creſt, which they ſtill wear, a Hand with a bloody Dagger; and choſe for their motto theſe words—"*I will ſecure him.*" Strange infatuation! that, in this age of refinement, a man ſhould not rather prefer to ſink the antiquity of his family in obliivion, than to record the infamy of it's founder!

The commiſſion of this deſperate deed was the ſignal for revolt. Bruce had now no reſource left but to emancipate his country from the yoke of the Engliſh, or periſh in the attempt. His firſt care was to ſeize the caſtle of Dumfries; which he took by ſurprize, together with the Engliſh Judges who were aſſembled in the great hall of the caſtle, to hear and determine cauſes. He then publicly aſſerted his claim to the crown; and diſpatched meſſengers into all parts of the kingdom, to invite the friends of his family, and the partizans of national liberty, to repair to his ſtandard. By this means he collected a ſmall army; with which he advanced into the country, taking all the fortreſſes that lay in his road, and committing ravages on the lands of ſuch as refuſed to acknowledge his ſovereignty. By the middle of March he had penetrated as far as Perth, after reducing a number of fortreſſes, and chaſing moſt of the Engliſh into their own territories. Being joined by the principal nobility, he was ſolemnly crowned and inaugurated, in the abbey of Scone, on the twenty-ſeventh of March, in the year 1306,

1306, by the Biſhop of St. Andrew's, who was one of his moſt zealous adherents. To render the ceremony more ſolemn, it was repeated on the Sunday following; when the crown was placed on his head by the Counteſs of Buchan, ſiſter to the Earl of Fife, who was attached to the ſervice of Edward, and in whoſe family this privilege was inherent.

When Edward received intelligence of theſe tranſactions, he expreſſed his determination of inflicting an exemplary puniſhment on all the authors and abettors of this new rebellion. Not diſcouraged at ſeeing all his paſt efforts to ſubdue the kingdom thus rendered abortive, and the neceſſity of recommencing his labours, he ſent Aymer de Valence, Henry de Percy, and Robert de Clifford, with a conſiderable force, into Scotland, to check the progreſs of the malcontents; and theſe being joined by all the partizans of the Cummin family, who were highly enraged againſt Bruce for the murder of their chief, went in ſearch of the Scottiſh army. They came up with it at Methven, in Perthſhire; and, attacking it unexpectedly, ſoon threw it into confuſion, and obtained a compleat victory. Bruce diſplayed the moſt heroic courage during the action: he was thrice diſmounted, and as often recovered himſelf; but was at laſt obliged to yield to the fortune of the day, and ſeek for ſafety in flight. The ſmall remains of his army were again defeated, a few days after, at Dalry, by the men of Argyle, under the command of their chieftain the Lord Lorn; who, being nephew to Cummin, entertained a mortal enmity againſt Bruce.

Unable any longer to keep the field, he diſmiſſed his few remaining followers; and, after ſkulking about for ſome weeks, took refuge, with only two or three friends, in the ſmall iſland of Ruchrin, one of the moſt unfrequented of the Weſtern Iſles. But, though he eſcaped himſelf from the vengeance of an enraged conqueror, his friends and family were leſs fortunate. His three brothers, Neil, Thomas, and Alexander, with his brother-in-law Sir Chriſtopher Seton, having been taken priſoners in different places, were tried, condemned, and executed, as traitors. The Earl of Athol, Sir Simon Fraſer, and many other of Bruce's friends and adherents, experienced a ſimilar fate. His conſort, Margery his only daughter, and his two ſiſters Mary and Chriſtina, with the Counteſs of Buchan, the patriotic heroine who had placed the crown on his head, were all ſeized, and committed to different priſons, where ſome of them were treated with great cruelty.

While Bruce was lamenting the ſeverity of his fate in his barren retreat, Edward was making the moſt formidable preparations for the final conqueſt of Scotland. In order to inſpire the young nobility with a thirſt for military fame, and ſtimulate them to extraordinary exertions, in this intended enterprize, he conferred the honour of knighthood on his eldeſt ſon Edward, Prince of Wales, in his palace at Weſtminſter, on Whitſunday; and the ceremony was performed with great pomp and ſolemnity. An account of it is to be found in Matthew, of Weſtminſter, to this effect. After the Prince had been knighted himſelf, he went in proceſſion to the church at Weſtminſter; and, having mounted the high altar, conferred the ſame honour on more than three hundred young noblemen and gentlemen, who were all arrayed in rich robes embroidered with gold, taken from the royal wardrobe. At the concluſion of this ceremony, two ſwans, adorned with trappings and bells of gold, were brought with great pomp into the church; and the King ſolemnly ſwore by the God of Heaven, and by theſe ſwans, that he would march into Scotland, and never return till he had revenged the death of John Cummin, and inflicted a ſevere chaſtiſement on the rebellious Scots. The ſame oath was then taken by the Prince, and all the new-made Knights; and, ſoon after the ſolemnity, they all ſet out to join the army at Carliſle, which was the general rendezvous. The campaign, however, proved wholly inactive, as there was no enemy to attack; and Edward met with ſubmiſſion wherever he went. But, about Michaelmas, Bruce, who by moſt was believed to have periſhed, ſuddenly iſſued from his retreat, attended by a ſmall but choſen band of followers; and ſurprized Henry de Percy, who had obtained a grant of his eſtates from the King; ſeized his baggage, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Turnberry. The approach, however, of a large detachment from the Engliſh army, compelled him to raiſe the ſiege with precipitation, and take ſhelter in the Highlands.

At the end of the campaign, Edward returned to Carliſle; where a parliament was ſummoned to meet on the twentieth of January, in the year 1307, in order to redreſs the grievances of monaſteries and religious houſes, which were burdened with talliages, tributes, and other onerous impoſts, by the Pope's emiſſaries, under pretence of viſitations, and contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom. Theſe exactions were condemned, as injurious to the crown, and prejudicial to the country: and a letter was ſent to the Pope, in the name of the Clergy and Laity of England, complaining of the malverſation of his miniſters, and deſiring his Holineſs to prevent a repetition of ſimilar abuſes. Teſta, the Pope's chief agent, was cited to appear before the parliament, and forbidden to levy any farther impoſitions in the name of his maſter. He was even ordered to keep in his poſſeſſion the ſums he had already collected, till ſuch time as the King ſhould diſpoſe of them by the advice of his council; and writs were iſſued to ſeize and impriſon all perſons who had been concerned in theſe illegal extortions. Theſe ſpirited proceedings were, however, ſtopped at the interceſſion of the new Legate, Peter d'Eſpagne, whom his Holineſs had ſent to England to conclude the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princeſs Iſabella of France, which had been retarded by ſome diſpute relative to the ceſſion of a caſtle in Gaſcony. The Prince himſelf had not been ſtudious to remove this obſtacle to the completion of a match that muſt neceſſarily interrupt the enjoyment of thoſe diſſolute pleaſures to which he was greatly addicted. He had already exhibited

exhibited the moſt evident ſymptoms of an idle and vicious diſpoſition; remiſs in every laudable exertion, and only active in the gratification of his paſſions. He had been already baniſhed from court for inſulting the Biſhop of Litchfield; and had received frequent reprimands from his father for his profligacy and extravagance. But neither cenſure nor puniſhment could produce any ſigns of reformation; his exceſſes ſeemed to multiply as his years increaſed: and, as his conduct was ſuppoſed in a great meaſure to be influenced by the evil counſel he received from his vicious aſſociates, his chief friend and favourite, Piers Gaveſton, was baniſhed the kingdom; and, before his departure, both he and the Prince his patron took a ſolemn oath that he never ſhould return without the King's expreſs permiſſion.

During theſe tranſactions, Bruce had been occupied in increaſing the number of his followers; and, about the beginning of April, he deſcended from the mountains with a ſmall force, which by continual augmentation ſoon amounted to ten thouſand men. With theſe he obtained a victory at Cumnock over a detachment of the Engliſh army, commanded by Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke; and, a few days after, he defeated the Earl of Glouceſter, and compelled him to take ſhelter in the caſtle of Ayr; whither Bruce purſued him, and immediately inveſted that fortreſs.

When the King was informed of theſe events, he was greatly exaſperated, and vowed revenge againſt the whole Scottiſh nation. During the ſitting of the parliament at Carliſle, he had prevailed on the Pope's Legate to denounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt Bruce and his adherents, as enemies to the public repoſe; and he now determined to ſecond theſe ſpiritual thunders by the more effectual influence of a powerful army; and the whole force of the kingdom was ordered to attend him at Carliſle three weeks after Midſummer. But, during this interval, the dyſentery, with which he had been long afflicted, increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he was unable to leave his chamber; and a report of his death was propagated with a degree of confidence that obtained conſiderable credit. In order to diſprove it, he departed from Carliſle on the third of July; but his diſorder had rendered him ſo extremely feeble, that he could only travel three miles the firſt day. After a day's repoſe, he renewed his journey; reached Burgh on the Sands, about five miles from Carliſle, on the fifth of July, and there expired in his tent on the ſeventh, in the year 1307; the ſixty-ninth of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

The perſon of Edward was graceful and majeſtic; his features were comely; and his limbs in general well-proportioned, notwithſtanding the great length and ſmallneſs of his legs, which procured him the appellation of *Long-Shanks*. His courage and military ſkill were objects of univerſal applauſe: he was cool, ſagacious, and circumſpect; he was an able politician, and a wiſe legiſlator. He performed all the domeſtic duties of life with ſcrupulous attention; and was equally diſtinguiſhed for his morality, temperance, and chaſtity: but the luſtre of his virtues was conſiderably tarniſhed by ambition, which chiefly diſplayed itſelf in his unjuſt attacks on the independence of Scotland. This inordinate paſſion not only betrayed him into frequent deviations from veracity, but made him burden his people with ſuperfluous exactions; it often rendered him inattentive to the ſuggeſtions of integrity, and inſpired him with ſentiments of cruelty and revenge. Though the conqueſt of Scotland was certainly a deſirable object, and the advantages of uniting the whole iſland under one ſovereign were evident; yet no motives of policy ſhould be ſuffered to juſtify, or even to palliate, a flagrant violation of the firſt principles of juſtice—principles on which the welfare and happineſs of ſociety depend, and which every monarch, who aſpires to *greatneſs of character*, ſhould hold ſacred and inviolable.

Edward was firſt married to Eleanor of Caſtile, by whom he had four ſons and eleven daughters; John, Henry, and Alphonſo, who died young, long before their father; and Edward, who ſucceeded to the throne: Joan, who died in her infancy; Eleanor, married to the Count of Bar; a third, who died an infant in Paleſtine; Joan of Acres, firſt married to Gilbert Earl of Glouceſter, and afterwards to Ralph de Monthermer; Margaret, wife to John the Second, Duke of Brabant; Berengere and Alice, who died in their infancy; Mary, a nun at Ambreſbury; Elizabeth, married to John Count of Holland, and after his death to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford; and Beatrix and Blanche, who died infants. By his ſecond wife, Margaret of France, Edward had two ſons and one daughter; viz. Thomas, born at Brotherton, in Yorkſhire, created Earl of Norfolk, and afterwards Mareſchal of England; and Edmund, born at Woodſtock, and created Earl of Kent in the reign of his brother Edward; and Eleanor, who died in her infancy.

THE important amendments that were made in the laws in the courſe of this reign have procured to Edward the Firſt the appellation of the Engliſh Juſtinian. Indeed, they attained to ſuch a degree of perfection under his auſpices, that Sir Matthew Hale has not ſcrupled to affirm that more was done in the firſt fifteen years of his reign to ſettle and eſtabliſh the diſtributive juſtice of the kingdom than in all the ſubſequent ages together up to his time.

To enumerate all the particulars of theſe ſalutary regulations would be ſuperfluous; but the moſt important are reduced under the following general heads by the learned Commentator on the Laws of England.

He eſtabliſhed, confirmed, and ſettled, the Great Charter, and Charter of Foreſts. He gave a mortal wound to the encroachments of the Pope and his Clergy, by limiting and eſtabliſhing the bounds of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; and by obliging the ordinary, to whom all the goods of inteſtates at that time belonged, to diſcharge the debts of the deceaſed.

ceaſed. He defined the limits of the ſeveral Temporal Courts of the higheſt juriſdiction—thoſe of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer—ſo as they might not interfere with each other's proper buſineſs. He ſettled the boundaries of the inferior courts in counties, hundreds, and manors; confining them to cauſes of no great amount, agreeable to their primitive inſtitutions, though of conſiderably greater than, by the alteration of the value of money, they are now permitted to determine. He ſecured the property of the ſubject, by the abolition of all arbitrary taxes and talliages levied without conſent of the national council. He guarded the common juſtice of the kingdom from abuſes, by giving up the royal prerogative of ſending mandates to interfere in private cauſes. He ſettled the forms, ſolemnities, and effects, of fines levied in the Court of Common Pleas, though the thing itſelf was of Saxon original. He firſt eſtabliſhed a repoſitory for the public records of the kingdom, few of which are more ancient than the reign of his father; and thoſe were collected by him. He improved upon the laws of King Alfred, by that great and orderly method of watch and ward for the preſervation of the public peace, and the prevention of robberies, eſtabliſhed by the Statute of Wincheſter. He ſettled and reformed many abuſes incident to tenures; and removed ſome reſtraints, as the alienation of landed property by the ſtatute of *Quia Emptores*. He inſtituted a more expeditious way for the recovery of debts, by granting execution, not only on goods and chattels, but alſo upon lands, by writ of *Elegit*, which was of ſignal benefit to a trading people; and, upon the ſame commercial ideas, he alſo allowed the charging of lands, in a Statute-merchant, to pay debts contracted in trade, contrary to all feudal principles. He effectually provided for the recovery of advowſons, as temporal rights; in which before the law was extremely deficient: and he likewiſe effectually cloſed the great gulph in which all the landed property of the kingdom was in danger of being ſwallowed by his reiterated ſtatutes of mortmain; preventing the clergy from making new acquiſitions of lands, which by the eccleſiaſtical canons they were for ever prohibited from alienating. He paſſed, however, a ſtatute of a contrary tendency, which ſerved to increaſe and confirm the dangerous authority of the Barons, by allowing them to entail their eſtates; and thereby rendering the diminution of the property of the great families impracticable. But, on the whole, as Sir William Blackſtone obſerves, the very ſcheme and model of the adminiſtration of common juſtice between party and party was entirely ſettled by Edward the Firſt, and has continued nearly the ſame in all ſucceeding ages to this day; abating ſome few alterations, which the humour or neceſſity of ſubſequent times has occaſioned. The forms of writs, by which actions are commenced, were perfected in his reign, and eſtabliſhed as models for poſterity. The pleadings conſequent upon the writs were then ſhort, nervous, and perſpicuous; not intricate, verboſe, and formal. The legal treatiſes written in his time, as thoſe of Britton, Fleta, Hengham, and the reſt, are for the moſt part laws at this day; or, at leaſt, *were* ſo, till the alteration of tenures took place: and it is from this period, from the exact *obſervation* of *Magna Charta*, rather than from it's *making* or *renewal* in the days of his grandfather and father, that the Liberty of Engliſhmen began to rear it's head.

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exhibited the moſt evident ſymptoms of an idle and vicious diſpoſition; remiſs in every laudable exertion, and only active in the gratification of his paſſions. He had been already baniſhed from court for inſulting the Biſhop of Litchfield; and had received frequent reprimands from his father for his profligacy and extravagance. But neither cenſure nor puniſhment could produce any ſigns of reformation; his exceſſes ſeemed to multiply as his years increaſed: and, as his conduct was ſuppoſed in a great meaſure to be influenced by the evil counſel he received from his vicious aſſociates, his chief friend and favourite, Piers Gaveſton, was baniſhed the kingdom; and, before his departure, both he and the Prince his patron took a ſolemn oath that he never ſhould return without the King's expreſs permiſſion.

During theſe tranſactions, Bruce had been occupied in increaſing the number of his followers; and, about the beginning of April, he deſcended from the mountains with a ſmall force, which by continual augmentation ſoon amounted to ten thouſand men. With theſe he obtained a victory at Cumnock over a detachment of the Engliſh army, commanded by Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke; and, a few days after, he defeated the Earl of Glouceſter, and compelled him to take ſhelter in the caſtle of Ayr; whither Bruce purſued him, and immediately inveſted that fortreſs.

When the King was informed of theſe events, he was greatly exaſperated, and vowed revenge againſt the whole Scottiſh nation. During the ſitting of the parliament at Carliſle, he had prevailed on the Pope's Legate to denounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt Bruce and his adherents, as enemies to the public repoſe; and he now determined to ſecond theſe ſpiritual thunders by the more effectual influence of a powerful army; and the whole force of the kingdom was ordered to attend him at Carliſle three weeks after Midſummer. But, during this interval, the dyſentery, with which he had been long afflicted, increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he was unable to leave his chamber; and a report of his death was propagated with a degree of confidence that obtained conſiderable credit. In order to diſprove it, he departed from Carliſle on the third of July; but his diſorder had rendered him ſo extremely feeble, that he could only travel three miles the firſt day. After a day's repoſe, he renewed his journey; reached Burgh on the Sands, about five miles from Carliſle, on the fifth of July, and there expired in his tent on the ſeventh, in the year 1307; the ſixty-ninth of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

The perſon of Edward was graceful and majeſtic; his features were comely; and his limbs in general well-proportioned, notwithſtanding the great length and ſmallneſs of his legs, which procured him the appellation of *Long-Shanks*. His courage and military ſkill were objects of univerſal applauſe: he was cool, ſagacious, and circumſpect; he was an able politician, and a wiſe legiſlator. He performed all the domeſtic duties of life with ſcrupulous attention; and was equally diſtinguiſhed for his morality, temperance, and chaſtity: but the luſtre of his virtues was conſiderably tarniſhed by ambition, which chiefly diſplayed itſelf in his unjuſt attacks on the independence of Scotland. This inordinate paſſion not only betrayed him into frequent deviations from veracity, but made him burden his people with ſuperfluous exactions; it often rendered him inattentive to the ſuggeſtions of integrity, and inſpired him with ſentiments of cruelty and revenge. Though the conqueſt of Scotland was certainly a deſirable object, and the advantages of uniting the whole iſland under one ſovereign were evident; yet no motives of policy ſhould be ſuffered to juſtify, or even to palliate, a flagrant violation of the firſt principles of juſtice—principles on which the welfare and happineſs of ſociety depend, and which every monarch, who aſpires to *greatneſs of character*, ſhould hold ſacred and inviolable.

Edward was firſt married to Eleanor of Caſtile, by whom he had four ſons and eleven daughters; John, Henry, and Alphonſo, who died young, long before their father; and Edward, who ſucceeded to the throne: Joan, who died in her infancy; Eleanor, married to the Count of Bar; a third, who died an infant in Paleſtine; Joan of Acres, firſt married to Gilbert Earl of Glouceſter, and afterwards to Ralph de Monthermer; Margaret, wife to John the Second, Duke of Brabant; Berengere and Alice, who died in their infancy; Mary, a nun at Ambreſbury; Elizabeth, married to John Count of Holland, and after his death to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford; and Beatrix and Blanche, who died infants. By his ſecond wife, Margaret of France, Edward had two ſons and one daughter; viz. Thomas, born at Brotherton, in Yorkſhire, created Earl of Norfolk, and afterwards Mareſchal of England; and Edmund, born at Woodſtock, and created Earl of Kent in the reign of his brother Edward; and Eleanor, who died in her infancy.

The important amendments that were made in the laws in the courſe of this reign have procured to Edward the Firſt the appellation of the Engliſh Juſtinian. Indeed, they attained to ſuch a degree of perfection under his auſpices, that Sir Matthew Hale has not ſcrupled to affirm that more was done in the firſt fifteen years of his reign to ſettle and eſtabliſh the diſtributive juſtice of the kingdom than in all the ſubſequent ages together up to his time.

To enumerate all the particulars of theſe ſalutary regulations would be ſuperfluous; but the moſt important are reduced under the following general heads by the learned Commentator on the Laws of England.

He eſtabliſhed, confirmed, and ſettled, the Great Charter, and Charter of Foreſts. He gave a mortal wound to the encroachments of the Pope and his Clergy, by limiting and eſtabliſhing the bounds of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; and by obliging the ordinary, to whom all the goods of inteſtates at that time belonged, to diſcharge the debts of the deceaſed.

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anſwerable for the debts, and even for the crimes, of another that came from the ſame country, was ſtill ſuffered to ſubſiſt. The King alſo impoſed on them a duty of two ſhillings on each tun of wine imported, over and above the old duty; and forty-pence on each ſack of wool exported, beſides the former duty of half a mark.

In the year 1303, the Exchequer was robbed, and of no leſs a ſum than one hundred thouſand pounds, as it is pretended. The abbots and monks of Weſtminſter were indicted for this robbery, but acquitted. It does not appear that the King ever diſcovered the criminals with certainty; though his indignation fell on the Society of Lombard Merchants, particularly the Freſcobaldi, who were very opulent Florentines.

The celebrated Roger Bacon, known by the appellation of *Friar Bacon*, a man equally diſtinguiſhed for his genius and erudition, died towards the middle of this reign. This extraordinary character was born near Ilcheſter, in the year 1214; and after purſuing his ſtudies, firſt at Oxford, and then at Paris, ſettled in the former city, where he entered into the Franciſcan order of monks, that he might proſecute his learned labours exempt from interruption.

The following are mentioned by Dr. Friend, in his Hiſtory of Phyſic, as the principal and moſt important diſcoveries of Bacon; viz. The exact length of the Solar Year; and a mode of correcting all the errors in the Calendar: the art of making Reading-glaſſes; the Camera Obſcura; Microſcopes; Teleſcopes; and a variety of other mathematical and aſtronomical inſtruments: the art of making Gunpowder; his diſcovery of the method of making Elixirs, Tinctures, Solutions, and of performing all the chymical operations now in uſe: the nature of the Mechanical Powers, and the beſt mode of applying and combining them in the conſtruction of Machines for performing many uſeful and ſurprizing operations: his Medicinal diſcoveries for the cure of diſeaſes and the prolongation of life. "Theſe," ſays Dr. Friend, "are wonderful diſcoveries for a "man to make, in ſo ignorant an age, who had no "maſter to teach him, but ſtruck it all out of his "own brain! But it is ſtill more wonderful that ſuch "diſcoveries ſhould lie ſo long concealed; till, in "the next ſucceeding centuries, other people ſhould "ſtart up and lay claim to the merit of theſe very "inventions to which Bacon alone had a right!"

Though we cannot but think that the learned author whom we have juſt quoted has been too liberal in aſcribing to Bacon ſome diſcoveries that might be traced to a different ſource, we cordially agree with him in the eulogies he beſtows on the depth of his learning and the fertility of his genius. Unfortunately, Bacon lived in an age unfavourable to extraordinary endowments—an age, in which the exertion of ſingular talents was attended with conſiderable danger. Ignorance, aſtoniſhed at the daring flights of Genius, aſcribed them to ſome preternatural aid. Hence Bacon was by moſt regarded as a magician; and, in conſequence of this, experienced great perſecutions. The malice of the monks of his own order, probably founded on envy, induced them to impede the progreſs of his labours, by putting him under cloſe confinement for ſeveral years. He was delivered from thence, in the year 1266, by Pope Clement the Fourth; but was again impriſoned, in 1278, by Jerome de Eſculo, General of the Franciſcan order. He remained in priſon about twelve years, and was releaſed by Pope Nicholas the Fourth. The latter part of his life was chiefly paſſed in the reviſion and correction of his former works; and he purſued his ſtudies with unremitting aſſiduity till his death, which happened at Oxford, on the eleventh of June, in the year 1292.

The famous John Duns Scotus alſo flouriſhed in this reign; but, though he was a man of profound erudition and conſiderable genius, his ſtudies were directed to ſuch objects as could prove but of little utility to mankind, being chiefly confined to logical ſubtleties and ſcholaſtic theology; in which ſenſe was continually ſacrificed to ſound, and ſubſtance to form.

EDWARD



EDWARD THE SECOND.

THE ſtate of the kingdom at the acceſſion of Edward the Second was ſuch as muſt have excited in the mind of a Prince, intent on laudable purſuits, the moſt pleaſing ſenſations. The firmneſs and abilities of his father had inſpired his enemies with fear, his ſubjects with affection; and had, moreover, given an apparent ſtability to the government, which promiſed tranquillity to his ſucceſſor, and happineſs to the nation. But young Edward ſoon proved himſelf deſtitute of thoſe qualifications which were requiſite to derive advantage from theſe favourable circumſtances.

Having paſſed three weeks at Carliſle in receiving the homage of his Barons and other military tenants of the crown, he began his march to Scotland on the firſt of Auguſt; and, on his arrival at Dumfries, received the oath of fealty from ſuch of the Scottiſh Nobles as choſe to obey the citation he had previouſly iſſued for their attendance. But, far from purſuing the vigorous meaſures adopted by his father for the reduction of Bruce and his adherents, whoſe numbers had by this time become formidable, he advanced no farther than Cumnock, in the ſhire of Ayr; and, having ſtaid there but a few days, appointed Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, Guardian of Scotland; and returned to England himſelf in the beginning of September, after diſbanding a conſiderable part of his army.

The averſion to a military life which Edward had betrayed in the courſe of this expedition, was in itſelf ſufficient to inſpire the martial Barons of that age with a ſovereign contempt for his perſon; and a circumſtance occurred, during his reſidence at Dumfries, that greatly contributed to corroborate the unfavourable opinion which they began to entertain of their new monarch. In violation of the ſolemn oath he had taken, and in contempt of the dying injunctions of his father, he recalled Piers Gavaſton, who had been baniſhed the kingdom towards the concluſion of the late reign. This young man was ſon of a Gaſcon Knight of ſome diſtinction, who ſignalized his valour in the ſervice of Edward the Firſt, and by that means had obtained an eſtabliſhment for his ſon in the houſhold of the Prince of Wales. He there ſoon inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of his maſter, by the diſplay of thoſe agreeable accompliſhments which he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree; for he was equally celebrated for beauty and elegance of perſon, for his addreſs in all martial and faſhionable exerciſes, and for thoſe quick ſallies of wit ſo peculiar to his countrymen. The dangerous aſcendancy he had by this means obtained over the mind of the Prince, and the flagrant abuſe he made of it, had induced the King to ſend him into exile: but Edward had no ſooner acceded to the throne than he determined to recall his favourite; and, even before his arrival at court, endowed him with the whole earldom of Arundel, which had eſcheated to the crown by the death of Edmond, ſon of Richard, King of the Romans. And, as if theſe extenſive poſſeſſions, which had been deemed an adequate appendage to a Prince of the blood, were not ſufficient to evince the warmth of his friendſhip, he continually loaded him with new honours and riches: he gave him his own niece Margaret, ſiſter to Gilbert Earl of Glouceſter, in marriage; and ſeemed to enjoy no ſatisfaction in the exerciſe of regal authority but as it enabled him to confer the moſt extravagant marks of his favour on this object of his affections. Actuated by the counſels of this foreign favourite, he diſplaced all his principal miniſters: the Chancellor, Treaſurer, Judges, and Barons of the Exchequer, were removed, and their offices beſtowed on the creatures of Gavaſton. Langton, Biſhop of Litchfield, was committed to priſon; and the

the temporalities of his ſee were ſequeſtered, until his conduct and management of the treaſury during the late reign could be fully inveſtigated: while Gavaſton himſelf, being appointed Great Chamberlain and Secretary of State, governed the whole kingdom as Prime Miniſter.

The King having determined to take a journey to France, to eſpouſe the Princeſs Iſabella, to whom he had long been affianced, though unexpected accidents had retarded the completion of the marriage, he appointed Gavaſton Guardian of the realm, with power to grant *congés d'elire* for Miniſters of cathedral and conventual churches; to receive the oaths from Prelates at their election; to reſtore temporalities; to diſpoſe of prebendaries and benefices that were in the gift of the crown; and to beſtow ſuch wardſhips as might chance to fall during the King's reſidence on the continent. Regardleſs of the murmurs excited by this imprudent mark of attachment to a foreigner, Edward croſſed the ſea to Boulogne in the month of January, in the year 1308; where he did homage to the King of France for the dutchy of Guienne; and the next day his nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. Having feaſted ſome days with the Kings of France, Navarre, and Sicily, who aſſiſted at his marriage, he returned to England, on the ſeventh of February, with his conſort, and a ſplendid train of French Nobility; and their coronation was performed in Weſtminſter Abbey, on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, by the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Saliſbury, and Chicheſter, commiſſioned by Winchelſey the Primate, whoſe ſuſpenſion had been removed by the Pope at the interceſſion of Edward; though he was prevented by ſickneſs from aſſiſting at this ſolemnity.

The profuſion of royal favour conferred on Gavaſton was ſufficient to have excited envy even againſt a perſon whoſe virtues and humility might have juſtified a monarch's attachment. It may eaſily be conceived, then, to what a degree the indignation of the Engliſh Barons was raiſed, when they found it beſtowed on a minion who was vain, inſolent, and oſtentatious! Inſtead of ſeeking to avert reſentment by the modeſty and moderation of his conduct, Gavaſton was eager to diſplay his power and influence, and took a ſingular pleaſure in mortifying his rivals on all occaſions. At all tournaments he delighted in foiling the Engliſh Nobility by his ſuperior addreſs; in every converſation he made them the object of his wit and raillery; and, by this ridiculous mode of proceeding, he daily increaſed the number of his enemies, and haſtened the period of his own deſtruction.

Though Edward's new conſort was poſſeſſed of every perſonal attraction that youth and beauty could beſtow, yet his extreme fondneſs for his favourite ſuperſeded his affection for her. Immediately after their return from the continent, he beſtowed on Gavaſton all the rich preſents, to a conſiderable amount, which he had received from the King of France at his marriage: he alſo allowed him to plunder the Treaſury of one hundred thouſand pounds, beſides jewels, that had been left by the late King; and he appointed him to carry the crown at the coronation, where he far outſhone the Engliſh Nobility, and even the King himſelf, in the ſplendour and richneſs of his dreſs. The reſentment of the Barons was now inflamed to the greateſt height; and the Queen, who was of an imperious and intriguing ſpirit, finding herſelf diſappointed in her expectations of governing her huſband, which ſhe had founded on the known imbecility of his mind, contracted a mortal hatred againſt the perſon who defeated her hopes. She was well pleaſed, therefore, to ſee a combination of the Nobility forming againſt Gavaſton; who, aware of her ſentiments, inſtead of ſeeking to appeaſe her by ſubmiſſion, had wantonly provoked her by new inſults and injuries.

Thomas, Earl of Lancaſter, couſin-german to to the King; and firſt Prince of the blood, was by far the moſt opulent and powerful ſubject in England; and poſſeſſed in his own right, and ſoon after in that of his wife, heireſs of the family of Lincoln, no leſs than ſix earldoms, with a proportionable eſtate in land, attended with all the juriſdictions and powers which in that age were commonly annexed to landed property. This Nobleman was naturally turbulent and factious: his enmity againſt the favourite, whoſe influence over the King exceeded his own, was unbounded; and he ſoon became the head of that party among the Barons who deſired the depreſſion of this inſolent ſtranger. The confederated Nobles aſſembled in the refectory of Weſtminſter Abbey a few days after the coronation, and petitioned the King to expel Gavaſton from his dominions; but Edward deferred his anſwer till the next meeting of parliament. The Barons, being ſenſible that force alone could prevail upon the King to grant a petition which tended to thwart his inclinations ſo materially, employed the interval in ſtrengthening their party, and arming their followers. They had ſeveral meetings at Ware, Northampton, and other places; in which they bound themſelves by oath to ſupport one another in carrying their favourite point, by procuring the baniſhment of Gavaſton.

The parliament being aſſembled at Weſtminſter on the twenty-eighth of April, Lancaſter and his party came thither with an armed retinue, which enabled them to impoſe their own terms on their defenceleſs Sovereign. Their demands, however, were more moderate than might have been expected, as they only inſiſted on the baniſhment of Gavaſton for life; exacted from him an oath never to return to England; and engaged the Biſhop to pronounce him excommunicated, if he remained any longer in the kingdom. But they forbore to require the confiſcation of his eſtates, or to demand an account of the immenſe ſums belonging to the public which he had appropriated to his own uſe. Edward was obliged to ſubmit; but, even in his compliance, gave additional proofs of his unſhaken attachment to his favourite. Inſtead of removing every ſubject of complaint, by ſending him to his own country, as was expected, he appointed him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; attended him to Briſtol

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Edward bore the abſence of his favourite with the utmoſt impatience; and reſolved, if poſſible, to procure his recall. With this view he exerted all his induſtry in gaining over a majority of the Barons to his intereſt, and ſpared neither favours nor conceſſions for that purpoſe. The high office of Hereditary Steward was conferred on Lancaſter; his father-in-law, the Earl of Lincoln, was bought off by other grants; and Earl Warrenne was likewiſe mollified by ſimilar means. When the way was thus paved for his return, Edward prevailed on the Pope to grant Gavaſton a diſpenſation from that oath which the Barons had compelled him to take, that he would for ever abſent himſelf from England. The recall was then iſſued; and the infatuated Prince flew with the impatient ardour of a youthful bridegroom to meet his favourite at Cheſter, where he arrived about the end of June, in the year 1309. The tranſports he evinced at their meeting were ſuch as the fondeſt lover would have experienced at the firſt interview with the miſtreſs of his heart, after a tedious abſence. He conveyed him to Langley, in Hertfordſhire, where he enjoyed his ſociety for ſome time, free from interruption; and the Barons were prevailed on, at the next meeting of parliament, which aſſembled on the twenty-ſixth of July, to grant a formal conſent for the re-eſtabliſhment of Gavaſton, and for his remaining in England, exempt from moleſtation.

Had the King and his favourite been capable of deriving wiſdom from experience, they would have been careful, by prudence and moderation, to preſerve the tranquillity they were now allowed to enjoy: but the inſolence of Gavaſton, whom no leſſon of Adverſity could improve, was rather increaſed than diminiſhed by the diſgrace he had ſo lately experienced. His former life of diſſipation and prodigality was renewed; and, with the view to ſecure a ſtrong party in his favour, he prevailed on the King to deprive a great number of people of their places, and to beſtow them on his own adherents. This imprudent conduct revived the animoſity of the whole nation: the Nobles were incenſed at his preſumption; and the Earl of Lancaſter, in particular, vowed revenge againſt him for ſome private injury which he had ſuſtained at his hands. Their murmurs of diſcontent, however, ſeem to have inſpired him with no kind of apprehenſion; on the contrary, he expreſſed the utmoſt contempt for their reſentment. The firſt Noblemen in the kingdom became the ſubject of his ſarcaſms and ridicule; and, though an object of univerſal deteſtation, he thought himſelf ſecure in the ſmiles of his ſovereign, and ſet the machinations of his enemies at defiance.

The King, in order to avert the ſtorm which he ſaw gathering over the head of his favourite, made a progreſs into the North; and ſummoned a parliament to meet at York, on the eighteenth of October, in the year 1309, in which Gavaſton took his ſeat as Earl of Cornwall. But the Barons, taking this opportunity to expreſs their diſpleaſure, refuſed to attend it; ſo that no buſineſs was tranſacted, and the meeting was adjourned to the thirteenth of February in the following year: but, the cauſe for complaint ſtill ſubſiſting, the Barons again refuſed to attend; ſo that the King, whoſe neceſſities required an immediate ſupply, deſired his favourite to abſent himſelf for a time, and iſſued a third ſummons for the parliament to meet during Lent. It accordingly met at Weſtminſter; and the Barons attended: but, in open defiance of the laws, and in contempt of the King's prohibition, they came accompanied by a numerous retinue of armed followers, with a full determination of effecting a total change in the conſtitution and civil government of the kingdom. Finding themſelves entire maſters both of the King and parliament, they preſented a petition, which under thoſe circumſtances was equivalent to a command, requiring Edward to inveſt twelve of their own number, under the title of *Ordainers*, with ſovereign and deſpotic authority. The King was compelled to accede to their requeſt; and, on the ſixteenth of March, ſigned a commiſſion, empowering the Prelates and Barons to elect twelve perſons, who ſhould, till the term of Michaelmas in the year following, have authority to enact ordinances, not only for the government of the kingdom, but even for the regulation of the King's houſhold; conſenting that theſe ordinances ſhould thenceforth, and for ever, have the force of laws, allowing the Ordainers to form aſſociations among themſelves and their friends for their ſtrict and regular obſervance. This ariſtocratical junto, having thus erected an *imperium in imperio*, by a total ſubverſion of the conſtitution, had the inſolence to advance that they had done it for the greater glory of God, the ſecurity of the Church, and the honour and advantage of the King and kingdom. The Barons, indeed, in return, ſigned a declaration, in which they confeſſed that they owed theſe conceſſions merely to the favour of the King; promiſed that this commiſſion ſhould never be quoted as a precedent on any future emergency; and engaged that the power they delegated to the Ordainers ſhould expire at the appointed time.

In thoſe ages, when the government was ſubject to ſuch continual revolutions, the ſituation of the people muſt have been truly deplorable: for, whenever the Monarch ſought to infringe on their rights by an undue exerciſe of his prerogative, the haughty and imperious Barons, under pretence of reformation, ſeldom failed to make encroachments more dangerous to the conſtitution, and more fatal to the intereſts and happineſs of ſociety. Had a Sovereign, endued with wiſdom, prudence, and penetration, been anxious to eſtabliſh a deſpotic and unlimited authority, he might eaſily have accom-

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The King, in order to avert the ſtorm which he ſaw gathering over the head of his favourite, made a progreſs into the North; and ſummoned a parliament to meet at York, on the eighteenth of October, in the year 1309, in which Gavaſton took his ſeat as Earl of Cornwall. But the Barons, taking this opportunity to expreſs their diſpleaſure, refuſed to attend it; ſo that no buſineſs was tranſacted, and the meeting was adjourned to the thirteenth of February in the following year: but, the cauſe for complaint ſtill ſubſiſting, the Barons again refuſed to attend; ſo that the King, whoſe neceſſities required an immediate ſupply, deſired his favourite to abſent himſelf for a time, and iſſued a third ſummons for the parliament to meet during Lent. It accordingly met at Weſtminſter; and the Barons attended: but, in open defiance of the laws, and in contempt of the King's prohibition, they came accompanied by a numerous retinue of armed followers, with a full determination of effecting a total change in the conſtitution and civil government of the kingdom. Finding themſelves entire maſters both of the King and parliament, they preſented a petition, which under thoſe circumſtances was equivalent to a command, requiring Edward to inveſt twelve of their own number, under the title of *Ordainers*, with ſovereign and deſpotic authority. The King was compelled to accede to their requeſt; and, on the ſixteenth of March, ſigned a commiſſion, empowering the Prelates and Barons to elect twelve perſons, who ſhould, till the term of Michaelmas in the year following, have authority to enact ordinances, not only for the government of the kingdom, but even for the regulation of the King's houſhold; conſenting that theſe ordinances ſhould thenceforth, and for ever, have the force of laws, allowing the Ordainers to form aſſociations among themſelves and their friends for their ſtrict and regular obſervance. This ariſtocratical junto, having thus erected an *imperium in imperio*, by a total ſubverſion of the conſtitution, had the inſolence to advance that they had done it for the greater glory of God, the ſecurity of the Church, and the honour and advantage of the King and kingdom. The Barons, indeed, in return, ſigned a declaration, in which they confeſſed that they owed theſe conceſſions merely to the favour of the King; promiſed that this commiſſion ſhould never be quoted as a precedent on any future emergency; and engaged that the power they delegated to the Ordainers ſhould expire at the appointed time.

In thoſe ages, when the government was ſubject to ſuch continual revolutions, the ſituation of the people muſt have been truly deplorable: for, whenever the Monarch ſought to infringe on their rights by an undue exerciſe of his prerogative, the haughty and imperious Barons, under pretence of reformation, ſeldom failed to make encroachments more dangerous to the conſtitution, and more fatal to the intereſts and happineſs of ſociety. Had a Sovereign, endued with wiſdom, prudence, and penetration, been anxious to eſtabliſh a deſpotic and unlimited authority, he might eaſily have accom-

pliſhed his purpoſe, by leaguing with the people againſt their ariſtocratical tyrants, who were always odious from continued oppreſſion; and on the ruins of their power he might have raiſed his own on a ſolid foundation.

As ſoon as Edward had ſigned the deed by which he delegated his authority to the Ordainers, he determined to march an army into Scotland, and attempt to compleat the ſcheme which had been ſo ſtrenuouſly recommended to him by his father in his laſt moments. If, immediately on his acceſſion to the throne, he had proſecuted the war with vigour, there is little doubt but he muſt ſpeedily have compleated the conqueſt of the country. Every fortreſs of importance was already in his poſſeſſion; a conſiderable majority of the Nobility and people had ſubmitted to the Engliſh government; the powerful family of the Cummins, with ſome others, had cordially embraced his intereſt; and a long and dangerous malady with which Robert Bruce, the new King of Scots, was ſeized about this time, would have greatly facilitated the ſucceſs of the enterprize. But Edward, by his haſty return into England, and his ſubſequent imprudence, ſuffered an opportunity to eſcape which no exertions could afterwards recover: for Bruce had no ſooner recovered his health than he applied himſelf, with great ſpirit and aſſiduity, to improve the advantage which the folly of Edward, and the diſtractions that prevailed in the Engliſh government, afforded him; and, by the adoption of prudent and vigorous meaſures, in the ſpace of three years he reduced all Scotland, except a few fortreſſes, under his obedience.

The King, at length, ſummoned all the military vaſſals of the crown to meet him at Berwick, with their followers, on the eighth of September, in the year 1310. The citation, however, was but ill obeyed, as ſeveral of the confederate Barons remained in London to attend the twelve Ordainers, who were employed in preparing their ordinances for the reformation of the government. Edward, notwithſtanding, collected a numerous army, with which he marched into Scotland; and Bruce, from inability to oppoſe him, declined an engagement; and, retiring to the north, he advanced as far as Linlithgow, without experiencing the ſmalleſt oppoſition; but a ſcarcity of proviſions ſoon compelled him to return with his army to Berwick, where he paſſed the winter with his favourite, who had lately quitted his retreat.

In the ſpring of the following year, the command of the army that was deſtined for the conqueſt of Scotland was entruſted to Gavaſton, in the hope that he might perform ſome brilliant action that would diminiſh the general odium his paſt conduct had incurred. He accordingly entered Scotland in the month of March, and made a conſiderable progreſs in the country; but, not being able to bring the Scots to an engagement, he was under the neceſſity of returning without having accompliſhed the purpoſe for which he was ſent.

By this time the twelve Ordainers had prepared their ordinances; and, parliament meeting on the eighth of Auguſt, they were ſubmitted to the judgment of the King and his Nobles, or rather preſented to them for their confirmation. It will eaſily be ſuppoſed that the Ordainers were endowed with ſufficient ſagacity not to endanger the exiſtence of their uſurped authority, by rendering the firſt regulations they adopted arbitrary and unpopular: ſome of the ordinances were, therefore, highly commendable, and tended to enforce the regular adminiſtration of juſtice. Of this deſcription were thoſe which required Sheriffs to be men of property; aboliſhed the practice of iſſuing privy-ſeals for the ſuſpenſion of juſtice; rendered it felony for any perſon to take corn, goods, or merchandize, under a falſe pretence of purveyance for the King; prohibited the adulteration and alteration of the coin; excluded foreigners from farming the revenue; ordered all payments to be regularly made into the Exchequer; revoked all thoſe grants of the crown which had been made ſince the month of March in the preceding year; and gave the parties damages in caſe of vexatious proſecutions. It was likewiſe ordained, that all evil counſellors ſhould be removed from about the King's perſon; and that Piers Gavaſton ſhould be for ever baniſhed the King's dominions, for having abuſed the confidence of his Sovereign; embezzled his treaſure; impoveriſhed the realm by obtaining exorbitant grants and blank charters; protected robbers; arrogated to himſelf the royal dignity; and formed unlawful aſſociations, in defiance of juſtice: and, if he refuſed to comply with this ordinance, he was to be conſidered as a public enemy. If we except the two laſt, which ſeem rather to have been dictated by private reſentment than by a concern for the public welfare, theſe ordinances breathe a ſpirit of moderation that might have impoſed on the people, and enſured permanency to the unconſtitutional power that gave birth to them: but the Ordainers were far from being actuated by motives of patriotiſm; intereſt and authority were the chief objects they had in view; and, therefore, in conſequence of the ordinance that effected the removal of evil counſellors, almoſt every friend of the King who enjoyed any poſt of honour or emolument was diſmiſſed, and all the vacant offices were filled with the adherents of the faction. And it was farther ordained, that for the future all places of dignity or eminence in the houſhold, as well as in the law, revenue, and military departments, ſhould be appointed by the *Baronage* in parliament; and the power of making war, or aſſembling his military tenants, ſhould no longer be veſted ſolely in the King, nor exerciſed without the previous conſent of his Nobles.

Edward, finding all oppoſition would be vain, was compelled to ſign theſe ordinances, which deprived him of the ſovereign authority. The Lords and Commons ſwore to obſerve them; and copies of them, under the great-ſeal, were tranſmitted to the Sheriffs of the different counties. The King, however, entered a *ſecret* protest againſt them; in which he declared, that ſince the commiſſion had been granted only for the purpoſe of enabling the Ordainers

Ordainers to adopt ſuch regulations as would be equally beneficial to the King and to the kingdom, ſuch articles as ſhould be found prejudicial to both were to be conſidered as not ratified and confirmed.

In conſequence of the reſolution implied in this proteſt, he had no ſooner removed to York, and had freed himſelf from the immediate terror excited by the power of the Barons, than he ſent over a meſſenger to Flanders, whither Gavaſton had retired, and earneſtly preſſed him to return. Having declared his baniſhment to be illegal, contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom, he openly reinſtated him in his former credit and authority.

The Barons, alarmed at a ſtep which they conſidered as a declaration of war, and provoked at the diſappointment they had experienced in their attempt to monopolize the government, excited an univerſal clamour throughout the kingdom. They inveighed with acrimony againſt the preſumption and arrogance of the favourite; retorted on the King the accuſation of having violated the laws and cuſtoms of the realm; and charged him, in particular, with contempt of the late ordinances, which were zealouſly eſpouſed by the people. In order to remove theſe impreſſions, Edward publiſhed a proclamation; in which he aſſured his ſubjects of his firm reſolution to obſerve the laws, and to enforce all the late ordinances, except ſuch as tended to annihilate his prerogative, and ſubvert the fundamental principles of the conſtitution. To convince them of the ſincerity of his declarations, he empowered the Biſhop of Norwich, and others, to treat with the Ordainers about the correction of thoſe articles which were injurious to the rights of the crown, and contrary to the nature of that commiſſion by virtue of which they had been enacted. But the confederated Nobles refuſed to enter into any explanation upon the ſubject in the abſence of the King; yet they profeſſed a willingneſs to treat with him in perſon, and afford him any reaſonable ſatisfaction he might demand: but this ſpecious diſplay of moderation but ill became a faction who had reſolved to reduce the Sovereign to a cypher, and eſtabliſh their own authority on the ruins of the conſtitution.

It cannot be diſputed that in framing the ordinances they had greatly exceeded their commiſſion; and the conſent of the King, extorted by force or by fear, could not ſanction meaſures in themſelves illegal. Though they had deprived the King of the diſpoſal of all the great offices of the crown, yet even by the ordinances themſelves he was permitted to fill up the vacancies till the meeting of parliament; and, by virtue of this power, he beſtowed the poſt of Treaſurer, during that interval, upon Walter, Biſhop of Litchfield. This Prelate Edward had formerly perſecuted; but, his innocence having been eſtabliſhed by a minute examination into his conduct, he received him into favour. While Walter was a priſoner, the factious Barons had earneſtly entreated the King to releaſe him from confinement; but, now that the King had reſtored him to his former office, they took umbrage at his promotion. A number of them entered the Exchequer, where the Biſhop was ſitting for the diſpatch of buſineſs, and aſked him whether he had taken an oath to obſerve the late regulations. When he replied in the affirmative. they forbade him to act as Treaſurer, under the penalty of being conſidered and treated as an enemy to the kingdom; and after laying injunctions, with the ſame penalty for contempt of them, on the Chamberlain to iſſue no money from the Exchequer to any perſon whatever, they withdrew.

The confederacy by this time had become extremely formidable. The turbulent Earl of Lancaſter was at the head of it; Guy, Earl of Warwick, a man of a violent and paſſionate temper, joined it with his followers; Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, the Conſtable, and Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, brought to it a great acceſſion of power and intereſt: even Earl Warrenne deſerted the royal cauſe, which he had hitherto ſupported, and was perſuaded to embrace the cauſe of the confederates; and as Robert de Winchelſey, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, profeſſed himſelf of the ſame party, he determined the body of the Clergy, and conſequently the people, to declare againſt the King and his favourite. The power of the Nobles was at this period ſo exorbitant, and their influence of courſe ſo extenſive, that the combination of a few of them was at any time capable of ſhaking the throne; and this general concurrence of them became irreſiſtible.

An army raiſed by the Earl of Lancaſter advanced to York, where Edward and Gavaſton reſided; who, hearing of their approach, retired to Newcaſtle: but, Lancaſter ſtill purſuing them, Edward eſcaped to Tinmouth, where he embarked, and ſailed to Scarborough. Having left his favourite in the caſtle of that place, which was deemed impregnable, and with a proper ſupply of proviſions might probably have juſtified the opinion, he returned to York, in hopes of raiſing an army which might enable him to oppoſe the progreſs of his enemies. Lancaſter, apprized of the motions of Edward, detached the Earls of Pembroke and Surrey, and Henry de Percy, to Scarborough, with a ſufficient force to beſiege the fortreſs; and he poſted himſelf on the road between York and Newcaſtle, in order to prevent all communication between the King and Gavaſton. Edward, alarmed for the ſafety of his favourite, and unable to ſend him effectual relief, reſolved to try his authority; and accordingly ſent a royal mandate to the beſiegers, commanding them to deſiſt from their enterprize. This order experienced ſuch a reception as might naturally have been expected, and the ſiege was puſhed with vigour; till Gavaſton, finding the caſtle deſtitute of proviſions, and the garriſon too feeble for an obſtinate defence, capitulated on the nineteenth of May, and ſurrendered himſelf priſoner. He ſtipulated, that he ſhould remain in the cuſtody of Pembroke till the firſt of Auguſt enſuing; that, in the interim, exertions for a general accommodation ſhould be mutually employed; that, if the terms propoſed by the Barons ſhould be rejected, the caſtle

caſtle of Scarborough ſhould be reſtored to him in the ſame condition as when he ſurrendered it; and that the Earl of Pembroke and Henry de Percy ſhould, by contract, pledge all their lands for the ſtrict obſervance of theſe conditions.

Pembroke, having thus obtained poſſeſſion of Gavaſton, conducted him to the caſtle of Deddington, near Banbury, in Oxfordſhire; where, on pretence of paying a viſit to his wife, who reſided in the neighbourhood, he left him under the protection of a feeble guard. On the ſeventeenth of June, the fortreſs was inveſted by the Earl of Warwick with a conſiderable body of forces; and, the garriſon refuſing to make any reſiſtance, which gives great reaſon to ſuppoſe that their maſter was in league with Warwick, Gavaſton was ſurrendered into the hands of that Nobleman, his moſt furious and inveterate enemy, and by him conveyed to the caſtle of Warwick. The Earls of Lancaſter, Hereford, and Arundel, the chiefs of the confederacy, immediately repaired thither; and, in contempt of the laws, and of the military capitulation, condemned him, without any formal trial, to die the death of a traitor. Accordingly, on the firſt of July, theſe noble aſſaſſins, attended by their followers, conducted the obnoxious favourite to Blacklow Hill, near Warwick, where his head was ſevered from his body by the hands of the executioner; while the Barons diſplayed thoſe marks of barbarous triumph characteriſtic of the ſavage ferociouſneſs of the feudal tyrants!

The King, who had retired northward to Berwick, when informed of Gavaſton's murder, betrayed a violence of reſentment proportioned to the affection which he had ever evinced for his favourite: his grief was loud and impetuous; and the only conſolation he experienced was derived from the hopes of revenge. He immediately haſtened to London; and applied himſelf with unuſual ſpirit to collect an army, and to raiſe the neceſſary ſums for defraying the expences of an obſtinate conteſt: but he was not poſſeſſed of ſufficient authority to enſure ſucceſs to his endeavours; and, having received intelligence that the confederated Barons were advancing by haſty marches to the metropolis, at the head of an army more powerful and numerous than his own, the ardour of revenge became ſuddenly damped, and he appeared diſpoſed to liſten to conciliatory terms.

The Count of Evreux, the Queen's uncle; Cardinal Arnaud, the Pope's nuncio; and the Earls of Glouceſter and Richmond, offering themſelves as mediators at this favourable conjuncture, a treaty was ſet on foot between the King and the Barons. During the negotiation, the Queen was delivered of her eldeſt ſon, Prince Edward, at Windſor, on the thirteenth of November; and Edward, whoſe weak mind was not ſuſceptible of laſting impreſſions, appears to have experienced ſuch joy on this occaſion, that he forgot his murdered favourite, and expreſſed his willingneſs to accede to any reaſonable terms which his Nobles might think proper to impoſe. In conſequence of this diſpoſition, a pacification was concluded on the thirtieth of December, in the year 1312, on the following conditions, viz. That the Barons ſhould appear before the King, in Weſtminſter Hall, and aſk his pardon on their knees; that they ſhould reſtore all the effects of Gavaſton which they had ſeized at Newcaſtle; and that, in the next parliament, a full and public pardon ſhould be granted to the confederated Nobles, and their adherents, for the murder of the favourite, and for all other crimes and miſdemeanors.

The King, however, appeared unwilling to fulfil the conditions he had engaged to obſerve. The armies, indeed, were diſbanded, and tranquillity apparently reſtored; but he retarded the meeting of parliament, and conſequently deferred the pardon he had promiſed to grant: while the Barons, on their ſide, jealous of his deſigns, kept aloof from court, and remained in a poſture of defence.

In this interval, Edward, having appointed his nephew, the Earl of Glouceſter, Guardian of the realm, embarked at Dover for France, on the twenty-third of May, with his Queen, and a ſplendid retinue, to attend at the coronation of his brother-in-law Lewis, King of Navarre, which was performed at Paris on the third of the following month.

During his ſtay on the continent, he ſent over a commiſſion to the Biſhops of Bath and Worceſter, and the Earls of Glouceſter and Richmond, to hold a parliament; which was ſummoned to meet, at Weſtminſter, on the eighth of July. But the King's abſence prevented the tranſaction of buſineſs; and the Barons, becoming impatient at his neglect to fulfil the conditions of the treaty, vented their diſcontent in murmurs, and threatened to have recourſe to arms: but Edward arriving ſoon after, and being made ſenſible of the danger of trifling any longer with men whoſe minds were ſo turbulent, and whoſe power was ſo formidable, ſummoned a parliament to meet on the twenty-third of September; when he complied with the terms of the pacification. The Barons came into Weſtminſter Hall, and on their knees implored his pardon; which the King ſoon after publiſhed, and which extended to themſelves and all their adherents: but, on the ſeventeenth of October, particular pardons paſſed the great-ſeal to the Earls of Lancaſter, Hereford, and Warwick, and about five hundred knights and gentlemen of their party, whoſe names were mentioned. As a proof that their reconciliation was ſincere, the Barons and Knights of ſhires granted the King a twentieth, and the citizens and burgeſſes a fifteenth, of their moveables, to enable him to proſecute with vigour the war againſt Scotland.

Robert Bruce having, as we have before obſerved, reduced the greateſt part of Scotland to obedience, was generally acknowledged by the Scots as their lawful Sovereign. At this period, all the fortreſſes of the kingdom were in his poſſeſſion, except the caſtles of Stirling, Dunbar, and Berwick; and the diſtracted ſtate of the Engliſh government for ſome time paſt had encouraged him to make incurſions into the northern provinces of England, from whence he generally returned laden

laden with ſpoils. Edward, freed from that oppoſition which had hitherto clogged the wheels of government, determined to revenge theſe inſults; and, by the adoption of vigorous meaſures, to make amends for his former inactivity, and attempt a conqueſt which his father had ſo ſtrenuouſly urged him to compleat. For this purpoſe he aſſembled forces from all quarters, with the view of finiſhing, at one blow, ſo important an enterprize. He ſummoned the moſt warlike of his vaſſals: he enliſted troops from Flanders, and from other parts of the continent; he invited over a great number of the Wild Iriſh, who, allured by the proſpect of booty, willingly accepted his invitation; to theſe he joined a body of Welſh, who were actuated by ſimilar motives; and he ſummoned all the military force of England to meet him, at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, three weeks after Eaſter. The Earls of Lancaſter, Arundel, Surrey, and Warwick, refuſed to obey the citation; and only ſent their vaſſals, on pretence of being afraid to entruſt their perſons in the power of the King: but, in general, the ſummons was ſo well obeyed, that Edward found himſelf at the head of a formidable army, well provided with arms and proviſions.

The caſtle of Stirling had long been beſieged by Edward, brother to Robert Bruce; and Philip Mowbray, the Governor, after an obſtinate defence, was at laſt obliged to capitulate, and to promiſe, that if before a certain day, which was near at hand, he was not relieved, he would ſurrender the fortreſs to the enemy. Bruce, therefore, ſenſible that this was the ground on which he muſt expect the Engliſh, choſe the field of battle with all the ſkill and prudence of an experienced general, and made every neceſſary preparation to receive them. He poſted himſelf at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling, where he had a hill on his right, and a moraſs on his left; and, beſides theſe ſalutary precautions to prevent his being ſurrounded by the Engliſh, whoſe numbers are ſaid to have been greatly ſuperior, he thought it neceſſary to provide againſt the danger of the enemy's cavalry, which conſiderably exceeded his own. Having a rivulet in front, he commanded deep pits to be dug along it's banks, and ſharp-pointed ſtakes to be planted in them; and he ordered the whole to be carefully covered with turf and buſhes. The Engliſh army, having quitted Berwick on the eighteenth of June, arrived in ſight of the Scottiſh camp on the twenty-fourth in the evening. A bloody conflict immediately enſued between two bodies of cavalry; where Bruce, who commanded the Scots, ſignalized his ſtrength, courage, and dexterity, by engaging in ſingle combat with Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, whom he cleaved to the chin at one ſtroke of his battle-ax, in ſight of the two armies. The Engliſh horſe, diſmayed by this action, which inſpired the Scots with freſh vigour, fled with precipitation to their main body.

Early in the morning of the twenty-fifth of June, in the year 1314, both armies were drawn up in order of battle. The Earl of Glouceſter, who had the command of the Engliſh cavalry, impelled by the ardour of youth, and diſputing the poſt of honour with the Earl of Hereford, advanced to the attack with too great impetuoſity, when he fell among the covered pits which had been prepared by Bruce, was thrown from his horſe, and killed. This diſaſter threw the cavalry into confuſion; and Sir James Douglas, who led the van of the Scottiſh army, attacking them with great fury at the ſame inſtant, compleated their diſorder, and drove them off the field. The infantry were alarmed at this ſudden defeat of the horſe; and they obſerved, at the ſame time, on the heights to their left, a body of troops, which appeared to be advancing, ſlowly and in good order, with the deſign to ſurround them, and cut off their retreat. This was a number of waggoners and ſumpter-boys, whom Bruce had collected and furniſhed with ſtandards, in order to attract the attention of the enemy. The ſtratagem was attended with ſucceſs; the Engliſh were ſeized with a panic, threw down their arms, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation, without even attempting to reſiſt. In the midſt of the confuſion inevitably attendant on ſuch a ſcene, Edward, far from diſcovering any want of perſonal courage, was with difficulty perſuaded to quit the field of battle, and ſave himſelf by flight. The loſs of the Engliſh on this occaſion is variouſly repreſented; but when we conſider that the action happened at the diſtance of more than eighty miles from any place of ſafety, and that the enemy had not been harraſſed by the fatigue of an obſtinate reſiſtance, we may reaſonably conclude it was great.

The King had eſcaped to Berwick, where he remained about three weeks; and then proceeded to York, to hold a parliament which he had ſummoned to meet at that place on the fifteenth of Auguſt. During this time, Bruce, purſuing the advantage he had gained by the deciſive battle of Bannockburn, entered England, and ravaged all the northern counties without oppoſition. He laid ſiege to Carliſle; but the courage of Sir Andrew Harcla, the Governor, rendered his efforts to reduce it ineffectual: he was more ſucceſsful, however, at Berwick, which he took by aſſault. Nor was the invaſion of the Scots the only inconvenience that England experienced at this time: a dreadful famine carried off numbers of the inhabitants; and the factious Nobles, inſtead of attempting to relieve their country from theſe complicated miſeries, triumphed in it's diſtreſs, which afforded them an opportunity of accompliſhing their own ambitious projects.

Lancaſter, and the Barons of his party, who had refuſed to attend the King in his expedition to Scotland, no ſooner ſaw him return with diſgrace, than they inſiſted on the renewal of their ordinances, which they ſtill maintained to be valid; and Edward's unfortunate ſituation obliged him to comply with their demands. All the miniſters were diſmiſſed from their places; the creatures of Lancaſter were appointed to ſucceed them; and that nobleman was placed at the head of the council. It was declared, that all the offices of ſtate ſhould be filled by the votes of parliament, or rather by the will of

the great Barons; and the nation, under this new government, endeavoured to put itſelf in a better poſture of defence againſt the Scots: but, as the turbulent Nobles had derived their principal ſtrength and influence from the diſtreſſes of the crown, they were by no means deſirous of checking the progreſs of an enemy whoſe incurſions tended to increaſe them. Lancaſter himſelf was juſtly ſuſpected of maintaining a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy; and, as he was now entruſted with the command of the army, he was careful to render every enterprize unſucceſsful.

The Scots were ſo much elated by the advantages they had recently obtained, that, no longer content with the peaceable poſſeſſion of their own territories, they began to cheriſh the moſt abſurd hopes of extending their conqueſts. The Iriſh had long borne the Engliſh yoke with impatience; and, thinking the preſent opportunity favourable to effect their emancipation, they ſent an invitation to Edward Bruce to come over to their aſſiſtance, and take upon him the ſovereignty of Ireland. Edward Bruce joyfully complied with their requiſition, and landed in the vicinity of Carrickfergus on the twenty-ſixth of May, in the year 1315, with a ſelect army of ſix thouſand men. Robert Bruce followed ſoon after with more numerous forces; but a grievous famine that raged in the country, and reduced his troops to the greateſt extremity, obliged him to return to Scotland without making any progreſs in his new-projected conqueſt. His brother, after having experienced a variety of fortune, was defeated and ſlain, with the greateſt part of his army, by the Engliſh, under the command of Lord Bermingham, in the neighbourhood of Dundalk, on the fourteenth of October, in the year 1318.

During the abſence of Bruce from his dominions, Edward, wiſely deeming the conjuncture favourable, projected an invaſion of Scotland, and appointed the military force of the kingdom to meet him at Newcaſtle; but the machinations of Lancaſter and his factious adherents, by preventing their attendance, fruſtrated his plan.

The war which had continued ſo long between England and Scotland had prevented the Engliſh from interfering in the affairs of the Holy Land; though Edward, previous to the death of his father, had aſſumed the Croſs. But the Sovereign Pontiff about this time projecting a new cruſade, reſolved, if poſſible, to effect a reconciliation between the two kingdoms, that Edward might be enabled to fulfil his vow; and with this view publiſhed, by his own authority, without conſulting either party, a truce for two years, and threatened every one who ſhould dare to violate it with a ſentence of excommunication. In the mean time, he ſent over two Cardinals to England, to regulate a peace. Theſe, having firſt paid a viſit to Edward at Nottingham, proceeded to Scotland, where they experienced a very cool reception from Bruce; who, being diſpleaſed with the title conferred on him by the Pope of *Governor of Scotland*, wholly diſregarded the truce, and treated his menaces with contempt.

The Cardinals, having thus failed in the principal object of their miſſion, endeavoured to promote a reconciliation between Edward and the Earl of Lancaſter, whoſe enmity continued daily to increaſe. The Counteſs of Lancaſter being diſſatisfied with the conduct of her huſband, to whom ſhe had brought an immenſe fortune, eloped from his houſe with a Knight, who was a retainer to John de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey; and that nobleman afforded her protection at his Caſtle of Ryegate. The Knight advanced a claim to the perſon of the Counteſs, founded on a contract prior to that which gave her to the Earl of Lancaſter: he alſo pretended to have cohabited with her as her huſband; and, by an action brought in the King's Court at Weſtminſter, demanded, in her right, the earldoms of Lincoln and Saliſbury, to which ſhe was heireſs. This outrage could not fail to irritate the Earl of Lancaſter, who was a Prince of the blood-royal, the firſt ſubject in England, and of a temper haughty and imperious: but, to render his mortification more compleat, the Counteſs made a voluntary confeſſion of her own diſhonour, and joined in the proſecution commenced againſt her huſband. Lancaſter regarded the Knight as a mere tool of the Earl of Surrey; and as, in ſuch caſes, a man's ſuſpicions are ever apt to fall on thoſe he has moſt injured, he ſuſpected the King of being concerned in this plot againſt his honour and fortune. Impreſſed with this idea, he determined to exact vengeance on the different objects of his reſentment; and for that purpoſe aſſembled an army of eighteen thouſand men.

Edward, being in no condition to cope with ſo formidable an adverſary, was obliged to negotiate with his rebellious ſubject; and ſome efforts were made by people, who preferred moderation to diſcord, to avert the dreadful calamities of a civil war: but, their endeavours having proved ineffectual, the Queen entreated the Cardinals to interpoſe their good offices toward an accommodation, which was accordingly brought about at Leiceſter. But, though this peace had been made with every apparent intention of preſerving it, Lancaſter's animoſity to his Sovereign, probably heightened by a conſciouſneſs of the injuries he had done him, was ſuch as to prevent his being ſatisfied with any thing ſhort of his virtual depoſition. The Cardinals were now requeſted by the Barons to perſuade the King to an unconditional confirmation of the ordinances; and, having obtained a promiſe to that effect, they departed the kingdom, after iſſuing a ſentence of excommunication and interdict againſt Bruce and his dominions.

After their departure, a parliament was held at Northampton, in the month of July, in the year 1318; at which the power of Lancaſter bore down all oppoſition. The unfortunate Edward, overawed and inſulted by this turbulent nobleman, was compelled again to confirm the ordinances; and was, moreover, obliged to conſent to an additional regulation of the ſame oppreſſive tenour, by which a perpetual council of eight Biſhops, four Earls, and four Barons, were appointed conſtantly to attend the King by turns, four every quarter; and, without

without their advice, he was reſtrained from performing any one act of government.

During this time, the Scots had made frequent incurſions into the northern counties, where they had committed great depredations; and in one of theſe they had taken the town and caſtle of Berwick from the Engliſh. Edward determined to embrace the firſt moment of tranquillity to revenge theſe inſults: and, having paſſed the winter in the north, he aſſembled a parliament at York, in the ſpring of the year 1319; in which the preliminaries for an expedition to Scotland were arranged. The Barons and Knights of ſhires granted him an eighteenth, the citizens and burgeſſes a twelfth, and the clergy a tenth, to defray the expences of it; and all the military vaſſals of the crown were ſummoned to appear at Newcaſtle on the tenth of June. The citation being obeyed with alacrity, a numerous army was aſſembled, with which he inveſted Berwick on the firſt of September; while a fleet from the Cinque Ports blocked up the harbour. The ſiege was conducted with ſpirit; and the place was defended with equal courage by the Steward of Scotland, ſon-in-law to Bruce, who ſuſtained ſeveral deſperate aſſaults, in ſome of which the Engliſh troops had actually mounted the ramparts. Bruce, finding the enemy were ſo advantageouſly poſted that he could not attack them with any proſpect of ſucceſs, reſolved to make a diverſion in favour of the beſieged. The Queen had eſtabliſhed her reſidence at a village in the vicinity of York, where ſhe lived exempt from any apprehenſions of danger, as ſhe concluded that the Scots were ſo deeply employed in the defence of their own country, that they could not ſpare any troops for an expedition into England. Bruce formed a plan for ſurprizing this Princeſs; and Sir James Douglas being appointed to carry it into execution, advanced with a body of choſen men towards the place of his deſtination: but the deſign miſcarried, through the apprehenſion of one of his ſpies; who, being ſeized at York, was put to the torture, and diſcloſed his ſcheme, ſo that the Queen was removed in time to a place of ſafety. The Archbiſhop of York, determined to puniſh the Scots for their temerity, aſſembled the militia of the county; and, on the twentieth of September, marched forth to attack them. Douglas, apprized of their approach, was ready to receive them; and, as they advanced with the wind in their faces, he ſet fire to a great quantity of damp ſtraw, which he had prepared for the purpoſe; and they were ſo compleatly blinded by the ſmoke, that they were unable to make any reſiſtance. Great numbers of them were killed on the ſpot; and the remainder, with great difficulty, ſaved themſelves by flight.

The King, informed of this diſaſter, raiſed the ſiege of Berwick, and divided his forces into two bodies, with a view to intercept the Scots in their retreat; but Douglas regulated his march with ſuch prudence, that he avoided both diviſions, and returned to his own country laden with plunder.

The bad ſucceſs of this campaign induced Edward to ſuſpend his projects of conqueſt, and make a peaceable overture to Bruce; in conſequence of which commiſſioners were deputed from either kingdom, who met at Newcaſtle on the ſixth of December, in the year 1319; and, on the twenty-firſt of the ſame month, a truce was concluded for two years.

In the following ſummer, Edward was obliged to take a voyage to the continent, in order to do homage for the dutchy of Guienne, and the county of Poictou, to Philip Le Long, who had lately acceded to the throne of France, and had ſummoned the King to attend for that purpoſe. After his return, a parliament was held at Weſtminſter, in the month of October; in which many ſalutary laws were enacted for reſtoring the internal police of the kingdom, which had been greatly relaxed by the late commotions, and for other purpoſes. But the beneficent works of Peace were now deſtined to give way to the horrors of Civil Diſſenſion.

Edward, unendowed by nature with thoſe qualifications which are eſſentially requiſite in a Monarch, experienced an inſuperable diſguſt to all ſerious exertions; and being conſcious of his own defects, and moreover attached to the ſocial enjoyments of private friendſhip in a degree that is almoſt incredible, ever anxiouſly ſought for an object in whom he might repoſe an unlimited confidence, and who might aſſiſt him to ſupport the weight of government, which he was unable to ſuſtain alone. The Queen certainly appeared to be the moſt proper perſon for this important truſt; but her diſpoſition was ſo truly diabolical, that, far from being ſurprized at Edward's refuſal to make her the ſole companion of his leiſure hours, the only friend of his heart, we cannot with-hold our aſtoniſhment at his mildneſs in treating her with reſpect and affection. The death of Gavaſton had left a vacuum in his breaſt, which he was eager to ſupply; and, after ſome deliberation, he beſtowed his confidence on Hugh Le Deſpenſer, or Spenſer, a young man of Engliſh birth, of high rank, and of a noble family: he poſſeſſed all the exterior accompliſhments of perſon which had diſtinguiſhed the former favourite; and, like him, was wholly deſtitute of that moderation and prudence which might have enabled him to mitigate the envy of the great, and have conducted him through all the ſerious perils to which his dangerous pre-eminence expoſed him. His father, who was of the ſame name, and who through his ſon's intereſt had alſo obtained great influence over the King, was a nobleman, venerable from his years; reſpected for his wiſdom, valour, and integrity; and well fitted by his talents and experience, could affairs have admitted of any temperament, to ſupply the defects both of the King and of his minion. But no ſooner had Edward's attachment to young Spenſer become viſible, than the rebellious Lancaſter, with moſt of the powerful Barons, regarded him as a rival, whoſe authority infringed on their own; and, fearing that he might attempt to render his Sovereign ſenſible of the importance of his ſtation, and urge him to vindicate the rights of the crown againſt their illegal encroachments, determined to operate his ruin. The

firſt

firſt ſymptom of diſcontent appeared in their abſenting themſelves from parliament; and the imprudence of Spenſer ſoon afforded them an opportunity of proceeding to greater extremities againſt him.

The King, whoſe munificence to his favourites was as unlimited as the confidence he repoſed in them, had married young Spenſer to his own niece Eleanor, the eldeſt daughter and one of the three co-heireſſes of the Earl of Glouceſter, who was ſlain at Bannockburn. By this advantageous alliance, Spenſer became poſſeſſed of almoſt the whole county of Glamorgan; and, being deſirous of extending his influence in Wales, he was accuſed of having encroached on the property of the Barons of Audley and Ammori, who had eſpouſed the two other ſiſters. There was alſo a Baron in that neighbourhood called William de Braouſe, Lord of Gower, who had ſettled his eſtate on John de Mowbray, his ſon-in-law; and, in caſe of failure of that nobleman and his iſſue, had entailed the barony of Gower on the Earl of Hereford. Mowbray, on the death of his father-in-law, took immediate poſſeſſion of the eſtate, without the formality of livery and ſeiſin from the crown: but Spenſer, who was anxious to obtain that barony, perſuaded the King to exerciſe the rigour of the feudal law, by ſeizing Gower as eſcheated to the crown, and to confer it on him. This tranſaction, which ſhould only have been conſidered as the ſubject of a law-ſuit, was by the factious Barons deemed a ſufficient reaſon for exciting a civil war. The Earls of Lancaſter and Hereford were the firſt to kindle the torch of Diſcord; Audley and Ammori joined them with all their forces; and Roger de Mortimer, and Roger de Clifford, with many others, who had private motives for reſentment againſt the Spenſers, brought a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength to the party. When they had raiſed a formidable army, they ſent a peremptory meſſage to the King, requiring him immediately to diſmiſs or impriſon the younger Spenſer; and menacing him, in caſe of refuſal, with renouncing their allegiance to him, and taking revenge on that miniſter by their own authority. Without waiting for an anſwer to this inſolent requeſt, they inſtantly began to commit the moſt horrid devaſtations on the lands of young Spenſer, as well in Glamorganſhire as in other weſtern counties: they inhumanly maſſacred his ſervants, drove off his cattle, and reduced his houſes to aſhes. They then proceeded to the commiſſion of ſimilar ravages on the eſtates of the father, whoſe character had hitherto ſecured him from inſult; and, having drawn up and ſubſcribed a formal deed of aſſociation among themſelves, they marched towards London with all their forces; and, on their arrival at St. Alban's, ſent a ſecond meſſage to the King, demanding the immediate baniſhment of both the Spenſers. Theſe noblemen were then abſent; the father abroad, the ſon at ſea; and both of them employed in the ſervice of the ſtate: the King, therefore, wiſely replied, that his coronation-oath, by which he was bound to obſerve the laws, reſtrained him from giving his aſſent to ſo illegal a demand, or condemning noblemen charged with no ſpecific crime, and deprived of an opportunity to make anſwer. But the ſuggeſtions of Reaſon could have little effect on men who were acting in open defiance of the law, and who had evinced not only a total diſregard to every principle of Equity, but even a baſe inattention to the dictates of Humanity. Senſible that ſucceſs alone could ſcreen Guilt from puniſhment, the confederates perſevered in their plan, and advanced with their army to London, the citizens of which had ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves as the zealous partizans of rebellion.

The King was at this time attending a parliament, which he had ſummoned to meet, at Weſtminſter, on the fifteenth of July, for the laudable purpoſe of inventing ſome means of allaying theſe commotions, without proceeding to extremities. But the Barons who had been cited to attend, inſtead of obeying the ſummons, drew up a charge againſt the Spenſers; and, attended by an armed force, preſented it to the parliament: and, though they did not attempt to ſubſtantiate a ſingle accuſation, they procured by threats and violence a ſentence of attainder and perpetual baniſhment againſt theſe miniſters. In the ſame illegal manner did they obtain from the parliament, on the nineteenth of Auguſt, in the year 1321, a full indemnity for all the acts of treaſon, murder, and felony, which they had committed ſince the firſt of March preceding. After which they diſbanded their army; and retired, in imaginary ſafety, to their reſpective caſtles.

Though Edward had been compelled to acquieſce in this act of violence, he could not but experience the deepeſt indignation at the conduct of his rebellious ſubjects; and an incident ſoon occurred that inflamed his reſentment ſtill more. The Queen, in a journey of devotion to Canterbury, ſent the officers of her houſhold to deſire a night's lodging at the caſtle of Leeds, which belonged to the Lord Badleſmere, who had been under great obligations to Edward, but had lately abandoned his intereſt, and joined the confederate Barons. This requeſt was refuſed with great marks of indignity; and when the Queen herſelf approached the gate, the refuſal was not only repeated, but ſome of her attendants were aſſaulted and killed in her preſence. Edward, determined to revenge this inſult upon his conſort, haſtily levied ſome troops, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Leeds, which ſurrendered to him on the laſt day of October; when Walter de Colepepper, the Governor, and eleven inferior officers of the garriſon, were executed as traitors.

The elder Spenſer, encouraged by the ſucceſs of this enterprize, which diſplayed a degree of reſolution in Edward that he had never before remarked, returned from baniſhment in the beginning of November, and experienced a very cordial reception from his Sovereign. The Earl of Lancaſter, being apprized of his return, inveighed againſt his preſumption; and repreſented Edward as a Prince on whom his ſubjects could not place the ſmalleſt reliance. He appointed the Barons of his party to meet him at Doncaſter, and made every preparation for the commencement of hoſtilities. The King, on his part, iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all meetings

meetings and aſſociations, as contrary to law, and inimical to the peace of the kingdom. The younger Spenſer now returned to England; and preſented a petition, complaining of the illegal ſentence that had been pronounced againſt him, and offering to aſſert his own innocence, by diſproving every accuſation of his enemies. He was accordingly committed to cuſtody, and his eſtates taken into the royal protection, until he ſhould have received the benefit of a legal trial. His petition was conſidered by the Prelates belonging to the province of Canterbury, aſſembled at London, who declared the ſentence to be erroneous and unjuſt; upon which Spenſer was reſtored to liberty, and re-admitted into the council of his Sovereign.

The King being now joined by the Earls of Kent, Norfolk, Pembroke, Richmond, Arundel, Surrey, Athol, Angus, and ſome other powerful Barons, who were averſe to the violent meaſures adopted by the confederate Lords, found himſelf at the head of a numerous army; with which he haſtened, in the depth of winter, to the marches of Wales, the chief ſeat of the power of his enemies, whom he found wholly unprepared for reſiſtance. Many of the Barons of thoſe parts ſeeking to avert his indignation by timely ſubmiſſion, their caſtles were ſeized, and their perſons committed to cuſtody. But the Earl of Hereford, with ſome other noblemen, and about three thouſand of their followers, eſcaped to the north; where they joined the Earl of Lancaſter, who had by this time declared his treaſonable correſpondence with the Scots, which he had been long ſuſpected of maintaining; and had ſent John de Mowbray and Roger de Clifford to Bruce, who entered into a formal alliance with the confederates, engaging, at the expiration of the truce, to ſupport them with the whole power of his kingdom. In conſequence of this engagement, Lancaſter received a reinforcement from Scotland, under the command of Bandolf, Earl of Murray, and Sir James Douglas; and being likewiſe joined by the Earl of Hereford, he deemed his army ſufficiently ſtrong to oppoſe the progreſs of the royaliſts. With this view he advanced to Burton upon Trent, and took poſſeſſion of the bridge, in order to prevent the King from paſſing the river; but Edward, whoſe army amounted to thirty thouſand men, found means to paſs it at a ford, and offer the enemy battle. Lancaſter, however, who poſſeſſed no military ſkill, and whoſe perſonal courage was ever ſuſpected, fled with his troops to the north, in hope of finding refuge in the Scottiſh army; but, when he reached Borough Bridge, he found Sir Simon Warde and Sir Andrew Harcla prepared to diſpute his paſſage. The Earl of Hereford, who accompanied him in his flight, was killed in a fruitleſs attempt to force the bridge; while Lancaſter attempted to corrupt the integrity of Sir Andrew Harcla, by offering to purchaſe a paſſage with a conſiderable bribe. This offer being rejected with diſdain, he returned to Borough Bridge, inſtead of making a bold effort to cut his way through the enemy, which from the ſuperiority of his numbers might have been eaſily effected; and was there taken priſoner the next morning, with more than a hundred Barons and Knights of his party.

Edward, who had now obtained a compleat triumph over his rebellious ſubjects, and had humbled the pride of thoſe haughty Barons who had ſo long diſputed with him the ſovereignty of the kingdom, advanced to Pontefract, whither Lancaſter was conducted: and that nobleman, having been tried by a court-martial, was ſentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered; but, by the lenity of the King, the ignominious part of the ſentence was remitted, and he was ordered to be beheaded. Accordingly, on the twenty-ſecond of March, in the year 1322, the proud, imperious Lancaſter, was led out of Pontefract, his own chief reſidence, dreſſed in a mean attire with a hood upon his head, and mounted on a meagre hack, without a bridle; and, being conducted to an eminence about a mile diſtant, was there beheaded, amidſt the acclamations of the people: for, as he had lived without one qualification that could conciliate eſteem, ſo it could not be expected that his death would excite regret.

Edward has been cenſured by many Hiſtorians for his ſummary mode of proceeding in the trial and execution of this factious nobleman: but it ſhould be remembered, that under the beſt regulated governments in times of public danger, the rigours of martial law are frequently exerted; and when the due courſe of juſtice was interrupted by the alarming progreſs of a dangerous faction, who had ſucceeded in their inſidious attempts to ſubvert the fundamental principles of the conſtitution, examples of ſeverity were eſſentially requiſite; nor could a more proper object be ſelected for the purpoſe than the leader of that faction taken in actual rebellion. It ſhould likewiſe be recollected, that Lancaſter himſelf had ſet the example: he had condemned Gavaſton without any trial, without even an attempt to ſubſtantiate a ſingle accuſation; and had cauſed him to be executed with every poſſible mark of indignity. Surely the doctrine of retaliation was never put in force with leſs inhumanity, and with a ſtricter attention to juſtice!

Baleſmere, Bertram de Aſhburnham, Giffard, Sir Roger Elmſbruge, Barret, Cheyney, Fleming, and ſome other Barons, were, after a formal trial, condemned to ſuffer the ſame puniſhment as Lancaſter; which they accordingly underwent. Many of the rebels were thrown into priſon; others made their eſcape to the continent. Some of the noblemen who had preſerved their loyalty were rewarded from the numerous forfeitures: Harcla received for his ſervices the earldom of Carliſle, and a large eſtate; which were ſoon after taken from him, with his life, for maintaining a treaſonable correſpondence with the Scots. But the moſt conſiderable parts of thoſe vaſt eſcheats were ſeized by young Spenſer, whoſe rapacity the King's bounty, though profuſe, was unable to gratify.

This partial diviſion of the ſpoils gave great diſguſt to many of the royaliſts, and increaſed the envy of the Nobles againſt Spenſer to a higher pitch than ever. The native inſolence of his temper, inflamed

by ſucceſs, impelled him to the commiſſion of many acts of oppreſſion, which rendered him ſtill more the object of averſion to the people, who had always hated him. All the relations of thoſe whoſe eſtates had been confiſcated, actuated by motives of revenge, made a vow to accompliſh his ruin; and, though tranquillity was apparently reſtored, the embers of civil war ſtill glowed in ſecret, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to burſt into a flame.

Previous to the battle of Borough Bridge, the King had iſſued writs for aſſembling a parliament at York; which accordingly met, in that city, on the ſecond of May; when ſuch of the famous ordinances as were deemed prejudicial to the juſt rights of the crown were repealed, the ſentence of baniſhment againſt the two Spenſers was declared to be illegal, and the earldom of Wincheſter beſtowed on the elder. An expedition into Scotland was likewiſe reſolved upon at the ſame time; to ſupport which the Barons and Knights of ſhires granted a tenth of their moveables, the citizens and burgeſſes a ſixth, and the clergy granted five-pence in the mark of their annual revenues.

All the military tenants of the crown having met at Newcaſtle, according to appointment, on the twenty-fourth of July, they advanced into the enemy's country: but Bruce, unable to oppoſe them in the open field, prudently retired before them, and carried away every ſpecies of proviſion; ſo that the Engliſh troops were ſoon reduced to great diſtreſs, and Edward was obliged to return, without having gained the ſmalleſt advantage. As he retreated, the Scots followed the rear of his army, plundered his baggage, took the Earl of Richmond priſoner, almoſt ſurprized the King himſelf at Beland Abbey, and extended their ravages even to the gates of York.

This unſucceſsful campaign paved the way for a ceſſation of hoſtilities; which accordingly took place at the commencement of the enſuing ſpring. A truce of thirteen years was concluded between the Engliſh and Scots, on the thirtieth of March, in the year 1323; by which Robert Bruce was left in quiet poſſeſſion of Scotland, though Edward refuſed to acknowledge his ſovereignty.

The tranquillity which, in conſequence of this truce, now pervaded the kingdom, was ſpeedily interrupted by the turbulent adherents of the Lancaſtrian faction. Their rage was directed againſt the Spenſers, who had become ſo unpopular, that they could never appear in public without ſubjecting themſelves to ſome illiberal inſult. A band of deſperate adventurers, commanded by one Robert Lewer, committed devaſtations on the eſtates of the elder Spenſer, and even attempted to ſeize his perſon. Several plots were formed to ſurprize the royal caſtles, in order to releaſe ſuch of the Lancaſtrian party as were there detained in captivity; and young Roger Mortimer, a potent Baron in the Welſh Marches, who had been ſentenced to perpetual baniſhment in the Tower of London, effected his eſcape, and repaired to the continent.

Charles Le Bel having ſucceeded his brother, Philip Le Long, in the throne of France, in the month of January, in the year 1322, had ſummoned the King of England, according to the uſual cuſtom of the French Monarchs at their acceſſion, to repair to Paris, and do homage for the dutchy of Guienne and the earldom of Ponthieu. This ſummons having been treated with neglect by Edward, another more peremptory citation was iſſued in the ſubſequent year, requiring his appearance at Amiens, on or before the firſt of July, in the year 1324. The reaſon given by Charles for perſiſting in his demand of the King's perſonal attendance, which by the rigour of the feudal law he had a right to require, was ſome injuries which he pretended to have ſuſtained from Edward's officers in Guienne. When the time approached, Edward ſummoned a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter, that he might conſult with his Nobles on the expedience of obeying the citation he had received; who adviſed him to ſend ambaſſadors to the court of France to endeavour to procure a delay. The Earl of Kent, the King's brother, and the Archbiſhop of Dublin, were accordingly entruſted with the commiſſion: but all their negotiations proved fruitleſs.

In the mean time, the diſputes in Guienne had been ſucceeded by hoſtilities; and a French army, under the command of Charles de Valois, uncle to the King of France, had marched into that province, and reduced the greateſt part of it to ſubjection.

At this conjuncture, a ſecret intimation was given to the Engliſh ambaſſadors by a perſon of diſtinction in the French court, that if the Queen of England would come over, ſhe would prove the moſt ſucceſsful mediatrix, and be able to procure an accommodation on the moſt favourable terms. This propoſal was communicated to the King by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who was then at Paris; and Edward, happy in the adoption of any expedient by which a war could be avoided, willingly complied with a requeſt from which he could not foreſee any poſſible danger or inconvenience. The Queen, therefore, repaired to the court of her brother, and ſoon after her arrival concluded a truce with Charles; and on the thirty-firſt of May, in the year 1325, a definitive treaty of peace. It was ſettled by this treaty, that the dutchy of Guienne ſhould be delivered to the King of France, who agreed to reſtore it to Edward as ſoon as that Monarch ſhould have done homage for it in perſon; and it was farther ſtipulated, that the ceremony ſhould be performed at Beauvais, on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt.

The article by which Edward obliged himſelf to repair to France for the purpoſe of performing homage could not but prove highly diſagreeable to his favourite, the younger Spenſer, who was afraid to remain in the kingdom during the abſence of his Sovereign, as he knew his enemies would not fail to embrace ſo favourable an opportunity to effect his deſtruction; and he was equally averſe to accompany

company Edward to France, where the Queen—of whoſe hatred to his family he was firmly convinced, though of late ſhe had been ſtudious to conceal it by the moſt conſummate hypocriſy—was poſſeſſed of ſufficient power to accompliſh any project which the native cruelty of her mind might ſuggeſt, and the inveteracy of her revenge induce her to execute. Urged by theſe powerful motives, he had ever ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the King's departure from his dominions; and his oppoſition to that meaſure, ſo pregnant with danger to himſelf, was now more violent than ever. But a parliament, which aſſembled at London on the twenty-fifth of June, having adviſed Edward to comply with the terms of the treaty, that Prince, in purſuance of their advice, made preparations for his journey, and actually ſet out for Dover; however, when he arrived at the Abbey of Langton, in the vicinity of Dover, a ſickneſs, either real or pretended, impeded his progreſs, and impelled him to ſend a meſſenger to the King of France, to acquaint him with his indiſpoſition, and to deſire that a more diſtant day might be appointed for the performance of the intended ceremony.

At this criſis, Edward received a new and unexpected overture from the court of France; purporting, that if he would reſign his dominions on the continent to his ſon, now thirteen years of age, Charles would accept the homage of that Prince, and grant him the inveſtiture of Guienne and Ponthieu. This expedient, which ſeemed ſo happily to remove all difficulties, was eagerly embraced, through the perſuaſion of Spenſer, and executed with a rapidity that almoſt exceeds belief. The deed of conveyance being ſigned by the King at Dover, on the tenth of September, the Prince embarked for the continent on the twelfth, and performed homage to the King of France, at Beauvais, on the fourteenth of the ſame month. It is manifeſt from hence, that neither the King nor his favourite was aware of the inſidious ſnare which this project concealed; and, indeed, the whole of this myſterious tranſaction was managed with ſuch extreme caution, that a Prince of much greater ſagacity than Edward was poſſeſſed of might have been equally impoſed upon.

It appears, that when the Queen arrived in France, ſhe there found a great number of Engliſh fugitives, who had been either baniſhed their country for treaſonable practices, or had ſubmitted to a voluntary exile, in order to avoid the puniſhment that was due to their crimes. Theſe were the ſhattered remains of the Lancaſtrian faction; and, their hatred of Spenſer proving a ſtrong recommendation to the favour of Iſabella, they were admitted to the friendſhip of that Princeſs, who maintained with them a ſecret correſpondence. Among them was Roger Mortimer; who, as we have before obſerved, had made his eſcape from the Tower, and fled to the continent. This nobleman being one of the moſt conſiderable perſons now remaining of the party, and being particularly diſtinguiſhed for the violence of his animoſity againſt Spenſer, was received by the Queen with peculiar marks of attention. The graces of his perſon, and elegance of addreſs, ſoon made an impreſſion upon her heart: he became her ſole counſellor; ſhe adopted no meaſure, however trivial, without his previous advice or approbation; and the gradation from an intimacy ſo cloſe and unreſerved to a criminal intercourſe being eaſy and natural to a mind unbiaſſed by the reſtraints of virtue, or unawed by the rules of decorum, he at laſt prevailed on her to yield to the dictates of paſſion, and ſacrifice to it's gratification her honour and conjugal fidelity. It is not ſurprizing that ſhe ſhould now cordially hate the man whom ſhe had ſo groſsly injured. In conſequence of her crime, and it's effects, ſhe willingly entered into the treacherous plans of her paramour; and, in purſuance of his ſchemes, perſuaded the King her brother to the adoption of that line of conduct which he obſerved to Edward.

Her projects having ſo far ſucceeded to her wiſhes, and having gotten the Prince of Wales, the heir to the throne, into her poſſeſſion, ſhe reſolved on the utter ruin of the King, as well as of his favourite. When Edward, therefore, required her return, the purpoſe of her journey being effected, ſhe peremptorily refuſed to comply with his requeſt; declaring, that ſhe would never ſet foot in England till Spenſer was baniſhed, not only from the court, but from the kingdom. This determination was made known to Edward by her brother; to whom the King anſwered, that ſo far from the Queen having juſt ground for complaint againſt Spenſer, he could juſtify the conduct of his favourite by Iſabella's own teſtimony, ſhe having written ſeveral letters to that nobleman, ſince her departure from England, replete with profeſſions of confidence and eſteem. To ſuch an extreme degree had this artful and malicious Princeſs carried her diſſimulation! Edward farther obſerved, that he would never ſuffer Spenſer, or any other perſon in his dominions, to ſhew the ſmalleſt marks of diſreſpect to the partner of his throne. The juſtice of theſe remonſtrances, however, had no weight with the Queen; and the conſternation of Edward and his favourite was ſoon after greatly augmented by the intelligence brought them from the court of France by the Biſhop of Exeter. That Prelate, who was equally diſtinguiſhed for his wiſdom and loyalty, had been ſent by the King as guardian and counſellor to the Prince of Wales; and, having obſerved that the court of Iſabella was daily filled with the fugitive partizans of the Lancaſtrian faction, and having diſcovered the criminal nature of her connection with Mortimer, who now lived in the moſt declared intimacy with her, he quitted Paris in diſguiſe, and haſtened home, to impart theſe important particulars to his injured Sovereign.

Edward, alarmed at the diſcovery, reiterated his orders to the Queen and Prince to return without delay; and alſo wrote to the King of France, requeſting he would haſten their departure. He farther ſummoned a council of his Prelates and Nobles, which met at Weſtminſter on the tenth of November; and, having aſked their advice, the Biſhops all agreed to write themſelves to the Queen, to deſire

ſire ſhe would immediately return with the Prince. But theſe importunities, as may eaſily be conceived, were treated with contempt: Iſabella had advanced too far in infamy to think of retreating. Having injured the honour of her Huſband, ſhe determined to attempt the depoſition of her Sovereign.

Edward now endeavoured to put himſelf in a poſture of defence, and prepare for the worſt; but the confuſed ſtate of the country, and the prevalence of faction, rendered it impoſſible to preſerve the kingdom in ſuch a ſtate as to be able to repel an attack which he knew not in what quarter to expect. Orders were diſpatched to all the ſeaports to ſearch all foreigners that ſhould enter the kingdom; and the Sheriffs were commanded to ſeize all ſuſpected perſons: the Wardens of the Cinque Ports, and the Admirals, were directed to receive the Queen and Prince with due honour and reſpect, if they came over in the veſſels which the King had provided for their paſſage; but to treat their adherents as enemies to the ſtate, ſhould they attempt to make a deſcent in a hoſtile manner. All the military tenants of the crown were commanded, by proclamation, to hold themſelves in readineſs to march; and the Prelates ſoon after received a ſimilar command. Orders were alſo iſſued to apprehend the emiſſaries of the Queen and Prince; and to put in force the ſtatute of Edward the Firſt againſt ſuch as ſpread falſe reports, tending to create diſcord between the King and his people. But all theſe mandates were but ill obeyed; and the utmoſt efforts of Edward proved unequal to the traiterous and hoſtile conſpiracies which, both at home and abroad, were forming againſt his authority, and were daily gaining ground, even in his own family. His brother, the Earl of Kent, a virtuous but weak Prince, who was then at Paris, was perſuaded by his ſiſter-in-law, and the King of France, to give countenance to the invaſion of his native country, the ſole object of which he was given to believe was the expulſion of Edward's obnoxious favourite. Kent prevailed on his elder brother, the Earl of Norfolk, ſecretly to ſupport the ſame iniquitous cauſe; and theſe were joined by the Earl of Leiceſter, brother and heir to the Earl of Lancaſter. Walter de Reynel, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and many of the Prelates, whom religion had not been able to inſpire with a due ſpirit of loyalty, or a juſt abhorrence of abandoned profligacy, expreſſed their approbation of the Queen's meaſures. Several of the moſt powerful Barons, at all times ripe for revolt, and now making envy of the favourite a pretext for ſedition, were ready to take up arms. The minds of the people, ever wavering and fond of innovation, even though the change ſhould prove a tranſition from tranquillity to wretchedneſs, and poiſoned by the infectious breath of Calumny, were ſtrongly diſpoſed to the ſame party; and the appearance of the Queen and her ſon, with a body of foreign troops, was all that was requiſite to direct the tempeſt which ſhe had thus artfully raiſed againſt the devoted victim of her vicious indignation.

Though the King of France had given every aſſiſtance in his power to this unprincipled faction, he did not think proper, either from a ſenſe of ſhame or apprehenſion of danger, openly to ſupport the Queen and Prince againſt a huſband and a father. Iſabella, therefore, was under the neceſſity of making application to ſome other foreign potentate, from whoſe dominions ſhe might ſet out on her intended enterprize. In this emergency, ſhe had recourſe to William, Count of Hainault and Holland, who ſoon concluded a treaty with her, by which he engaged to furniſh her with a fleet, and a ſmall body of troops, to enable her to make a deſcent upon England; and, in return for this favour, ſhe affianced the Prince of Wales, whoſe tender age rendered him incapable of foreſeeing the conſequences of this imprudent alliance, to Philippa, the Count's ſecond daughter.

As the project of Iſabella to dethrone her huſband could not fail to entail infamy on every one who was concerned in it, the French hiſtorians, particularly Froiſſard and Mezeray, have been anxious to clear her brother, Charles Le Bel, from any imputation of guilt on that account. They affirm that, as ſoon as that Monarch was aware of his ſiſter's real intentions, he expelled her his kingdom, and expreſsly prohibited his ſubjects from affording her the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance. This, however, is a falſe and partial repreſentation of facts, ſince it is certain that the whole ſcheme was formed at the French court, with the knowledge and approbation of Charles; and that the Queen did not quit his dominions till ſhe had concluded her treaty with the Count of Hainault. Even Mezeray himſelf expreſsly ſays, that Charles had promiſed aſſiſtance to his ſiſter, but was prevented from performing his promiſe by the bribes which he received from Spenſer; ſo that, to clear his hero from one ſpecies of guilt, he acknowledges him guilty of another. But, indeed, throughout the whole of Mezeray's account of this baſe tranſaction, there appears a ſtrange perverſion of facts, that muſt either ariſe from the moſt groſs ignorance, or from wilful miſrepreſentation. In one place he confidently aſſerts, that Edward, having inveigled a party of the Barons into a parley, *openly violated the public faith*, by cauſing two and twenty of them to be apprehended and put to death; alluding to the execution of Lancaſter and ſome of his adherents, who were taken in actual rebellion. The teſtimony of ſuch an hiſtorian ſurely deſerves but little credit!

The Queen, having paſſed the ſummer of the year 1326 in making preparations for her intended expedition, embarked her troops at the port of Dort, in Holland; and, after a tempeſtuous paſſage, arrived at Orwell Haven, near Walton, in Suffolk, on the twenty-fourth of September. She was accompanied by her ſon, the Earl of Kent, and her paramour, Roger Mortimer. The number of troops which ſhe brought over is variouſly repreſented by different authors: Mezeray ſays ſhe had only three hundred Knights, commanded by John de Beaumont, brother to the Count of Hainault; but the moſt probable account is that of Walſingham, which makes them amount to two thouſand

ſeven

ſeven hundred and fifty-ſeven men at arms. Soon after her landing, ſhe publiſhed a manifeſto, replete with falſhoods, containing a declaration of her innocent intentions; aſſuring the Engliſh, that the ſole object of her expedition was to effect the removal of the Spenſers and their adherents; to exonerate the people from thoſe burdens with which they were ſo grievouſly oppreſſed; to operate a compleat reformation in the political œconomy of the ſtate; and, finally, to enlarge and improve the rights and liberties of the church. Theſe jeſuitical profeſſions, calculated to conceal her infamy, were attended with all the ſucceſs her moſt ſtrenuous partizans could have hoped to derive from them. She was ſpeedily joined by two other Princes of the blood, the Earls of Norfolk and Leiceſter, attended by their followers. Four Prelates—the Biſhops of Ely, Lincoln, Norwich, and Hereford—gave conſiderable ſtrength to her party, as well by the number of their vaſſals, as by the authority of their characters. Even Robert de Watteville, who had been ſent by the King to oppoſe the progreſs of Suffolk, baſely deſerted the cauſe of his Sovereign, and joined her with all his forces.

Having by theſe means collected a powerful army, ſhe advanced in purſuit of the King, who was at London when he received intelligence of her landing. The firſt meaſure adopted by Edward, in this alarming criſis, was to iſſue a proclamation, commanding all his ſubjects to arm in his defence, and repel the incurſions of theſe rebellious invaders: reſpecting, however, the perſons of the Queen, Prince, and the Earl of Kent. He alſo publiſhed a reward of one thouſand pounds to the man who ſhould bring him the head of Mortimer. Having in vain attempted to rouze the citizens of London to a juſt ſenſe of their duty, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of quitting the metropolis, accompanied by the two Spenſers, Chancellor Baldock, and a ſlight retinue; and he directed his march towards Briſtol, where he hoped to raiſe an army ſufficiently powerful to face his enemies.

The King had no ſooner left London, than the populace, who as well as the citizens were ever ready to encourage rebellion and promote tumult, entered into a formal aſſociation; and put to death, without mercy, all ſuch as ſhould dare to oppoſe the enterprize of Queen Iſabella, and of the Prince her ſon. In conſequence of this inhuman confederacy, they apprehended every perſon that was diſtinguiſhed for his loyalty and attachment to his Sovereign, as well as all thoſe who were even ſuſpected of having any connection with the Spenſers. Among other murders and depredations, this deſperate rabble pillaged the houſe of the Biſhop of Exeter, who was juſt returning from the country. Being informed of the tumult, that virtuous Prelate haſtened towards St. Paul's, in hopes of reaching the Tower; but he was ſeized in the ſtreets, and dragged to the croſs at Cheapſide, where they firſt cut off his head, and then threw his body into the river. His nephew, and one of his attendants, experienced a ſimilar fate. They were all denied Chriſtian burial; and the Biſhop's head was ſent by the rioters as a preſent to the Queen. A gift well worthy the acceptance of ſuch a Princeſs, and preſented by adherents equally worthy of the cauſe in which they had embarked!

During the commiſſion of theſe acts of violence, the unfortunate King, forſaken by all but his favourites, and cloſely purſued by the Earl of Kent, ſupported by the foreign troops under John de Beaumont, proceeded to Briſtol; but finding himſelf diſappointed in his expectations of the loyalty of the inhabitants, he left the government of the caſtle of that city to the elder Spenſer, and paſſed over into Wales, where, he flattered himſelf, his name was more popular.

Briſtol was immediately beſieged; and the garriſon, infected with the general ſpirit of ſedition which prevailed throughout the kingdom, refuſed to perform their duty; ſo that Spenſer was obliged to ſurrender himſelf to his enemies. The Queen arriving at Briſtol on the twenty-ſixth of October, with her whole retinue, this venerable nobleman, who had now attained his ninetieth year, was on the following day, without any form of trial, and even without any accuſation having been preferred againſt him, hanged on a gibbet. His body was afterwards cut to pieces, and thrown to the dogs; and his head was ſent to Wincheſter, the place from whence he derived his title, and there expoſed, on a pole, to the inſults of the populace. "So much," ſays Dr. Henry, "had civil rage hardened the hearts "and enflamed the paſſions of the *humane* and *gene-*"*rous* Engliſh." We acknowledge ourſelves at a loſs to conceive on what part of our hiſtory this learned author could have founded his opinion, that *humanity* and *generoſity* were the characteriſtic virtues of the Engliſh nation. Far from concurring in theſe ſentiments, we will venture to aſſert, that the annals of the world do not preſent us with a country in which, an equal progreſs having been made in the various arts of civilization, a ſpirit of ſavage ferocity was more prevalent than in England, from the earlieſt times to the period we are now delineating, with the ſingle exception of the reign of Alfred: and a more deſpotic race of tyrants, more arbitrary in their principles, more cruel in their conduct, than the feudal Nobles of England, during ſome centuries ſubſequent to the acceſſion of William the Norman, could with difficulty be found in the hiſtory of any age or climate.

During the ſtay of the Queen's army at Briſtol, the Prelates and Barons who accompanied her declared the Prince of Wales Regent of the kingdom. After this declaration they marched to Hereford, where they continued about a month; and in that time they put to death the Earl of Arundel, a nobleman whoſe chief crime conſiſted in his alliance with the King's favourites, by the marriage of his eldeſt ſon to a daughter of the younger Spenſer.

The King, unable to obtain any ſuccour from the Welſh, embarked for Ireland; but, being driven back by contrary winds, was obliged to land near Swanſey; and he concealed himſelf, with a few followers, in the monaſtery of Neath. His retreat, however, was ſoon diſcovered; and this

unhappy Prince was delivered into the hands of Henry Earl of Leiceſter, who had recently aſſumed the title of Lancaſter. That nobleman firſt conducted his Sovereign to Monmouth, and from thence conveyed him to Kenilworth Caſtle. Baldock, the Chancellor, was taken with the King; and the younger Spenſer was apprehended in a neighbouring wood. The latter was immediately conducted to Hereford; and, on the twenty-fourth of November, was executed, like his father, without any appearance of a legal trial. His head was ſent as a preſent to the citizens of London; in return, probably, for a ſimilar gift which the Queen, ſoon after her landing, had received from them. Baldock, being a prieſt, could not with ſafety be ſo ſuddenly diſpatched; but, being ſent to the Biſhop of Hereford's palace in London, he was there, as his enemies probably foreſaw, ſeized by the populace; was thrown into Newgate; and, ſoon after, expired, from the cruel treatment he had experienced.

A total diſſolution of government was the conſequence of theſe violent proceedings. The courts of juſtice were every where ſhut; and the mob—the only gainers by ſimilar tumults—who were emphatically termed the *The Riflers*, exerciſed their depredations in all parts of the kingdom without moleſtation, plundering and aſſaſſinating every object of their avarice and revenge.

The perfidious Iſabella, and her infamous coadjutor Mortimer, having hitherto experienced all the ſucceſs they could wiſh for, now proceeded to execute the next part of their plan, viz. the depoſition of Edward, and the eſtabliſhment of his ſon upon the throne; whom, on account of his tender years, they expected to manage as they pleaſed. For this purpoſe a parliament was ſummoned, in the Prince's name, as Regent of the kingdom, to meet at Weſtminſter on the ſeventh of January, in the year 1327. It will be eaſily imagined that none but the friends and adherents of the Queen would venture to attend a parliament aſſembled for this purpoſe; and even theſe were not ſuffered to proceed with that calmneſs and deliberation which the importance of the object of diſcuſſion ſo eſſentially required. The houſe was continually ſurrounded by the populace; and, where wiſdom and argument ought alone to have prevailed, nothing but clamour and violence were heard. On the thirteenth of January, ſix articles of impeachment having been exhibited againſt the King, they were declared ſufficient to effect his depoſition; and the Prince of Wales was accordingly ſeated on the throne of his father, and publickly proclaimed King of England.

The charge contained in theſe articles, though preferred by his moſt inveterate enemies, and conſequently framed with all the ſtudied ingenuity of malice, exhibited nothing that was criminal. He was accuſed of incapacity for government, without any ſpecific inſtance of that incapacity being adduced; of waſting his time in trifling amuſements; of neglecting the public buſineſs; of liſtening to the advice of evil counſellors; and of having violated ſome of the immunities of the church. This laſt article was probably inſerted merely for the purpoſe of ſecuring the clergy, it being difficult to conceive on what part of Edward's conduct ſuch a charge could be founded. He was farther accuſed of having loſt, by his miſconduct, the kingdom of Scotland, and part of Guienne; and, to ſwell the catalogue of his pretended crimes, even the death and baniſhment of ſome Prelates and Noblemen, who had been convicted of treaſon, were laid to his charge. On theſe vague accuſations, wholly unſupported by proof, and without any opportunity of a reply being afforded to the accuſed, was this unfortunate Prince diveſted of his crown.

When the news of the King's depoſition was brought to the Queen, that perfidious Princeſs, having already experienced the good effects of hypocriſy, pretended to be deeply afflicted: ſhe even burſt into tears, and fell into one of thoſe fits which are ſo common, and ſo convenient, to her ſex. The Prince, however, evinced a repugnance to dethrone his father, which it was thought neceſſary to overcome. For this purpoſe the parliament deputed ſome of their members to wait on the King at Kenilworth, modeſtly to requeſt his confirmation of that ſentence which deprived him of his crown. Two miniſters of religion, the Biſhops of Hereford and Lincoln, were choſen to head this deputation, charitably calculated to inſult their Sovereign in the hour of diſtreſs.

Theſe Prelates, who were known to be the King's moſt inveterate enemies—the Queen and her Paramour excepted—were firſt ſent into his preſence; and, having extorted a conſent by dint of menaces, the other parliamentary commiſſioners were introduced. Edward no ſooner perceived them, than, overpowered by the acuteneſs of his feelings, he ſunk ſenſeleſs on the floor; but theſe ruffian Nobles, unmoved by his ſituation, coolly waited the recovery of his ſenſes, and performed the office with which they were charged. Edward, in anſwer to their requiſition, obſerved that he was in their power, and muſt neceſſarily ſubmit to their will. Truſſel, one of the judges who accompanied the deputies, then made, in the name of the Prelates, Nobles, and People of England, a formal renunciation of all homage, fealty, and obedience, to their lawful Sovereign; and Sir Thomas Blount, High Steward, breaking his ſtaff of office, declared all the King's houſhold diſcharged from the performance of their duty. Thus ended this ſtrange and unprecedented ceremony, and with it the unfortunate reign of Edward the Second, on the twentieth of January, in the year 1327.

One would naturally ſuppoſe that the Queen, having reduced her huſband to this degrading ſituation, and having attained that which even her enemies might have imagined to be the ultimate end of her nefarious proceedings, would have purſued her career of infamy no farther; but her vengeance was inſatiate. Iſabella and Mortimer now began to perceive, that numbers who had joined them for the purpoſe of inflicting an exemplary puniſhment on the Spenſers, had been dupes to their profeſſions, and really believed *that* to be the ſole

ſole object they had in view. Theſe, therefore, were enemies to all the ſubſequent meaſures of violence that had been adopted; and, though unable to ſtem the torrent of rebellion, they ſecretly cheriſhed ſentiments that were favourable to their Sovereign. Edward's deplorable ſituation could not fail to give theſe ſentiments additional force; and, as misfortunes ſoon beget compaſſion, it was feared that they might become univerſal, and produce a ſecond revolution. Theſe fears, too, were increaſed by the diſpoſition of Lancaſter, who treated his royal captive with great humanity and attention; and was even ſuſpected of a deſign to favour his eſcape, and promote his reſtoration to the throne. To obviate the dangerous conſequences that muſt naturally reſult from ſuch a meaſure to the Queen and Mortimer, and to gratify that diabolical ſpirit of vengeance with which they were both infected, the death of the unhappy Edward was reſolved on.

The firſt ſtep they purſued in conſequence of this reſolution, was to remove him from the cuſtody of Lancaſter. He was accordingly taken from Kenilworth on the third of April, and delivered over to Thomas Lord Berkeley, John de Montravers, and Sir Thomas Gournay; who were entruſted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While he was in the cuſtody of Berkeley, he was ſtill treated with that gentleneſs and reſpect which were due to his rank and misfortunes; but, when the turn of Montravers and Gournay came, he experienced every ſpecies of inſult and indignity that the moſt ſavage ferocity could inflict. They hurried him from caſtle to caſtle, expoſed to the noxious dews of the night, thinly clad, and his head wholly uncovered. Montravers having one day commanded him to be ſhaved with cold and dirty water brought from a ditch, the afflicted monarch burſt into tears; which bedewing his face, urged him to exclaim—"See! I have provided "clean and warm water, notwithſtanding your pro-"hibition!"

While Edward was thus tormented by the inhumanity of his gaolers, the eyes of the people began to open to the true characters of thoſe who were the chief inſtruments of his ſufferings; and ſeveral plans were, in conſequence, formed for effecting his delivery, as well by the inhabitants of Briſtol as the Dominican Friars, and ſome others: but theſe ſchemes only ſerved to accelerate the deſigns of his relentleſs perſecutors Finding all their attempts to put an end to his exiſtence by confinement and inſults baffled by the reſignation which he had of late evinced, Montravers and Gournay received orders from the Queen and Mortimer to take ſome effectual means of diſpatching him without farther delay. Theſe infernal inſtruments of cruelty executed with alacrity a command that was congenial to their ſouls. They came to Berkeley Caſtle at a time when the Lord Berkeley was confined by ſickneſs at Bradley; and, going to the apartment in which the King was impriſoned, they threw him on a bed, held him down with a table which they laid upon him, and thruſt into his fundament a red-hot iron, which they inſerted through a horn, in order to prevent the appearance of any external marks of violence. But the ſhrieks uttered by the agonizing King, while his bowels were conſuming, echoed through the vaulted roofs of the caſtle, and diſcovered the horrid murder to the guards and attendants.

Thus miſerably periſhed the unfortunate Edward, on the twenty-firſt of September, in the year 1327, which was the forty-third of his age; after a reign of nineteen years and ſix months, from the time of his acceſſion to that of his depoſition.

The miſcreants who perpetrated this horrid deed experienced that univerſal deteſtation which their infamy merited; and, when the ſubſequent revolution in England threw their protectors from power, they were obliged to fly the kingdom, in order to eſcape puniſhment. Gournay was afterwards ſeized at Marſeilles, delivered into the hands of the Seneſchal of Guienne, and put on board a ſhip, with a view of conveying him to England; but was beheaded at ſea, by ſecret orders, as was ſuppoſed, from ſome of the Engliſh Prelates and Nobles, who were anxious by his death to prevent a diſcovery of his accomplices. Montravers concealed himſelf for ſeveral years in Germany; but, having found means to render ſome ſervice to Edward the Third, he ventured to appear in his preſence; and throwing himſelf on his knees, ſubmitted to mercy, and received a pardon.

Edward the Second was a Prince, the facility of whoſe diſpoſition rendered him wholly incapable of governing a fierce and turbulent people; and it is highly probable that a conſcioufneſs of his own incapacity gave birth to that diſtinguiſhing foible of his character—an unaccountable paſſion for the reigning favourite—which proved the chief ſource of his misfortunes, and the cauſe of his miſerable death. Unfortunately, his attachment was influenced more by perſonal accompliſhments than by mental qualifications; it is not, therefore, ſurprizing that it ſhould have been fixed on unworthy objects. This ſtrange infatuation, however, ſo apparent in his ſingular conduct to Gavaſton and Spenſer, never drew any imputation of a criminal intercourſe, even from his moſt inveterate enemies; though the French hiſtorian, Mezeray, has dared openly to accuſe him of an unnatural connection with the latter. The paſſage which contains this unequivocal and ill-grounded accuſation we ſhall quote, merely for the purpoſe of inflicting on the author that marked reprobation which ſo wanton and infamous a deviation from veracity ſhould invariably incur. After a falſe account of the manner in which the younger Spenſer was taken, he gives the following deſcription of his execution—"Le favori, ſuivant la ſentence des Barons fut trainé "ſur un bahu dans les rues de la ville D'Hereford; "aprés cela monté au haut d'une échelle, oú le "bourreau *lui coupa les parties qui avoient fait le "ſcandale*," &c. Mezeray's motive for the promulgation of this calumnious falſhood was doubtleſs a deſire to render Edward odious, for the purpoſe of affording ſome palliation to the perfidy of Iſabella, as well as to the diſhonourable conduct of her

her brother, the King of France, who encouraged her in the proſecution of her villainous ſchemes.

Had Edward evinced greater judgment and penetration in the choice of his favourites, though his death might have been leſs tragical, it is far from certain that his reign would have been more happy and proſperous; for the diſorders and commotions which rendered it almoſt a conſtant ſcene of anarchy and confuſion, are rather to be aſcribed to the unreſtrained licentiouſneſs of the people, and the factious ſpirit of the Nobles, than to any miſconduct of the Sovereign. Yet, as in no one occurrence of his reign he was actuated by Vice, though frequently under the influence of Folly, had his counſellors been virtuous, and his ſubjects loyal—being more an object of pity than of indignation—he would have paſſed through life exempt from reproach, and his reign might have proved tranquil and happy.

In this reign the kingdom was afflicted with a grievous famine, which commenced in 1314, and continued for three years. Perpetual rains not only deſtroyed the harveſt, but bred a mortality among the cattle, and raiſed every kind of food to an enormous price: wheat, it is ſaid, was ſold for forty ſhillings the quarter, which was equivalent to thirty pounds of our preſent money. On this occaſion the parliament interpoſed, and fixed the price of every ſpecies of proviſion by law; but they were obliged ſoon to repeal their ordinance, as they found it prevented the markets from being ſupplied even as well as the ſeaſon would admit. The King iſſued a proclamation to prohibit people from making malt and brewing ale; and aſſigned, as a reaſon for the prohibition, that if they were not reſtrained from ſo doing, not only the poor, but the middle claſs of ſubjects, would inevitably periſh for want of food: and, indeed, it appears from the teſtimony of ſeveral contemporary hiſtorians, that prodigious numbers died of hunger, or of diſeaſes, contracted by the uſe of unwholeſome food. This deplorable famine, however, ſeems to have ariſen merely from unfavourable ſeaſons; ſo that thoſe authors, who have urged it as a proof of the badneſs of huſbandry at this period, have been too haſty in their concluſions.

The prices affixed by the parliament to different kinds of proviſions were as follow—Three pounds twelve ſhillings of our preſent money for the beſt ſtalled ox; for other oxen, two pounds eight ſhillings; a fat hog of two years old, ten ſhillings; a fat wether unſhorn, a crown; if ſhorn, three ſhillings and ſix-pence; a fat gooſe, ſeven-pence half-penny; a fat capon, ſix-pence; a fat hen, three-pence; two chickens, three-pence; four pigeons, three-pence; two dozen of eggs, three-pence. By theſe prices, it will appear that butcher's meat, in this time of great ſcarcity, muſt ſtill have been ſold by the parliamentary ordinance three times cheaper than our middling prices at preſent, and poultry ſomewhat lower.

The petition of the elder Spenſer to parliament, complaining of the devaſtations committed on his lands by the Barons, and enumerating the loſſes he had ſuſtained in conſequence, contain ſome curious particulars, which give an inſight into the manners of the age. He affirms, that they had ravaged ſixty-three manors belonging to him: and he makes his loſſes amount to forty-ſix thouſand pounds; that is, to one hundred and thirty-eight thouſand pounds of our preſent money. Among other loſſes, he mentions twenty-eight thouſand ſheep; one thouſand oxen and heifers; twelve hundred cows, with their breed for two years; five hundred and ſixty cart-horſes; two thouſand hogs, together with ſix hundred bacons; eighty carcaſes of beef, and ſix hundred muttons, in the larder; ten tuns of cyder; arms for two hundred men; and other warlike engines and proviſions. Hence we may conclude, that the greateſt part of Spenſer's extenſive territorial poſſeſſions, as well as thoſe of the other Nobility, was farmed by the landlord, managed by his ſtewards or bailiffs, and cultivated by his villains. Little or none of it was let out to huſbandmen: it's produce was conſumed by the Barons, or their officers, in ruſtic hoſpitality. A great number of idle retainers, ever ready to execute the tyrannical commands of their maſter, were conſtantly maintained by the Barons; who, inſtead of applying for redreſs to the laws of their country, became judges and executioners in their own cauſe. Thus every barony might be conſidered as a kind of independent principality, whoſe ſovereign exerciſed a deſpotic ſway over his own unfortunate vaſſals, and owned no other ſuperiority but that which ſuperior force compelled him to acknowledge. The feudal Nobles were ever loud in their complaints againſt the violence and injuſtice of miniſters, while their own conduct evinced a thorough contempt for every principle of law, juſtice, and good order.

The conſtitution of parliament acquired, in the courſe of this reign, a degree of ſolidity and uniformity which it had not before attained. In thoſe ſhort intervals of tranquillity, when it was fully attended, it conſiſted of all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, two Repreſentatives from the chapter of each cathedral, and two of the inferior Clergy of each dioceſe; all the Earls and principal Barons; with the Judges, and all the Members of the King's council, as well of the clergy as of the laity; two Knights from each county; two Citizens from each city; and two Burgeſſes from each burgh. The expences of the repreſentatives, incurred by their attendance in parliament, were defrayed by their conſtituents; and the clerical repreſentatives enjoyed the ſingular privilege of ſending ſubſtitutes, when it was inconvenient to attend in perſon.

It does not appear that, in this reign, the parliament was formally divided into two ſeparate houſes, though each of the different orders of which it conſiſted occaſionally retired, for the purpoſe of private conſultation, when any matter which particularly concerned their own claſs was the object of diſcuſſion. In theſe ſeparate conſultations, the Knights of ſhires generally ſat with the Earls and Barons,

Barons, as having been originally of the ſame order, and made equal ſupplies to the crown. The Repreſentatives of cities and burghs, who were themſelves citizens, burgeſſes, and inhabitants, of the places they repreſented, formed one body, and conſulted on all commercial concerns, as well as on granting aids to the King: and they were moſtly more liberal in their grants than the ſuperior orders; becauſe, as Carte obſerves, they were indebted to the crown for their eſtabliſhment and franchiſes, and from thence alone could hope to derive any farther privileges and immunities.

The Clergy were nearly equal in number, as well as in opulence and dignity, to the Laity, in the parliaments of this period. The Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors, correſponded to the Earls and Barons, and were ſummoned in a ſimilar manner, by a particular writ directed to each of them; the Deans and Archdeacons correſponded to the Knights of ſhires, and were ſummoned by the Biſhop, as the Knights were by the Sheriff of the county; and the Repreſentatives of the chapters of cathedrals, and of the inferior Clergy, who were denominated the *Spiritual Commons*, anſwered to the Members of cities and burghs. The Clergy alſo reſerved to themſelves the right of granting their own money in parliament, and frequently in a different proportion from the Laity. Theſe circumſtances, together with the influence of their character and precepts over the minds of the people, rendered the favour of the Clergy an object of material importance to the Prince in this period.

It is remarked by Dugdale, "That the certain "fixing of the Court of Common Pleas at Weſt-"minſter occaſioned much more reſort thereto "than before: for, about the beginning of Ed-"ward the Second's reign, there were ſo many "ſuits therein, as that the King was neceſſitated "to increaſe the number of his Juſtices who were "to ſit there unto ſix, which commonly were not "above three before that time; and ſo to divide "them, that they might ſit in two places." The Judges in this court were, at a ſubſequent period, increaſed to ſeven, and afterwards to nine; and, in proportion as the buſineſs of the Common Pleas augmented, that of the Exchequer, where it had been formerly tranſacted, declined. The members of the King's Council ſtill continued to poſſeſs great judicial powers, and acted as Barons of the Exchequer; and alſo decided many cauſes, *en dernier reſſort*, which parliament, from the ſhort duration of their ſeſſions, were unable to determine.

The frequency of civil commotions, added to the dreadful famine that raged with ſuch violence during a part of this reign, and which compelled the nobility to diſmiſs many of their retainers, greatly augmented the number of robbers in the kingdom, who ſpread their devaſtations over the whole country, and marched in troops, like regular armies. A band of theſe public depredators, commanded by Gilbert Middleton, and Walter Selbey, aſſaulted two Cardinals, in the vicinity of Darlington, in the year 1310, though they were eſcorted by the Biſhop of Durham, and his brother, Lord Beaumont, attended by a numerous retinue of gentlemen and ſervants. Having deſpoiled the Cardinals of their money and effects, they ſuffered them to purſue their journey; but they ſecured the Biſhop and his brother, one of whom they conveyed to the Caſtle of Morpeth, and the other to the Caſtle of Mitford; where they retained them till they had paid their ranſom.

Some idea of the magnificence and hoſpitality of the Great Barons of theſe times may be formed from the account of the houſhold expences of Thomas, Earl of Lancaſter, for the year 1313, which may be ſeen in Stowe's Survey of London. It appears from thence, that the expences of his pantry, buttery, and kitchen, amounted to three thouſand four hundred and five pounds; and that he paid for three hundred and ſixty-nine pipes of red wine, and two of white, one hundred and four pounds. The whole of his houſhold expences for that year amounted to ſeven thouſand three hundred and nine pounds; that is, twenty-one thouſand nine hundred and twenty-ſeven pounds of our preſent money; and, allowing for the cheapneſs of commodities, to one hundred and nine thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-five pounds. Indeed, if the great difference between the prices of ſome of the articles at that time and at preſent be conſidered, it appears probable that even a much greater ſum would be requiſite to purchaſe an equal quantity of proviſions. The pipe of French wine then coſt only ſeventeen ſhillings; which, according to the rate eſtabliſhed by the above computation, is eſteemed only as equivalent to four pounds five ſhillings of our preſent money.

Mr. Hume ſays that he had ſeen a French manuſcript, containing an account of ſome private diſburſements of Edward the Second; in which, among other articles, there was one of a crown paid to a perſon for making the King laugh: a taſk which, he juſtly obſerves, muſt have been attended with ſome difficulty, if we are allowed to judge by the calamities of his reign.

Among the amuſements of this period—which chiefly conſiſted of tournaments, the ſports of the field, and maſquerades—a ſpecies of theatrical repreſentation was much in vogue. The Monk of Malmſbury, who wrote the Life of Edward the Second, obſerves, that Walter Reynolds, who was promoted to the Primacy in the year 1214, was not a man of learning, but owed his elevation chiefly to his great ſkill in the management of theatrical repreſentations, of which he was ſuperintendent, and which had recommended him to the favour of his Sovereign. Theſe performances were generally aukward repreſentations of the moſt intereſting hiſtorical paſſages, both in the Old and New Teſtaments. Many ſuch were performed at Cheſter, in the laſt year of this reign, at the expence of the different incorporated companies of that city, and probably by the members and dependents of the companies. In Warton's Poetical Hiſtory we are told that, in the play or myſtery of the Creation, which was acted by the drapers, the perſons who repreſented

Adam and Eve appeared quite naked, without bluſhing themſelves, or raiſing a bluſh on the cheek of any of the ſpectators: ſo much does Modeſty itſelf, even in a civilized country, depend on habit and opinion! The myſtery of the Deluge, which was performed by the dyers, contained a violent altercation, not unlike a modern Billingſgate dialogue, between Noah and his wife, who abſolutely refuſed to enter the ark; and when her huſband compelled her to enter, ſhe rewarded his care with a ſevere box on the ear.

Poetry and Muſic were greatly encouraged during the reign of Edward: the *Minſtrels* formed a numerous fraternity, poſſeſſed many ſingular privileges, and were held in high eſtimation by perſons of all ranks. They wore a dreſs peculiar to themſelves; and were diſtinguiſhed by certain ornaments, which procured them immediate acceſs to the greateſt perſonages, even on the moſt ſolemn occaſions. Of this, the following remarkable and well-atteſted fact, which we have extracted from the excellent Poetical Hiſtory before quoted, affords a ſubſtantial proof. "When Edward the "Second, this year, 1316, ſolemnized the feaſt of "Pentecoſt, and ſat at table in royal ſtate, in the "Great Hall of Weſtminſter, attended by the "Peers of the realm, a certain woman, dreſſed in "the habit of a minſtrel, riding on a great horſe, "trapped in the minſtrel faſhion, entered the hall; "and going round the ſeveral tables, acting the "part of a minſtrel, at length mounted the ſteps "to the royal table, on which ſhe depoſited a "letter. Having done this, ſhe turned her horſe; "and, ſaluting all the company, ſhe departed. "When the letter was read, it was found to contain "ſome ſevere animadverſions on the King's con"duct; which induced Edward to threaten the "door-keepers with puniſhment for admitting the "woman: but they immediately replied, That it "never was the cuſtom of the King's palace to "deny admiſſion to minſtrels, eſpecially on ſuch "high ſolemnities and feaſt-days."

Even at this early period of our Hiſtory, the Engliſh ſailors had acquired great reputation for their ſkill and courage. The Monk of Malmſbury remarks, "That Engliſh ſailors excel all others, "both in the arts of navigation, and in manœuvring "their ſhips in action."

Edward endowed the Dominican Convent at Langley, in Hertfordſhire, with five hundred marks a year, to pray for the ſoul of Gavaſton; and he founded Oriel College, and St. Mary Hall, in Oxford.

Edward the Second left by his Queen, Iſabella of France, two ſons and two daughters; viz. Edward, who ſucceeded him on the throne, born at Windſor, the thirteenth of November, in the year 1312; John, afterwards created Earl of Cornwall, who was born at Eltham, on the firſt of Auguſt, in the year 1316, and died young, at Perth; Jane, afterwards married to David Bruce, King of Scotland; and Eleanor, married to Reginald, Duke of Gueldres.

EDWARD



EDWARD THE THIRD.

EDWARD the Third may juſtly be ſaid to have commenced his reign on the twenty-fourth of January, in the year 1327, as on that day the ſame parliament which had effected the depoſition of his father had cauſed him to be proclaimed King; and he had accordingly been crowned in Weſtminſter Abbey, on the firſt of the following month, by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. At the ſame time, a Council of Regency was appointed, conſiſting of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York; the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Worceſter, and Hereford; the Earls of Norfolk, Kent, and Surrey; and the Lords Wake, Piercy, Ingham, and Roſs. The Earl of Lancaſter was appointed Guardian and Protector of the King's perſon. This parliament likewiſe reverſed the attainders which had been formerly paſſed againſt the Earl of Lancaſter and his adherents; and the Spenſers, whoſe former attainder had been reverſed by the parliament, were now again condemned by the votes of their intereſted enemies, who confiſcated their eſtates, as well as thoſe of their friends and dependents. The appointment of a Regency, however, proved merely a matter of form, as the Queen and Mortimer, by whoſe means the late revolution had been effected, were careful to monopolize all the authority of the ſtate; and, at once to increaſe their influence and gratify their avarice, they appropriated to themſelves all the forfeited property of the Spenſers and their adherents, which was of immenſe value. Iſabella likewiſe obtained from this proſtituted parliament a grant of twenty thouſand pounds to diſcharge her debts; beſides an annual penſion, of equal value, by way of jointure.

That none of the abettors in the late criminal proceedings might go unrewarded, at a ſubſequent parliament, held at Weſtminſter on the thirteenth of November, a pardon was accorded to the citizens of London for all the acts of violence they had committed; and in conſideration of thoſe very crimes, for which a pardon was deemed neceſſary, they received a confirmation of their charter, and a conſiderable enlargement of their privileges: at the ſame time, the city obtained the right of extending it's juriſdiction over the Borough of Southwark.

As the King of France had entered into a war with Edward for the ſole purpoſe of favouring the infamous projects of his ſiſter, hoſtilities now ceaſed in Guienne, and a peace was concluded without any difficulty. The Scots, however, were not ſo peaceably inclined: Bruce, judging that the preſent diſtracted ſtate of England would afford a favourable opportunity for attacking it with advantage, and regardleſs of the truce which had been concluded in the late reign, entered on the borders with an army, and made an attempt to ſurprize the Caſtle of Norham; but the vigilance of Sir Robert Mannors, the Governor of that fortreſs, fruſtrated his plan, and compelled him to direct his march to another quarter. The Engliſh Regency, apprized of his motions, immediately diſpatched ambaſſadors, to remonſtrate with him on his violation of the truce, and to propoſe terms of accommodation: but Bruce, emboldened by the confuſion which he thought muſt neceſſarily pervade every department of the government at ſuch a conjuncture, haughtily rejected their propoſals, and expreſſed his determined intention of purſuing the war which he had thus treacherouſly commenced. Vigorous preparations were therefore made to oppoſe him: beſides raiſing an army of ſixty thouſand men, the Regency recalled John de Beaumont, who had returned to Hainault with his cavalry, which had proved themſelves ſuperior to the Engliſh troops, both in point of diſcipline and arms. Young Edward himſelf, inheriting the martial ardour of his grandfather,

grandfather, placed himſelf at the head of theſe numerous forces, and began his march to the north; but his progreſs was retarded by a dangerous diſpute that occurred at York between the Engliſh archers and the foreign troops, which was not ſettled till after much blood had been ſhed on both ſides. When he had compoſed this quarrel, he left York on the tenth of July, and advanced to Durham, where he arrived on the thirteenth. Here he received intelligence that the Scottiſh army had paſſed the River Tyne, and extended their depredations over the whole country.

Bruce had entruſted the command of his forces to the Earl of Murray and Lord Douglas, two of the moſt celebrated warriors of thoſe times; and their troops, during the long hoſtilities which had ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and Scots, had been inured to hardſhips and fatigue; and, by their manner of living, were peculiarly adapted to that deſultory and deſtructive war which they carried into England. Except a body of four thouſand cavalry, well armed and calculated for cloſe fighting, the reſt of the army conſiſted of light-armed troops, mounted on ſmall horſes, more diſtinguiſhed for ſwiftneſs than ſtrength, which found ſubſiſtence every where, and carried them with aſtoniſhing rapidity from one part of the country to another. Their whole equipage, as deſcribed by Froiſſart, conſiſted of a bag of oat-meal, which each ſoldier carried behind him, as a ſupply in caſe of neceſſity; together with a light plate of iron, on which he inſtantly baked his meal into a cake in the open fields. But his chief ſubſiſtence was the cattle which he ſeized; and his cookery was as expeditious as all his other operations. After fleaing the animal, he placed the ſkin, looſe and ſuſpended in the form of a bag, upon ſome ſtakes; he then poured water into it, kindled a fire beneath, and thus made it ſerve as a caldron for the purpoſe of boiling his victuals. This deſcription of Froiſſart may be exact; but it muſt certainly have required ſome ingenuity to preſerve the raw hide, as well as the ſtakes which ſupported it, from the effects of the flames.

An army, thus mounted and equipped, could not be eaſily overtaken, when they were anxious to avoid an enemy. They accordingly eluded the ardent purſuit of Edward: who, after paſſing ſome days in a fruitleſs chace, marched forwards; and, having paſſed the Tyne, poſted his troops on the northern banks of that river, with a determination to await their return. But the Scots, having extended their depredations over the whole country, he ſoon experienced a ſcarcity of proviſions, which obliged him to change his poſition, and return ſouthwards. Having now loſt all track of the enemy, he was induced to promiſe a penſion of one hundred pounds *per annum* to the firſt man that ſhould bring him an account of their motions and ſituation. Stimulated by the hope of reward, emiſſaries were employed on all ſides to make the important diſcovery, which was reſerved for one Thomas Rokeſby, who brought word that the Scots were encamped on the ſouthern banks of the River Were, at no great diſtance from the Engliſh army. Edward immediately marched towards them; but, on his approach to their camp, he found that their leaders had choſen their ſituation with ſuch judgment, that it would be the height of temerity to attack them. Impatient to come to action, he ſent a challenge to the Scottiſh commanders, daring them to advance into an open plain, and engage him on equal terms. Douglas, more brave than prudent, would have accepted his defiance, but was reſtrained by the ſuperior coolneſs and prudence of his colleague, Murray; who replied to Edward, that he never ſuffered an enemy to guide him in any of his operations. The King, therefore, poſted himſelf on the oppoſite banks of the river; and there remained, in expectation that the Scots would ſoon, from neceſſity, be compelled to alter their poſition: nor was he deceived; but they ſtill defeated his hopes, by decamping ſecretly in the night, advancing farther up the river, and taking poſſeſſion of a poſt equally advantageous in point of ſituation with that which they had juſt quitted. Edward, however, followed them, the moment he was apprized of their departure; and would have attacked them, even in that poſition, but for the interference of Mortimer, whoſe authority compelled him again to await their departure on the oppoſite ſide. While the two armies were thus poſted, Douglas formed the deſperate deſign of either killing or carrying off the King in the midſt of his army. With this view, having by ſome means or other gotten the watch-word, and having taken an exact ſurvey of the Engliſh camp, he entered it ſecretly in the night-time, and penetrated as far as the royal tent. But, at this critical moment, the King's Chaplain and Chamberlain awoke; and, ſacrificing their lives to the ſafety of their maſter, gave time to his guards to take up their arms and oppoſe this daring band. Edward himſelf made a noble defence; and Douglas, having loſt the greateſt part of his followers, was glad to make a haſty retreat with the few that remained. The Scots ſoon after reſolved to depart; and, having accordingly decamped in the dead of night, effected their eſcape to their own country without loſs. Edward, on entering the place where their encampment had been fixed, found only ſix Engliſhmen, whom the ruffians, after breaking their legs, had tied to trees, in order to prevent them from conveying any intelligence to their countrymen.

It is ſomewhat ſingular, that Dr. Henry, in his account of this tranſaction, ſhould have omitted to mention this laſt circumſtance, though he be ſtudious to detail every minutia of cruelty at any time practiſed by the Engliſh: it is alſo ſtrange, he ſhould have aſſerted that, although Douglas in his attempt on the King's perſon experienced a *deſperate reſiſtance*, he retired, after having killed three hundred of the enemy, *with little loſs*. When will the ſacred page of Hiſtory ceaſe to be polluted by the pitiful ſtain of national prejudice!

The young King was highly mortified at the diſappointment which had thus attended his firſt military enterprize; but, finding it in vain to purſue the

the Scots, he returned to York, and diſbanded his army. Mortimer, who had by this time become as odious as either of the favourites of Edward the Second, deemed it neceſſary to preſerve peace with the neighbouring powers, leſt the martial ardour of the King ſhould involve the nation in diſtreſs, and thereby afford his enemies a more favourable occaſion for effecting his ruin. With this view he entered into a negotiation with Bruce, whoſe deſire for peace was not leſs ardent, on account of his infirmities, and his wiſh to leave his dominions to his infant ſon in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity. This mutual willingneſs, ſeconded by Mortimer's determination to accompliſh his purpoſe by any ſacrifice, however great or diſhonourable, produced a ſpeedy accommodation. The claim of ſuperiority, which had cauſed the effuſion of ſo much blood, was for ever renounced; and Robert Bruce was in conſequence acknowledged as the independent Sovereign of Scotland. Farther to cement the union between the two kingdoms, a marriage was ſtipulated between Jane, the ſiſter of Edward, and David, the ſon and heir of the Scottiſh monarch. In return for theſe important advantages, Bruce conſented to pay to England the ſum of thirty thouſand marks, which are ſaid to have been divided between the Queen and Mortimer.

Although this treaty excited great diſcontent among the people, and increaſed the general odium againſt thoſe who had ſet it on foot, it was nevertheleſs ratified by parliament, in April 1328. Previous to this ratification, though Edward was only in his ſixteenth year, his marriage with Philippa, daughter of William the Third, Count of Hainault and Holland, had been ſolemnized at York.

Among the principal enemies of Mortimer were the three Princes of the blood, Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaſter, who had entered into a ſtrict alliance, in order to watch the motions and repreſs the encroachments of this dangerous favourite. When they were ſummoned to parliament, they refuſed to attend; and, having by that means declared their ſentiments, they found themſelves under the neceſſity of preparing to ſupport them by force of arms. They accordingly raiſed a body of troops; and, having called a meeting of the Barons of their party, they determined to call Mortimer, who had lately been created Earl of March, to a public account for the murder of the late King; for aſſuming that authority which had been delegated by parliament to the Council of Regency; for embezzling the public treaſure; for having concluded a peace with Scotland that was diſgraceful to the nation; and for various other crimes and miſdemeanors. But this confederacy—which from it's numbers, and the rank and conſequence of it's members, was extremely formidable—was ſoon diſſolved by the weakneſs and irreſolution of Kent and Norfolk, whoſe minds were ill adapted to the purſuit of any dangerous enterprize. Theſe noblemen having forſaken the party, and made their peace with the King, Lancaſter was compelled to follow their example; and, by the intervention of ſome of the Prelates, an apparent accommodation was effected.

Charles Le Bel, King of France, dying in the month of February, in the year 1328, left one daughter: his Queen, however, being preghant, the next male heir was appointed Regent, with a declared right of ſucceſſion, if the iſſue ſhould prove female. This Prince was Philip de Valois, couſin-german to the deceaſed King, being the ſon of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair. The Queen of France being delivered of a daughter, the Regency ended; and Philip was unanimouſly placed on the throne. Immediately after his acceſſion, he ſummoned Edward to do homage to him for his continental territories; but the young monarch had been inſpired with the abſurd idea that he himſelf was heir to the French crown, in right of his mother Iſabella, who was ſiſter to Charles Le Bel; though it was notorious that, by a cuſtom uninterrupted during the courſe of eleven generations, females were expreſsly excluded from the throne; and, to ſuppoſe that they could convey a right which they did not poſſeſs themſelves, was as groſs an abſurdity as Folly or Ambition had ever engendered. Impreſſed, however, with the idea that his claim was valid, Edward was loth to evince any mark of ſubmiſſion to a monarch whom he deemed an uſurper of his rights; but, being unable at preſent to enter into a conteſt with Philip, he was obliged, however unwilling, to obey the citation, and to content himſelf with proteſting, before his own council, that in ſo doing he only acted from prudential motives, without any intention of renouncing his right to the crown of France. After this precaution, not leſs abſurd than the claim itſelf, he ſailed from Dover on the twenty-ſixth of May, in the year 1329; did homage to Philip at Amiens; and returned to England on the eleventh of the following month. Though his ſtay in France was but ſhort, he had ſufficient time to be dazzled with the ſplendor of the French court, and to be ſtricken with the beauty and fertility of the country: and this confirmed him in the reſolution he had previouſly adopted of undertaking, at a convenient period, the conqueſt of that kingdom.

The reconciliation between Mortimer and the Princes of the blood, far from being ſincere, had only been conſented to by the former, that he might have a more favourable opportunity of exacting vengeance on his enemies. The Earl of Kent was the perſon whom he fixed on as his firſt victim; and the ſimplicity of that nobleman ſoon furniſhed him with a proper occaſion for the exertion of his malice. Mortimer had been careful, by means of his emiſſaries, to propagate a report that Edward the Second was ſtill alive, and confined in Corfe Caſtle; and it ſoon became ſo prevalent, that it reached the ears of Kent, whoſe remorſe for the part he had acted againſt that monarch probably inclined him to give eaſy credit to what he wiſhed to be true: he therefore entered into a deſign of reſtoring him to liberty, of reinſtating him on the throne, and of making thereby ſome

atonement for the injuries which he himſelf had unwarily done him. Sir James Devernel, the Governor of Corfe Caſtle, who had been tutored for the purpoſe, gave ſuch an anſwer to the Earl's enquiries as tended to confirm his ſuſpicions. He even offered to deliver a letter to the King his brother; which Kent having written, Devernel immediately ſent it to Mortimer; who having received it, by the aſſiſtance of the Queen, procured a parliament to be ſummoned to meet at Wincheſter on the eleventh of March. The Earl of Kent was particularly cited to attend; and, on his appearing, was inſtantly arreſted. As this ſervile parliament was chiefly compoſed of the Queen's factious adherents, it was no difficult matter to perſuade them to condemn a man who had become odious to her minion. Kent was tried on the ſixteenth of March, and convicted of high-treaſon, on the curious accuſation of having intended to raiſe a dead man to the throne. The Queen and Mortimer, apprehenſive that Edward might be induced to ſpare the life of his uncle, haſtened the execution of that unfortunate nobleman, who was accordingly beheaded on the third day after his trial.

The Earl of Lancaſter, on pretence of his having aſſented to this conſpiracy, was ſoon after thrown into priſon; many of the Prelates and Nobility were proſecuted on the ſame grounds; and the exorbitant power of Mortimer may eaſily be conceived, when he could employ ſuch a feeble pretext to operate the deſtruction of his moſt formidable enemies. The numerous confiſcations, too, which reſulted from theſe iniquitous proceedings, were appropriated to the purpoſe of enriching himſelf and his family. The eſtate of the Earl of Kent was ſeized for his younger ſon Geoffrey; and the immenſe fortunes of the Spenſers, and their adherents, had before been divided between the Queen and Mortimer, who now affected more than regal pomp and magnificence. His power became an object of terror to every one; his illegal practices were the ſubject of daily complaint; and all parties, forgetting their mutual animoſities, united in their hatred of this licentious favourite.

About three months after the execution of Kent, the young Queen was delivered of a ſon at Woodſtock, who was baptized by the name of Edward, and was afterwards ſo well known to the world under the appellation of *The Black Prince.* This happy event filled the nation with joy, and was attended with a favourable turn in the adminiſtration. The King having by this time nearly compleated his eighteenth year, and finding himſelf a father, determined to aſſert his own independence, and to extricate himſelf from thoſe diſgraceful ſhackles, impoſed on him by an inſolent miniſter and an unprincipled parent, which had hitherto precluded him from exerciſing the rights of ſovereignty. But the great power of Mortimer, by whoſe ſpies Edward was continually ſurrounded, rendered the accompliſhment of this project a matter of no ſmall difficulty, and as much care and circumſpection were neceſſary in the purſuit of it as if a ſcheme had been adopted for the ruin of the conſtitution. Lord Montacute was the firſt perſon to whom the King diſcloſed his intention; and, as the deſtruction of Mortimer was the neceſſary conſequence of this reſolution, and muſt neceſſarily be effected before the project could take place, it could not fail to prove agreeable to the Nobles, who entertained the moſt inveterate hatred to that rapacious minion. The Lords Molins, Clifford, Ufford, Stafford, and Clinton; Sir John Nevil of Hornby, Sir Humphry, Sir Edward, and Sir William de Bohun, with ſome others; were ſpeedily engaged to ſecond the views of their ſovereign: and the meeting of the next parliament, which was appointed to aſſemble at the caſtle of Nottingham fifteen days after Michaelmas, was fixed on as a proper time for putting their ſcheme in execution. The difficulty of the enterprize was, however, greatly encreaſed by the ſuſpicious vigilance of Mortimer, who never ſtirred from home without a conſiderable retinue of armed Knights and followers.

On his arrival at Nottingham with Iſabella, having probably heard ſomething of the plot that was formed againſt him, he took up his reſidence in the caſtle, with a ſtrong guard; and the gates being locked every evening, the keys were carried to the Queen, who placed them under her pillow. When the King arrived, he was admitted into the fortreſs, but the greateſt part of his attendants were excluded; ſo that there appeared no poſſibility of accompliſhing his deſign without ſecuring Sir William Eland, the Governor, in his intereſt. To him, therefore, the matter was communicated; and, as it met with his zealous approbation, he diſcovered to Lord Montacute and his aſſociates a ſubterraneous paſſage, that had formerly been uſed as a ſecret outlet from the caſtle, but was now buried in rubbiſh; by which they entered early on the morning of the nineteenth of October; and, being joined by the King and ſome of his attendants from within, they ſeized the perſon of Mortimer in an apartment adjoining to that of the Queen. Iſabella earneſtly entreated her ſon to ſpare the life of her beloved favourite; but her entreaties experienced the contempt they deſerved; and this baſe object of her criminal deſires was ſent, properly guarded, to the Tower of London. Two of Mortimer's ſons, with many of his adherents, were apprehended at the ſame time; and that very day Edward cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued, in which his ſubjects were informed that he had taken the reins of government into his own hands; and a new parliament was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter on the twenty-ſixth of November, in order to try the priſoners. No formal trial, however, took place; for the guilt of Mortimer in the various accuſations that were preferred againſt him, and which were the ſame as thoſe which had been advanced before by the aſſociated Barons, was deemed ſo notorious as to preclude the neceſſity of examining witneſſes, or of entering into any legal diſquiſition whatever. So little were the forms of law attended to in thoſe days; and ſo ignorant were our anceſtors of this important truth—That in legal proceſſes, where the form of Juſtice is deſtroyed, the ſubſtance muſt ſpeedily

follow

follow! Mortimer was declared by the parliament to have been found guilty of high treaſon, and condemned to ſuffer the death of a traitor. This ſentence was accordingly put in execution on the twenty-ninth of November, in the year 1330, at a place called *The Elms*, in the vicinity of the metropolis; where his body was ſuffered to hang two days on the common gibbet.

Thus periſhed Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, by a death well ſuited to the ignominy of his life. This rapacious nobleman appears not to have poſſeſſed a ſingle virtue that could afford the ſmalleſt compenſation for the numerous bad qualities which vitiated his mind, and corrupted his heart: and, as the principal actions by which he had riſen to diſtinction conſiſted in the complicated crimes of treaſon, adultery, and murder, it is not ſurprizing that he ſhould at length have ſunk to the diſgrace he ſo juſtly merited; and that the rigour of his fate ſhould have become an object of applauſe, inſtead of regret.

Some of Mortimer's adherents likewiſe ſuffered death by a ſentence of the Houſe of Peers; and, among others of inferior note, was Simon de Bereford. But the Barons, in that act of juriſdiction, entered a proteſt, that though they had tried Bereford, who was not one of their Peers, they ſhould not, in future, be obliged to receive any indictment of a ſimilar nature. The Queen-Mother, indiſputably the moſt criminal of all the culprits, was confined to her own houſe at Riſings, near London; and her revenue reduced to three thouſand marks a year.

Edward having, by theſe juſt and ſpirited proceedings, eſtabliſhed himſelf in the ſovereignty of the kingdom, began to exerciſe his new-acquired power in a manner that could not fail to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects in general. He applied himſelf, with the moſt ſerious aſſiduity, to redreſs the numerous grievances which had been ſuſtained by the people during the late confuſed ſtate of the kingdom. He was ſtudious to enforce a rigid and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice; and as thieves and public depredators—the never-failing offspring of national commotions—had multiplied to an enormous degree, and were openly protected by the great Barons, who were ever careful to profit by the calamities of their country, after exacting from the Peers a ſolemn promiſe in parliament, that they would withdraw their countenance and protection, he determined, if poſſible, to extirpate this alarming evil. Many of theſe gangs had become ſo numerous, as to render his own preſence neceſſary to diſperſe them; and, in the execution of this ſalutary office, he diſplayed the moſt active induſtry and the moſt undaunted courage. The miniſters of juſtice, ſtimulated by the example of their Sovereign, employed the greateſt diligence in diſcovering the criminals, and in bringing them to puniſhment; ſo that, in a ſhort time, their numbers were greatly reduced: and, though Edward could not wholly correct a diſorder which had hitherto been inherent in the conſtitution, he at leaſt ſucceeded ſo far as to effect it's palliation in a conſiderable degree.

But domeſtic arrangements, however uſeful, were inadequate to gratify the ambitious ſpirit of Edward, which anxiouſly ſought for farther exertion; and an opportunity ſoon occurred for diſplaying itſelf to advantage. Bruce, King of Scotland, died about this time, and left the crown to his ſon, David; who, being a minor, was entruſted to the guardianſhip of Randolf, the brave Earl of Murray: but that nobleman likewiſe dying in a few months after his appointment, was ſucceeded in the regency by Donald, Earl of Marr.

In the laſt treaty between England and Scotland, it had been ſtipulated, that both the Scottiſh Nobility, who before the commencement of hoſtilities had been poſſeſſed of lands in England, and the Engliſh who inherited eſtates in Scotland, ſhould be reſtored to their reſpective poſſeſſions. But, though Edward had enforced a ſtrict obſervance of the treaty on his part, Bruce had neglected to follow his example. Indeed, the Scottiſh Monarch was endued with a great portion of that ſpecies of wiſdom to which the epithet *worldly* may with juſtice be applied; and had, in conſequence, been always careful to diveſt himſelf of thoſe inconvenient principles of rectitude which induce a Sovereign to ſacrifice Intereſt at the ſhrine of Honour: in other words, Bruce had never obſerved a treaty, however ſolemn, when the violation of it could be attended with advantage to himſelf. For reaſons which, Dr. Henry *ſagaciouſly* remarks, *are not certainly known*, the Scottiſh eſtates belonging to the Engliſh Nobles had never been reſtored, either by Bruce or the Regent; and a diſappointment ſo ſerious made the Barons begin to think of obtaining by force what they had not been able to procure by remonſtrance.

Edward Baliol, the ſon of that John Baliol who was crowned King of Scotland, had been detained a priſoner in England ſome time after the releaſe of his father; but having at length procured his liberty, he went over to France, and lived, in a private ſtation, on his patrimonial eſtate in Normandy, without any thought of reviving the claims of his family, (which, though long dormant, were ſtill valid) to the crown of Scotland. In this ſituation he was found by Lord Beaumont, a powerful Engliſh Baron, who, in right of his wife, claimed the earldom of Buchan, in Scotland; and that nobleman deeming Baliol a proper inſtrument for his purpoſe, perſuaded him to revive his dormant claim, and aſſert his right to the Scottiſh throne. This project could not but prove agreeable to Edward, whoſe ambition naturally impelled him to regain that ſuperiority over Scotland which the imbecility of his father, or rather the infamous conduct of his own miniſter, had forfeited: but as, in his treaty with that kingdom, he had entered into a bond of twenty thouſand pounds, payable to the Pope, if within four years he violated the peace, and the term was not yet elapſed, he was reſolved not to adopt any meaſure which could ſubject him to the penalty of the obligation. The Barons, however, who wiſhed to recover their poſſeſſions, determined to exert themſelves for that purpoſe: they accordingly inliſted troops to the

the amount of two thouſand five hundred, who were placed under the command of Edward Baliol; Umfreville, Earl of Angus; the Lords Beaumont, Ferrars, Fitz-Warin, Wake, Stafford, Talbot, and Moubray. As they apprehended that the frontiers would be ſtrongly armed and guarded, they reſolved to make their attack by ſea. They accordingly embarked at Ravenſpur; and, ſailing up the Frith of Forth, landed at Kinghorn on the ſixth of Auguſt, in the year 1332; where they defeated, with conſiderable ſlaughter, a ſtrong body of Scots, who had been haſtily raiſed to oppoſe their landing. Baliol next advanced into the heart of the country, hoping that the ancient friends of his family would haſten to join him; but he was diſappointed in his expectations; for the long wars between the Engliſh and Scots had excited ſuch a mutual animoſity, that any Prince who was ſupported by the former, however valid his claims, could not fail to be rejected by the latter. The Regent, therefore, found no difficulty in raiſing a powerful army to oppoſe his progreſs. It is ſaid that the forces united, on this occaſion, under the banners of the Earl of Marr, amounted to no leſs a number than forty thouſand; but this undiſciplined band, confiding in their ſtrength, preſerved no regularity in their operations, and thereby contributed to facilitate their own deſtruction. Being encamped on the River Ern, at no great diſtance from the town of Perth, they were ſo extremely negligent in placing their guards, that Baliol paſſed the river in the night-time, and penetrated into their camp, wholly unperceived. The Scots, thus taken by ſurprize, were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, and ſpeedily driven from the field with great ſlaughter. But, in the morning, when they had ſomewhat recovered from their conſternation, aſhamed of being overcome by an enemy ſo inferior in numbers, they determined to return, and retrieve in the day the honour they had loſt in the night. Their extreme eagerneſs for revenge urged them to ruſh on to battle, regardleſs of ſome broken ground which lay between them and the enemy, and which threw their cavalry into great diſorder. Baliol ſeized the favourable opportunity; and, advancing towards them, began the attack with ſuch impetuoſity, that the Scots had no time to rally their troops, and were again driven from the field with conſiderable loſs.

In the two engagements there fell thirteen thouſand Scots; and, among theſe, the flower of their nobility: the Regent himſelf; the Earl of Carrick, a natural ſon of Robert Bruce; the Earls of Athol and Monteith; Lord Hay of Errol, Conſtable of Scotland; and the Lords Keith and Lindſay; were all ſlain. The loſs of the Engliſh on this occaſion is ſaid not to have exceeded forty men; a diſproportion almoſt incredible, and which can only be attributed to a wonderful ſuperiority in point of diſcipline. Baliol immediately took poſſeſſion of Perth; and, on the twenty-ſeventh of September, was crowned King of Scotland, at Scone.

When Edward received the news of this ſudden revolution in Scotland, he was attending a parliament that had been ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter; and the Nobles who were preſent adviſed him to raiſe a powerful army without delay, and march to the North; that he might be ready to act as occaſion ſhould require. Baliol, in the mean time, had advanced to Roxburgh; where he executed a deed, dated the twenty-third of November, by which he acknowledged the ſuperiority of England over the crown and kingdom of Scotland; and engaged to deliver the town of Berwick to Edward; and to eſpouſe Jane, the ſiſter of the Engliſh monarch, who had already been married to David, the young King of Scots, provided a divorce could be obtained from the Sovereign Pontiff. Soon after the execution of this deed, to which Baliol had probably been impelled from the idea that the protection and aſſiſtance of England were abſolutely requiſite to ſecure to him the crown he had acquired with ſuch rapidity, David and the Princeſs Jane were ſent over to France; and the partizans of Bruce ſued to Baliol for a truce, which he readily granted, in order to aſſemble a parliament in tranquillity, and have his title recognized by the whole Scottiſh nation. Peace, by this means, being apparently reſtored, the new Monarch of Scotland diſmiſſed his Engliſh troops, and retired to Annan, there to celebrate the approaching feſtival of Chriſtmas. But Sir Archibald Douglas, the young Earl of Murray, Sir Simon Fraſer, and ſome other chieftains of that party, who had been taught by their late Sovereign to deſpiſe both treaties and truces when impelled by intereſt to a violation of them, attacked Baliol in the night ſo ſuddenly, that he had ſcarcely time to effect his eſcape to Carliſle, on horſeback, half naked. His brother, Henry Baliol, was ſlain, with many of his adherents; and all his baggage fell into the hands of theſe nocturnal aſſaſſins. Thus did Baliol loſe his kingdom by a revolution as ſudden as that by which he had acquired it.

The Scots, flushed with ſucceſs, made incurſions into Cumberland, and ſpread their devaſtations over the whole country; which afforded a fair pretence to Edward for eſpouſing the cauſe of the Monarch whom they had lately expelled. Accordingly, having ſummoned a parliament to meet at York, in the beginning of March, he aſked the advice of his Barons on the ſubject. They declined, however, giving any opinion: but their approbation of his ſcheme, though not openly expreſſed—probably from the idea of gaining a plauſive pretext for exciting commotions in the kingdom, (from which they were ever ſure to derive advantage) ſhould he fail in it's execution—was certainly implied in the grant which they made him, in order to ſupport the enterprize, of a fifteenth of the perſonal eſtates of the Nobility and Gentry, and a tenth of the moveables of boroughs.

Edward's firſt attempt was on the town of Berwick, which the Scots had ſtrongly fortified, and which was ably defended by the Governor, Sir William Keith, a brave and experienced officer, at the head of a numerous garriſon. After a ſiege of two months, Keith was reduced to the neceſſity

of

of capitulating; and, on the ſixteenth of July, he entered into a formal agreement to ſurrender the town to the Engliſh, if not relieved before the morning of the twentieth. This intelligence being conveyed to Douglas, Regent of Scotland, who was preparing to invade Northumberland with a powerful army, he immediately advanced to the relief of Berwick, and arrived in ſight of the Engliſh on the nineteenth of July. Edward had drawn up his troops on Halidown Hill, about a mile to the north-weſt of Berwick; where he received the attack of the Scots with ſuch ſteadineſs as effectually checked their impetuoſity, and obliged them to give way. Though Douglas, in order to render the action more ſteady and deſperate, had diſmounted his heavy-armed cavalry, they were ſo galled by the Engliſh archers, that they were ſoon thrown into diſorder; and, on the fall of their leader, who was ſlain by a ſpear, the confuſion became general. The whole army fled with the utmoſt precipitation; but, being purſued with alacrity by Edward at the head of the Engliſh cavalry, and by a body of light-armed troops from Ireland, under the command of Lord Darcy, great numbers of them were put to the ſword. The loſs of the Scots on this occaſion is by ſome authors ſaid to have amounted to nearly thirty thouſand men, among whom were moſt of the principal Nobility who adhered to the family of Bruce; while that of the Engliſh was inconſiderable.

After this ſignal defeat, the Scots were conſtrained to ſubmit; and Edward, having left twenty-ſix thouſand men with Baliol to compleat the conqueſt of the kingdom, diſmiſſed the reſt of his army, and returned to England. Baliol was proclaimed King, by a parliament aſſembled at Perth ſoon after Michaelmas; and, at the ſame time, the ſuperiority of England was formally recognized: all the laws which had been made in the preceding reigns were repealed, the partizans of Bruce proſcribed, and their eſtates chiefly beſtowed on ſuch of the Engliſh Nobility as had contributed moſt to this revolution. But the Scots were ſtill averſe to the government of a Monarch whom they conſidered, not only as the vaſſal, but as the delegate, of the King of England; and a circumſtance that occurred ſoon after tended to confirm their hatred. On the twelfth of June, in the year 1334, Baliol repaired to Newcaſtle; and on the eighteenth did homage in perſon to Edward for the kingdom of Scotland; and ceded to him the counties of Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Dumfries, Peebles, Haddington, and Linlithgow; which were accordingly declared to be for ever annexed to the Engliſh monarchy.

Theſe conceſſions rendered Baliol extremely odious to the Scots, and afforded his enemies a popular topic of declamation againſt his perſon and government. The Engliſh forces, therefore, were no ſooner withdrawn, than his ſubjects again revolted; and Sir Andrew Murray, who had been appointed Regent by the partizans of Bruce, having collected a formidable body of troops, expelled Baliol from all the northern parts of Scotland. Edward was obliged again to make application to his parliament for ſupplies, aſſemble an army, and march to the aſſiſtance of his vaſſal. The Scots, taught by experience, withdrew to their hills and fortreſſes, and left the open country a prey to the ravages of the enemy. Edward deſtroyed the habitations, and laid waſte the eſtates, of the inſurgents; which, inſtead of awing them into ſubmiſſion, only ſerved to increaſe their antipathy to Baliol and his ſupporters; and when the Engliſh retreated, they iſſued from their mountains, and ſoon reconquered their country. The King once more marched an army into Scotland, and experienced a return of ſucceſs: no enemy appeared to oppoſe his progreſs; and he advanced, free from interruption, as far north as Inverneſs; from whence he proceeded to Aberdeen, which he reduced to aſhes. But ſtill the Scottiſh nation was far from being ſubdued; they were not only impelled by anger to reſiſt a yoke which they deemed ſervile and oppreſſive, but were daily encouraged to perſevere in their endeavours by promiſes of foreign aſſiſtance.

Soon after the arrival of Baliol in Scotland, David Bruce, the young Scottiſh Monarch, with his betrothed wife Jane, ſiſter to the King of England, had been ſent over to France, where they experienced a kind reception from the French King; who, perceiving Edward to be endued with an ambitious ſpirit of enterprize, and having probably received ſome intimations of his intended claim, had determined to afford every poſſible aſſiſtance to the party of Bruce, to enable them to protract the war, and thereby furniſh ample occupation for him at home. Great preparations were accordingly making in France for that purpoſe; but Edward, being apprized of Philip's intentions, reſolved to anticipate them, by carrying the war into France, and boldly aſſerting his claims to that kingdom.

In this reſolution he was confirmed by Robert d'Artois, who had lately taken refuge in the court of England. This nobleman, who was a Prince of the blood royal of France, and whoſe ſiſter had eſpouſed Philip, the French Monarch, had, in the reign of Philip Le Bel, claimed the province of Artois as his lawful inheritance; but by a ſentence of that Prince, pronounced in the year 1309, which was generally deemed iniquitous, that province was adjudged to Maud, aunt to Robert. When his brother-in-law, Philip de Valois, aſcended the throne of France, Robert began to entertain hopes of procuring a reverſal of the ſentence; but was unfortunately ſeduced to the commiſſion of an action ſo unworthy of his rank and character as a forgery, which he committed for the purpoſe of ſtrengthening his title to the territory which he claimed. Being detected, however, his brother-in-law confiſcated his effects, and baniſhed him his kingdom; and Robert firſt retired to Brabant, from whence being driven by the authority of Philip, he came over to England; where, in ſpite of the menaces and remonſtrances of the French King, he was favourably received by Edward, who ſoon admitted him into his councils and confidence. In

order to gratify his reſentment againſt Philip, and to recover the eſtates and honours which he had loſt, this illuſtrious exile laboured with great earneſtneſs to perſuade Edward that his title to the crown of France was indiſputably valid; and that a Prince of his valour and abilities might certainly render his claims effectual. As we are eaſily perſuaded into a belief of what is agreeable to our wiſhes, Edward acknowledged the juſtice of Robert's arguments, and came to a final determination to attempt the conqueſt of a kingdom which he either believed, or pretended to believe, was his undoubted right.

Philip, in the mean time, being informed of the preparations which the King of England was making for an invaſion of his dominions, iſſued a ſentence of felony and attainder againſt Robert d'Artois; and declared, that every vaſſal of the crown, whether *within* or *without* the kingdom, who afforded protection to that traitor, would incur ſimilar penalties: a menace that could not be miſtaken. But Edward, far from being deterred by the vain threats of his enemy, redoubled his diligence in preparing for the execution of his plan: he endeavoured to form alliances in the Low Countries, and on the frontiers of Germany, the only places from which he either could make an effectual attack upon France, or produce ſuch a diverſion as might preſerve the province of Guienne, which lay ſo much expoſed to the power of Philip.

The King began with communicating his deſigns to the Count of Hainault, his father-in-law; and, having engaged him in his intereſts, he employed the good offices and counſels of that Prince in ſecuring the alliance of the other Sovereigns of thoſe parts. The Duke of Brabant was induced by his mediation, and by large remittances of money from England, to promiſe his ſupport: the Archbiſhop of Cologne, the Duke of Gueldres, the Marquis of Juliers, the Count of Namurs, the Lords of Fauquemont and Bacquen, with ſome others, were engaged by ſimilar methods to embrace the cauſe of Edward. Theſe ſovereign Princes could ſupply, either from their own ſtates, or from the bordering countries, great numbers of warlike troops; and nothing was wanting to render the force in that quarter compleatly formidable but the acceſſion of Flanders, which Edward ſoon procured in a manner ſomewhat extraordinary.

As the Flemings were the firſt people in the northern parts of Europe that cultivated arts and manufactures, the lower ranks of men among them had attained to a certain degree of opulence, which none of their ſtation had acquired in other countries. Privileges and independence naturally followed an acquiſition of wealth; and hence the Flemings began to emerge from that ſtate of ſlavery to which by the feudal inſtitutions the common people were univerſally reduced. From this independence aroſe an averſion to every ſpecies of government that was tinctured with deſpotiſm; and, by an eaſy gradation in minds inapt to reaſon, and unreſtrained by ſalutary laws, the ſpirit of liberty ſpeedily degenerated into licentiouſneſs. Factions and tumults were the conſequence. The Earl of Flanders was driven into France; and the people delivered themſelves over to the guidance of a ſeditious leader, who ſought to ſecure the duration of his power by encouraging the commiſſion of violence, and the promotion of diſorders.

Their preſent leader was James d'Arteville, a rich brewer, of Ghent, who governed them with a more abſolute ſway than had ever been aſſumed by the moſt tyrannical of their lawful Sovereigns; but, when the people have the privilege of chuſing an idol for themſelves, oppreſſion ceaſes to be burdenſome, and deſpotiſm to be odious. This demagogue aſſumed the power of placing and diſplacing magiſtrates at pleaſure; and was accompanied by a guard, who, on the leaſt ſignal from him, inſtantly aſſaſſinated any man who had been unfortunate enough to incur his diſpleaſure. He had ſpies in all the cities of Flanders; and it was immediate death to give him the ſmalleſt offence. The few Nobles who remained in the country lived in a ſtate of continual apprehenſion: he ſeized the eſtates of all thoſe whom he had either baniſhed or murdered; and, after beſtowing a part on their wives and children, converted the remainder to his own uſe. This was the firſt *popular* deſpot that was ſeen in Europe; nor was his government leſs violent than thoſe of the feudal tyrants, whoſe example he probably endeavoured to imitate.

Edward having with the greateſt aſſiduity courted the alliance of d'Arteville, through his influence ſecured the Flemings in his intereſt, and obtained from them an invitation to land his army in their territories. Theſe foreign connections being eſtabliſhed, it became neceſſary to raiſe ſufficient ſums for defraying the immenſe expences of this important enterprize. For this purpoſe he made application to his parliament; and, though they had very lately granted him a conſiderable aid, his deſigns againſt France had become ſo popular, that he obtained from the Prelates, Barons, and Knights of Shires, one half of their wool of that year; a grant not leſs valuable than extraordinary! But this not being ſufficient, he adopted many other methods of levying money. He ſeized all the tin in Cornwall and Devonſhire; he took poſſeſſion of the lands of all alien priories; he appropriated to his own uſe all the valuable property of the Lombard merchants, who now exerciſed the invidious, but lucrative trade, formerly monopolized by the Jews, of lending on intereſt; he exacted from each county a ſtated quantity of corn, oats, and bacon; he borrowed the ſilver plate belonging to many of the rich abbies, as well as conſiderable ſums of money, both abroad and at home, on his own perſonal ſecurity; and even pawned his very crown for fifty thouſand florins! Having at length compleated his preparations, and appointed his eldeſt ſon Edward Guardian of the kingdom, he ſailed from the port of Orwell, in Suffolk, the ſixteenth of July, in the year 1338, with a large fleet and a powerful army. But, when he arrived on the continent, he found his allies but ill prepared to ſecond his attempts: they had neglected to furniſh their ſtipulated

ſtipulated quota of troops; and, alarmed at the ſtrength of the enemy they had to encounter, they were anxious to find ſome cauſe for retracting their engagement. Theſe unexpected difficulties reduced Edward to the diſagreeable neceſſity of waſting a whole year in negotiations. In order to ſatisfy the ſcruples of the German Princes, he obtained from Lewis of Bavaria, who was then Emperor, the title of *Vicar of the Empire*; which, though it was merely nominal, gave him an apparent right to command the inferior Potentates of Germany. The Flemings, who were vaſſals of France, affecting ſimilar ſcruples in regard to waging war againſt their liege Lord, Edward, by the advice of d'Arteville, aſſumed in his commiſſions the title of *King of France*; and, in virtue thereof, claimed their aſſiſtance to dethrone Philip de Valois, whom he termed the uſurper of his lawful inheritance. He was not perſuaded to adopt this meaſure, the danger of which he had ſufficient penetration to foreſee, without much reluctance and heſitation; and it would have been happy, not only for himſelf, but his poſterity, had he perſevered in his oppoſition to ſo hazardous a ſtep, as from hence we may date the commencement of that ſtrong national animoſity which has ever ſince ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms, and which has occaſioned ſuch an infinite effuſion of blood. In all the preceding reigns ſubſequent to the acceſſion of William the Firſt, whenever hoſtilities had occurred between the two crowns, they had ſprung merely from fortuitous events; their effects, conſequently, had been but temporary, and the animoſity they had excited ſubſided with the cauſe that gave riſe to it. The Engliſh Nobility and Gentry valued themſelves on their French or Norman extraction: the language of that country had become faſhionable, and almoſt univerſal; and both the Engliſh court and camp being always full of French Nobles, a more intimate connection had prevailed between theſe two people, during ſome centuries, than between any two diſtinct nations whom we meet with in hiſtory. But the fatal pretenſions of Edward the Third wholly broke off this mutual intercourſe, and left the ſeeds of Diſcord and Hatred in both countries, which continued to thrive with the moſt deſtructive vigour, till blighted by the Sun of Liberality, whoſe effulgent beams irradiate the preſent æra of refinement with unexampled ſplendor.

Though Edward, by various grants and preſents, had exacted a promiſe from his allies to meet him in the field with their reſpective troops at the commencement of July, in the following year, 1339, when that time approached, he ſtill found them irreſolute, and inſatiate in their demands for money; which obliged him not only to exert his credit to the utmoſt, but even reduced him to the neceſſity of pawning the jewels of his Queen. The ſummer was by this means entirely waſted, and September far advanced, before he was able to open the campaign; and even then he was obliged to allure his German allies by a promiſe of commencing his operations with the ſiege of Cambray, a city of the empire which had been garriſoned by Philip: but finding, upon trial, the extreme danger and difficulty of the enterprize, he conducted them towards the frontiers of France; when the Count of Namur, and even the Count of Hainault, his brother-in-law—for the old Count was dead—refuſed to advance any farther, and immediately retired with their forces. The King, however, notwithſtanding this defection, had ſtill an army of forty thouſand men; with which he entered the enemy's country, and encamped on the plains of Vironfoſſe, near Capelle.

Philip, who had received ſufficient warning of this formidable invaſion, had made every poſſible preparation for a vigorous defence. Beſides the unanimous concurrence of the Nobility in his own populous and warlike kingdom, his foreign alliances were both more powerful and more cordial than thoſe of Edward. The Sovereign Pontiff, who at this time reſided at Avignon, was entirely dependent on France; and being diſpleaſed with the King of England for forming a connection with the Emperor, whom he had excommunicated, he embraced with zeal and ſincerity the cauſe of the French Monarch. Philip had likewiſe contracted alliances with the Kings of Bohemia and Navarre; the Dukes of Britanny, Lorraine, and Auſtria; the Palatine of the Rhine; the Biſhop of Liege; and the Counts of Deux-pont, Vaudemont, and Geneva. By this means he had been enabled to raiſe an army of one hundred thouſand men, with which he now advanced to oppoſe the progreſs of Edward, and a general engagement was daily expected to take place: but the Engliſh Monarch was averſe to engage on ſuch unequal terms; and Philip being unwilling to run any unneceſſary hazard, the two armies lay oppoſite to each other for ſeveral days without coming to action; and at length Edward retired into Flanders, where he ſent his troops into winter-quarters.

Thus ended the firſt campaign; which only ſerved to exhauſt the treaſury of Edward, and made him contract a debt of three hundred thouſand pounds, without reaping the ſmalleſt advantage: but he was endued with too much ſpirit to be diſcouraged by the firſt difficulties of an undertaking, which rather tended to increaſe his thirſt for glory, and to inſpire him with an ardent deſire of retrieving his honour by more ſucceſsful undertakings.

Among other engagements which the King had entered into with his allies, he had promiſed not to quit the continent till the concluſion of the war; but this was a promiſe he now found it impoſſible to perform, his preſence being abſolutely neceſſary in England, to procure ſupplies for ſupporting the conteſt. Having, therefore, left his Queen, and his infant ſon, Lionel, afterwards Duke of Clarence, with four of his principal Nobles, at Antwerp, as hoſtages for his return within a week after Midſummer, he embarked for England, and landed at Harwich on the twenty-firſt of February, in the year 1340.

The King, perceiving that the war muſt be inevitably protracted, had, in the courſe of the campaign, ſent orders to his ſon to ſummon a parliament, and to demand ſome ſupply in his urgent neceſſities.

neceſſities. The Barons, dazzled by the proſpect of foreign conqueſts, expreſſed an inclination to grant his requeſt; but the Knights of ſhires, who at this time acted as a ſeparate body from the Burgeſſes, made ſome ſcruple of impoſing taxes on their conſtituents without their conſent; and they deſired young Edward to ſummon a new parliament, that might be properly empowered for that purpoſe; which accordingly met about a month before the King's arrival in England.

The ſituation of the King and parliament was for the time nearly ſimilar to that which they conſtantly fell into about the commencement of the laſt century, and ſimilar conſequences began viſibly to appear. The King, ſenſible of the frequent demands which his neceſſities would urge him to make on his people, had been anxious to provide againſt a refuſal by inſuring to his friends a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons; and, at his inſtigation, the Sheriffs, and other placemen, had procured themſelves to be elected into that aſſembly; an abuſe which the Knights deſired the King to correct by the tenor of his writ of ſummons, and which was accordingly remedied The Knights had alſo profeſſedly annexed conditions to their intended grant; and required a conſiderable retrenchment of the royal prerogative, particularly with regard to purveyance, and the levying of the ancient feudal aids for knighting the King's eldeſt ſon, and marrying his eldeſt daughter. The new parliament, called by young Edward, perſiſted in the ſame reſolutions; and, though they offered a ſupply of thirty thouſand ſacks of wool, the conditions they annexed appeared ſo exorbitant, that no buſineſs was concluded. But when the King himſelf came over to England, he ſummoned another parliament to meet on the twenty-ninth of March; and having repreſented to them, in ſtrong terms, the urgent preſſure of his wants; telling them that, without a conſiderable ſupply, the accompliſhment of his mighty projects muſt inevitably be obſtructed, and his reputation tarniſhed; that he was bound by a ſolemn promiſe to return to Bruſſels, and there to ſtay till his debts were liquidated; he found means to procure a compliance with his requeſt on more moderate terms than thoſe which the parliament had before fought to impoſe. A confirmation of the Two Charters, and of the privileges of boroughs; a pardon for old debts and treſpaſſes; a relinquiſhment of the two feudal aids before-mentioned; and a remedy for ſome abuſes in the execution of the common law; were the chief conditions inſiſted on: and, in return for theſe conceſſions, the King obtained from the Barons and Knights an unuſual grant of the ninth ſheaf, lamb, and fleece, on their lands, for two years; and from the Burgeſſes a ninth of their moveables, at their true value. The whole parliament, moreover, granted a duty of forty ſhillings on each ſack of wool exported, on each three hundred wool-fells, and on each laſt of leather, for the ſame term of years: but, to prevent any future inconveniences from this liberal ſupply, they expreſsly declared that it was to diſcontinue at the appointed time, and was never to be drawn into precedent. Being afterwards made ſenſible that this grant would come in ſlowly, and prove inadequate to anſwer the King's preſſing demands, they agreed that twenty thouſand ſacks of wool ſhould immediately be granted him, and their value deducted from the ninths which were afterwards to be levied.

Edward, having now collected as much money as he could, began to prepare for his return to the continent: but, previous to his embarkation, he received intelligence that a French fleet of four hundred ſail was ſtationed off Sluys, for the purpoſe of intercepting him in his paſſage. Though his own fleet was much inferior to that of the enemy, conſiſting only of two hundred and ſixty ſail, he determined to bring them to action; and accordingly ſailed from Orwell, on the twenty-ſecond of June, directing his courſe to the Flemiſh coaſt. On the morning of Midſummer-day the two fleets met off the harbour of Sluys; and the engagement immediately commenced. Either from the ſuperior dexterity of the ſeamen, or the ability of their royal leader, the Engliſh contrived to gain the wind of the enemy, and at the ſame time to have the ſun on their backs; ſo that they began the action with great advantage. The conteſt, however, was long and bloody: the Engliſh archers, who were highly celebrated for their force and addreſs, galled the French on their approach; and, when the ſhips grappled together, and the battle became more firm and furious, the example of the King, and of ſo many gallant Nobles who accompanied him, inſpired the ſeamen and ſoldiers with ſuch extraordinary ardour, that they maintained a general ſuperiority over the enemy. The Flemings, deſcrying the action from the ſhore, hurried to the aſſiſtance of their allies; and, though the reinforcement they brought was but trifling, as it came unexpected, it produced a powerful effect on the French, who ſuſtained a total defeat. Two hundred and thirty French ſhips were taken; thirty thouſand Frenchmen were killed, with two of their Admirals; to whoſe diſſenſion, were Mezeray to be credited, the victory was chiefly owing. The day after the action Edward entered the harbour of Sluys in triumph.

This ſplendid victory was of infinite advantage to Edward, both at home and abroad. In England, a parliament met for the purpoſe of haſtening the payment of the ſupplies lately granted, that he might be able to purſue his good fortune; and on the continent, it ſo much increaſed his authority with his allies, that they flocked to his ſtandard with alacrity; and, early in the month of July, he found himſelf at the head of an army of one hundred thouſand men, with which he marched to the frontiers of France; while Robert d'Artois marched out at the head of forty thouſand Flemings, and laid ſiege to St. Omer. But the Flemiſh army, being chiefly compoſed of tradeſmen, wholly unuſed to arms, was routed by the firſt ſally of the garriſon; and, notwithſtanding the abilities of their leader, was thrown into ſuch a panic, that they were entirely diſperſed, and could never more be brought

brought to appear in the field. The attempts of Edward, though leſs inglorious, were not more ſucceſsful. To gratify his Flemiſh allies, he had promiſed to lay ſiege to Tournay, which at that time was one of the moſt conſiderable cities in Flanders, containing above ſixty thouſand inhabitants, all well affected to the French: about the end of July, therefore, he fixed his camp before the place; which Philip, who had been apprized of his deſigns, had been careful to ſupply with a ſtrong garriſon of fourteen thouſand troops, commanded by the Count d'Eu, and ſome other of his moſt experienced officers. Theſe, aſſiſted by the inhabitants, made ſo vigorous a defence as baffled all the efforts of Edward to take the city by force, and reduced him to the neceſſity of converting the ſiege into a blockade. The King of France, during this time, had kept at a diſtance with his army; which, though ſuperior to that of Edward, he was unwilling to ſubject to the hazard of an action. Edward, however, vexed at the ſmall progreſs he had hitherto made, ſent a herald to Philip, daring him to decide their claims to the crown of France, either by ſingle combat, or by an action of an hundred againſt an hundred, or by a general engagement: but Philip returned a diſdainful anſwer, reproaching him with the violation of his oath of homage, and with rebellion againſt his Liege Lord.

When the ſiege had continued about two months, the garriſon were reduced to great diſtreſs for want of proviſions; and intelligence thereof being conveyed to Philip, that Monarch advanced towards the Engliſh camp, with the view of throwing ſome relief into the city. While the two armies lay in this ſituation, and both parties were in daily expectation of a general engagement, a powerful mediatrix appeared to prevent the farther effuſion of blood. This was Jane, Counteſs Dowager of Hainault, mother-in-law to Edward, and ſiſter to Philip; who, though ſhe had retired to a convent, where ſhe had taken the vows, and conſequently renounced the world, left her retreat on this occaſion, and employed all her pious efforts to allay thoſe violent animoſities which had taken place between perſons ſo nearly related to her, and to each other. Philip willingly liſtened to her propoſals for an accommodation; and Edward, who found his allies leſs ardent in his cauſe than he had expected, and his ſupplies from England come in more ſlowly than he had hoped for, was compelled to make a virtue of neceſſity, and to conſent to a ceſſation of hoſtilities for three days, and to appoint plenipotentiaries to negotiate a peace. The conſequence was, the concluſion of a truce, on the twenty-fifth of September 1340, for nine months; by which both parties were left in poſſeſſion of their preſent acquiſitions, and all farther hoſtilities in the Low Countries, in Guienne, and even in Scotland, were immediately ſtopped. A negotiation was ſoon after opened at Arras, under the mediation of the Pope's Legates; and an attempt was made to convert the truce into a laſting peace: but, Edward inſiſting on his French dominions being freed from all claims of feudal ſuperiority, and Philip refuſing to treat till Edward had laid aſide the title and arms of King of France, and renounced all claims to that crown, the negotiations were rendered ineffectual; and all the commiſſioners could effect was a prolongation of the truce to the twenty-fifth of June, in the year 1342.

Though the ſupplies granted by parliament had been extremely liberal, and every neceſſary precaution for their ſpeedy collection had been adopted, thoſe entruſted to levy them, either from want of diligence or fidelity, had neglected to perform their duty; ſo that few remittances had been made to the continent, to which Edward juſtly attributed the diſcontents and backwardneſs of his allies; and was alſo willing to impute his miſcarriage before Tournay, though that event might certainly have been aſcribed, with greater reaſon, to a more natural cauſe—the ſtrength and valour of the enemy he had to contend with. Tormented with theſe unpleaſing reflections, and perpetually harraſſed by his foreign creditors, he reſolved to leave the continent as ſoon as he could effect his eſcape. He accordingly repaired to Zealand with great ſecrecy; and, having embarked with his Queen, landed at the Tower on the thirtieth of November, about midnight, when he found that important fortreſs wholly unguarded. The firſt perſon who experienced the effects of his indignation was Nicholas de la Beche, the Conſtable of the Tower; who, being abſent from his duty, was impriſoned, together with the officers, for neglect of duty, and conſequent relaxation of military diſcipline. His reſentment, however, was felt more ſeverely by all the officers of the revenue, who were not only deprived of their places, but ſuffered the mortification of having their conduct ſubmitted to the inveſtigation of commiſſioners, expreſsly appointed for that purpoſe. Sir John St. Paul, Keeper of the Privy-ſeal; Sir John Stonore, Chief Juſtice; Andrew Aubrey, Mayor of London; with many Sheriffs of counties, and other public officers of inferior note, were diſplaced and impriſoned; as were likewiſe the Biſhop of Chicheſter, Chancellor; and the Biſhop of Litchfield, Treaſurer. But the greateſt delinquent, and the chief object of Edward's reſentment, being abſent at the time of his arrival, eſcaped his vengeance. This was John Stratford, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to whom the charge of collecting the new impoſts, and the care of remitting them to the continent, had been principally entruſted. Dreading to incur that cenſure he was conſcious of meriting, the faithleſs Primate had haſtily retired to Canterbury; whither the King ſent him a ſummons to appear at court, and anſwer for his conduct. To this citation Stratford coolly replied, that he did not chuſe to appear in a place where he ſhould be expoſed to the malicious attacks of his enemies; and that, as to the other part of his Majeſty's propoſal, which required him to account for the ſums he had received, he ſhould take the propriety of complying with it into conſideration. But his mode of conſideration was as curious as his reply was inſolent; for he immediately ſummoned the Clergy of his dioceſe to aſſemble in the

cathedral of Canterbury, where, in an harangue well calculated to accompliſh the deſign he meant to promote, he highly extolled the conduct of his immaculate predeceſſor, Thomas à Becket; cenſured himſelf for having ſuffered ſecular tranſactions to engroſs too large a portion of his time; and declared his firm reſolution of ſupporting, in future, the rights and immunities of the church. As the officers who had been committed to priſon for malverſation were chiefly Clergymen, this undaunted champion of clerical privileges—from vice a proſelyte, through fear courageous—boldly iſſued a general ſentence of excommunication againſt all ſuch as ſhould ſeize the perſons, lands, and effects of the Clergy; as ſhould violate the Great Charter, by invading the liberties of the church; or ſhould dare to prefer an accuſation of treaſon, or any other crime, againſt a Prelate, ſo as to make him incur the diſpleaſure of his Sovereign. Even Edward had reaſon to think himſelf affected by this impudent ſentence, both on account of the Prelates and Clergy whom he had impriſoned; and of his having ſeized their lands and effects, that he might make them reſponſible for any balance that ſhould be found to remain in their hands. And, indeed, that his cenſures might not be miſtaken, he afterwards communicated them to the King in a letter, in which he complained of the impriſonment of the Clergy, aſcribing that meaſure to the ſuggeſtions of evil counſellors; and exhorted him to ſummon all the Prelates and Peers of the realm, in order to promote a proper judicial enquiry into the embezzlement of the money and wool which had been granted by the former parliament; offering at the ſame time to abide by the judgment of his Peers, ſaving the rights of the church and the dignity of his order. Edward having peruſed this epiſtle, ſent the ſteward of his houſhold to require the Primate's attendance at court, on affairs of the greateſt importance, both to the King and his people: but Stratford pretended that he could not obey the order with any regard to his own perſonal ſafety; and, when the King removed this objection by the grant of a ſafe conduct, he ſtill formed ſome other excuſes, equally frivolous, in order to palliate his diſobedience. As he had now declared war againſt his Sovereign, he reſolved to ſupport it with all the vigour he was able to exert. Aware of the extenſive advantages annexed to his ſituation—advantages which had ſo frequently proved deſtructive to that harmony they were deſtined to promote—he determined to profit by them. With this view he ſent mandates to his Suffragans to publiſh his cenſures in their reſpective dioceſes; and expreſsly inhibited Eccleſiaſtics from paying the ninth lately granted in parliament, on pretence of their being ſubject to a tenth which they had previouſly voted in convocation.

The King and his council perceived, by theſe turbulent proceedings of the Primate, that he was reſolved, if poſſible, to excite a civil war in the kingdom: many calumnious reports had already been ſpread againſt Edward, in order to deprive him of the confidence and affections of his people; and it was pretended that he meant to recal the general pardon, and the remiſſion which he had granted of old debts, and to impoſe new and arbitrary taxes without conſent of parliament. Prudence and firmneſs were deemed neceſſary to oppoſe to ſuch dangerous weapons; and, in order to deprive the Archbiſhop of that popularity which he had inſidiouſly attempted to gain, a manuſcript was publiſhed in the King's name, charging him with treachery and ingratitude, with having adminiſtered evil advice to his Sovereign, with having embezzled his revenues, and with various other criminal tranſactions. To this manifeſto the Archbiſhop made a reply, couched in terms of the moſt conſummate inſolence: he called Edward's publication a ſcandalous libel; and even went ſo far as to tell the King that the world was governed by two powers, the holy Pontifical Apoſtolic dignity, and the Royal authority; and that the latter was in all reſpects ſubordinate to the former. From this poſition the dangerous inference was naturally deduced, that Prieſts were wholly exempt from controul, and that the Primate was not anſwerable for his actions to the King. So great was the danger in theſe times, when the tenets of the Church of Rome were replete with principles deſtructive of all ſocial order, of entruſting Prieſts with any degree of power, or of delegating to them any authority more than was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſtrict and ſalutary diſcharge of their religious duty!

This treaſonable reply could not eſcape the cenſure of government, and an information was therefore preferred againſt the Primate in the Exchequer; but he proteſted againſt the juriſdiction of the court, and appealed to parliament. A parliament accordingly met at Weſtminſter, on the twenty-third of April; when Stratford, ſupported by his Suffragans, and by ſome of the Barons whom he had gained over to his intereſt, attended at the gates, arrayed in his pontifical robes, and holding the croſier in his hand, and ſtrenuouſly demanded admittance, that he might take his place among the Peers. But Edward, who was neither to be dazzled by prieſtly pomp, nor to be abaſhed by ſacerdotal confidence, refuſed to let him enter till the charge preferred againſt him had undergone a minute inveſtigation. This well-timed diſplay of firmneſs in the King at length ſubdued the overbearing pride and inſolence of the Primate, who conſented to make a public ſubmiſſion to his Sovereign in the Painted Chamber; upon which he was permitted to take his ſeat; and a committee was appointed to examine his anſwers, and report the reſult of their examination to the next parliament. But, as no parliament aſſembled till two years after this period, the Archbiſhop, in the interim, had found means to reinſtate himſelf in the favour of his Sovereign, and all the proceedings againſt him were therefore cancelled.

Mr. Hume, in his account of this violent altercation between the Crown and the Mitre, concludes that the King was induced to put a ſtop to the proſecution againſt the Primate from a conviction that the accuſations he had preferred againſt him were wholely groundleſs. But this is an inference that no paſſage in the *Anglia Sacra*, which he quotes, can

can poſſibly authorize; and which, indeed, is neither warranted by the accounts of any of the ancient writers, nor by the conduct of either of the parties concerned in the diſpute. Had Stratford been actuated by the honeſt pride of conſcious innocence, his conduct would have been manly and moderate, not violent and ſeditious: far from ſhunning inveſtigation, he would have courted enquiry; inſtead of threats, he would have employed proofs; or, if he had been weak enough to make uſe of the former, when he found they had failed to intimidate, he never would have had recourſe to ſubmiſſion. Of the force of this laſt inſtance, indeed, Mr. Hume was probably aware; and therefore, with the prudence of a partizan, though not with the fidelity of an hiſtorian, ſuppreſſed it.

Before the parliament broke up, an act was framed, that tended to make conſiderable retrenchments on the royal prerogatives. It ſet forth, that whereas the Great Charter had, to the great peril and diſgrace of the King, and damage of the people, been frequently violated in many reſpects, particularly by the arbitrary impriſonment of the freemen, and the ſeizure of their effects, without ſuit, indictment, or trial; it had become neceſſary to confirm it anew, and to oblige all the chief officers of the law, togegether with the Steward and Chamberlain of the Houſhold, the Keeper of the Privy-ſeal, the Comptroller and Treaſurer of the Wardrobe, and thoſe who were entruſted with the education of the heir-apparent, to ſwear to the regular obſervance of it. It farther repreſented, that the Peers of the realm had formerly been arreſted and impriſoned, and diſpoſſeſſed of their lands and temporalities, and even ſome of them put to death without judgment or trial; and it was therefore enacted, that ſuch acts of violence ſhould henceforth ceaſe, and no Peer be puniſhed but by the ſentence of his Peers in parliament. It was farther declared, that whenever any of the great offices above-mentioned became vacant, the King ſhould appoint a ſucceſſor by the advice of his council, and the conſent of ſuch Barons as ſhould at that time be found to reſide in the vicinity of the court. It was likewiſe enacted, that on the third day of every ſeſſion, the King ſhould reſume into his hands all poſts and places, except thoſe of Juſtices of the Two Benches, and the Barons of the Exchequer, that they who enjoyed them might be reduced, for the time, to the ſtation of private perſons, and thereby be obliged to anſwer all charges that ſhould be preferred againſt them in parliament; and, if they were found in any degree criminal, they ſhould finally be diſpoſſeſſed of their offices, and perſons of greater integrity be ſubſtituted in their place. Theſe proviſions not only tended to curtail, but to annihilate, the Royal prerogative; it could not therefore be expected that a prince of ſo much ſpirit as Edward could be brought to aſſent to them: but the Barons, aware of his ſituation, were reſolved to profit by his neceſſities, in order to extort that compliance which they were certain they could never obtain by any other means. With this view they abſolutely refuſed to deliberate on any matters that related to ſubſidies, till this affair had been previouſly diſcuſſed. The King, therefore, was obliged to comply; but the Chancellor, Treaſurer, and ſeveral of the Judges, entered their proteſt againſt the act; and Edward himſelf ſecretly declared that he would revoke, at the firſt convenient opportunity, every grant or conceſſion that ſhould be extorted from him in a ſimilar manner. Purſuant to this declaration, at the expiration of two years, having re-eſtabliſhed his influence, and freed himſelf from the preſſure of neceſſity, he obtained from his parliament a legal repeal of a ſtatute that detracted from the dignity which ought invariably to be attached to the ſituation of a Sovereign.

In return for the conceſſions which Edward had made, he obtained a grant of twenty thouſand ſacks of wool; which proved but a trifling ſupply to anſwer the urgency of his wants, to ſilence the clamours of his creditors, and the demands of his foreign allies. The Emperor, diſappointed in his expectations of remittances from England, bribed by the French, and influenced by the perſuaſions of his wife, who was niece to Philip de Valois, deprived him of the title of Vicar of the Empire, and embraced the intereſt of his rivals the Archbiſhops of Mentz and Cologne, with ſome other of the German Princes engaged in the ſervice of France; and an accommodation being effected, by the interpoſition of the Pope, between the Biſhop of Cambray and the Count of Hainault, the French troops evacuated Cambray, and thereby deprived the Dukes of Brabant and Gueldres, with other of Edward's allies, of a pretence for the commiſſion of hoſtilities againſt Philip; nor would they proceed in their operations without ſuch conſtant ſupplies of money as their ſervices by no means merited, and as the King was in no condition to afford. Labouring under this complication of diſappointments, Edward would probably have dropped a claim he was unable to enforce, had not an unexpected event occurred that furniſhed him with an opportunity of attacking Philip in the centre of his dominions, with leſs expence, and a fairer proſpect of ſucceſs.

John the Third, Duke of Brittany, who had ſucceeded his father Arthur the Second, finding himſelf overcome with infirmities, and having no iſſue, was anxious to ſettle his dominions in ſuch a manner, during his life, as ſhould effectually obviate the dangers attending a diſputed ſucceſſion. His younger brother, Guy, Count of Penthiévre, had left only one daughter, named Jane, whoſe title John was inclined to prefer to that of the Count of Mountfort; who being his brother by a ſecond marriage, was male heir to the principality. This preference, which at firſt ſight appears to be unjuſt, is ſaid to have ariſen from the circumſtance of John's family having themſelves inherited the Dutchy by a female ſucceſſion. As he foreſaw that Mountfort would be induced to aſſert his claim, unleſs that of his niece was ſecured by ſome powerful alliance; with the concurrence of the States of Brittany, he married Jane to Charles de Blois, nephew to the King of France by his mother Margaret of Valois, ſiſter to that monarch; and all his vaſſals, even the Count de Mountfort himſelf, ſwore fealty to Charles

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and his conſort, as their future Sovereigns. But, on the death of John, which happened the thirtieth of April, in the year 1341, the Count of Mountfort declared his own right to the ſucceſſion, and his determination to enforce it. While Charles de Blois was attending the court of France for the purpoſe of performing homage and receiving inveſtiture, Mountfort, either by force or intrigue, obtained poſſeſſion of Nantz, Rennes, Breſt, Hennebonne, and all the moſt important fortreſſes; and likewiſe engaged many of the powerful Nobles to acknowledge his authority. Senſible, however, that he ſhould be unable to preſerve his acquiſitions againſt a majority of the Bretons—combined with the whole power of the French monarch, who would not fail to ſupport the claims of his nephew—without ſome potent ally, he caſt his eyes on Edward, as a Prince who, from inclination and ability, was moſt likely to ſecond his deſigns: he therefore made a voyage to England, under pretence of ſoliciting for the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death; and there offering to do homage to Edward, as King of France, for the dutchy of Brittany, he propoſed a ſtrict alliance for the ſupport of their mutual pretenſions. All the advantages to be derived from this connection immediately preſented themſelves to Edward's mind; and Robert d'Artois, who was the kinſman of Mountfort, zealouſly enforced theſe conſiderations. It may eaſily be ſuppoſed that little negotiation was neceſſary to conclude a treaty of alliance between two Princes who, though their pleas with regard to the preference of male or female ſucceſſion were directly oppoſite, were intimately connected by the ſtrongeſt of all human ties—mutual intereſt.

Mountfort, on his return to the continent, received a citation from the King of France to appear before the Court of Peers, in order to defend his claim; and, as the treaty recently concluded between him and Edward had not yet tranſpired, he imprudently ventured to obey it. Obſerving, however, what he muſt have expected, the partiality of Philip and his Judges to his competitor, and their determined prepoſſeſſion againſt his title; and, moreover, fearing that they intended to arreſt his perſon, which idea was confirmed by an order not to quit Paris for fifteen days; he ſuddenly made his eſcape in diſguiſe, and got ſafe to Brittany. After his departure, the Court of Peers decided in favour of Charles de Blois; and Philip ſupported that Prince with a powerful army, under the command of his eldeſt ſon, the Duke of Normandy. Mountfort, unable to face his rival in the field, remained in the city of Nantz, where he was beſieged; and, the place being taken by the treachery of the inhabitants, the Count fell into the hands of his enemies, was conducted as a priſoner to Paris, and confined in the Tower of the Louvre.

This diſaſter appeared at once to decide this important controverſy, by deſtroying the pretenſions of the Count of Mountfort: but, what ſeemed at firſt to be an irretrievable misfortune, ſoon proved a real advantage to his affairs, which were ſpeedily brought to a flouriſhing ſtate, by the intervention of an occurrence wholly unexpected.

Jane, Counteſs of Mountfort, and ſiſter to the Earl of Flanders, one of the moſt illuſtrious heroines that ever entered the liſts of Fame, was rouzed, by the unfortunate captivity of her huſband, from thoſe domeſtic occupations to which hitherto ſhe had ſolely confined her attention; and, actuated by the fierceſt ardour of conjugal affection, joined to a ſpirit of patriotiſm that would have dignified the breaſt of a Cato, courageouſly undertook to ſupply the place of her Lord, and to avert the misfortunes which menaced her family. When ſhe received the fatal intelligence, inſtead of giving way to deſpair, the failing of weak minds, ſhe inſtantly aſſembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where ſhe then reſided; and, taking her infant ſon in her arms, conjured them to protect the laſt male-heir of their ancient Sovereigns. She repreſented to them the reſources ſtill to be derived from the powerful aſſiſtance of England; and entreated them to make one daring effort againſt an uſurper who, being allied to France, would ſacrifice their lives, as the price of her aſſiſtance. In ſhort, ſhe harangued them in a ſtrain at once ſo bold and ſo pathetic, that it ſpoke to their hearts, inſpired them with a portion of her own enthuſiaſtic ardour, and impelled them to declare that they would devote their lives and fortunes to the defence of her family. The Counteſs having made a progreſs through all the other fortreſſes of Brittany, they adopted the ſame reſolution: ſhe viſited all the garriſons; encouraged them by her exhortations; provided them with every neceſſary article of ſuſtenance; and concerted the proper plans of defence. After ſhe had ſecured the whole province againſt ſurprize, ſhe ſhut herſelf up in Hennebonne; where ſhe waited with impatience the arrival of thoſe ſuccours which Edward had promiſed to ſend her. Meanwhile, ſhe ſent her ſon over to England, not only with the view to put him in a place of ſafety, but to engage the King more ſtrongly, by ſuch a pledge, to embrace with zeal the intereſts of her family.

The Engliſh fleet, with the troops on board that were deſtined to relieve this illuſtrious heroine, did not ſail till the beginning of July, and then experienced a moſt tedious paſſage; by which means Jane was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, which ſhe encountered with the moſt heroic fortitude. Charles de Blois, anxious to obtain poſſeſſion of ſo important a fortreſs as Hennebonne, and ſtill more ſolicitous to take the Counteſs priſoner, from whoſe vigorous exertions the ſole obſtacles to his ſucceſſion in Brittany now proceeded, commenced the ſiege of that place, in the ſpring of the year 1342, with a powerful army, chiefly compoſed of French, Spaniards, and Genoeſe. Though he conducted the ſiege with the utmoſt ardour, the garriſon, animated by the preſence and example of their female commander, who conſtantly appeared on the walls compleatly armed, and, aſſuming the poſt of honour, was the foremoſt in every danger, repelled his attacks with irreſiſtible valour, and rendered all his efforts abortive.

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The Counteſs, one day, perceiving that the beſiegers, occupied in a general attack, had left their camp unguarded, ſhe immediately ſallied forth by a poſtern at the head of a body of two hundred cavalry; ſet fire to their tents, baggage, and magazines; and created ſo univerſal an alarm, that the enemy deſiſted from the aſſault, in order to cut off her communication with the town. Finding herſelf intercepted, ſhe inſtantly took her reſolution, ordered her men to diſband, and fly as faſt as they could to Breſt. There ſhe met them; and, having collected another body of five hundred horſe, returned to Hennebonne, by cutting her way through a part of the enemy's camp, and was received with ſhouts and acclamations by the garriſon; who, encouraged by this reinforcement, and inſpired with extraordinary courage by this ſingular inſtance of female heroiſm, reſolved to defend the place to the laſt extremity. At length, however, ſo many breaches were made in the walls by the repeated attacks of the beſiegers, that the town was deemed no longer tenable; and the Biſhop of Leon was accordingly appointed to fix the terms of capitulation with Charles de Blois. The Prelate was actually engaged in a conference with Charles for that purpoſe; when the Counteſs, who had aſcended to the ſummit of a lofty tower, and was caſting an eager look towards the ſea, deſcried a fleet at a diſtance. She inſtantly exclaimed, in a tranſport of joy—"*Succours! ſuccours! the Engliſh ſuccours! "No capitulation!*" She was not miſtaken. The Engliſh fleet ſoon after entered the harbour; and the troop—which conſiſted of a body of heavy-armed cavalry, and ſix thouſand archers, under the command of Sir Walter Manny, one of the braveſt Captains of England—being landed, immediately attacked the beſiegers, drove them from all their poſts, and obliged Charles to raiſe the ſiege.

Theſe ſuccours, however, were inſufficient to enable the Counteſs of Mountfort to keep the field againſt the enemy; and finding that, notwithſtanding their late repulſe, they ſtill made a rapid progreſs in Brittany, ſhe undertook a voyage to England, to ſolicit more effectual aſſiſtance. Edward granted her a conſiderable reinforcement, under Robert d'Artois, which embarked on board a fleet of forty-five ſhips; and, on their voyage, fell in with a French ſquadron off Guernſey, commanded by Lewis d'Eſpagne. An engagement enſued, in which the Counteſs behaved with her uſual valour, charging the enemy ſword in hand. The action laſted till night; when the fleets were parted by a violent ſtorm, and the Engliſh arrived ſafe the next morning at the port of Hennebonne. The firſt exploit of Robert was the ſiege of Vannes, which he took by conduct and addreſs; but that town was ſoon retaken by Charles de Blois, chiefly by reaſon of a mortal wound received by Robert; who, however, effected his retreat to Hennebonne, and died at Leu, on his paſſage to England.

Edward now undertook in perſon the defence of the Counteſs of Mountfort; and, as the laſt truce with France was expired, the war which the Engliſh and French had hitherto carried on as allies to the competitors for Brittany was thenceforth conducted in the name, and under the ſtandard of, the two Monarchs. The King, having ſailed from Sandwich on the fifth of October, in the year 1342, landed at Morbian, near Vannes, with an army of twelve thouſand men. With this force, inconſiderable when compared to that of his adverſary, he imprudently commenced three important ſieges at the ſame time; that of Vannes, of Rennes, and of Nantz By this diviſion of his troops, all his efforts were feeble, and conſequently unſucceſsful; and by that means he afforded time to his enemies for making every neceſſary preparation againſt him. Accordingly, Philip's eldeſt ſon John, Duke of Normandy, having collected an army of forty thouſand men, advanced towards Vannes, where the ſiege was commanded by Edward in perſon, who was now obliged to draw together all his forces, and to entrench himſelf ſtrongly before that city. Here he was in a manner inveſted by the French; and, his ſituation being rendered extremely critical, hemmed in by a ſtrong garriſon and a ſuperior army, well furniſhed with proviſions, while he was obliged himſelf to draw a precarious ſubſiſtence from England, he willingly liſtened to the mediation of the Pope's Legates, the Cardinals of Paleſtine and Freſcati, who interpoſed their good offices, and effected a truce of three years between the two Monarchs and their reſpective allies.

By the articles of this truce, a mutual releaſe of priſoners was to take place; and all the towns and fortreſſes in Brittany, and elſewhere, were to remain in the hands of their preſent poſſeſſors, except the city of Vannes, which was to be ſequeſtered during the truce in the hands of the Legates, who were afterwards to deliver it to whomſoever they pleaſed. The Kings of England and France, with ſeveral of their chief Nobility, took the moſt ſolemn oaths that the treaty ſhould be rigidly obſerved; after which, Edward embarked with his army, and landed at Weymouth on the ſecond of March.

The King, on his arrival in England, laid the truce he had concluded before a parliament, which had been ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, on the twenty-eighth of April, and conſulted them on the propoſals which had been made him by the Legates for entering into a negotiation in order to promote a ſolid peace. The Lords and Commons having ſeparately deliberated on the ſubject, expreſſed their approbation of the truce, and adviſed the King to ſend commiſſioners to negotiate an accommodation in the preſence of the Pope; and the Commons, who had deputed Sir William Ruſſel to deliver their ſentiments apart, farther added, that if he could not obtain a reaſonable peace, they would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt in ſupporting the honour of the nation and the dignity of the crown. In conſequence of this advice, the King appointed Hugh Spenſer, Lord of Glamorgan; Ralph de Stafford; William de Norwich, Dean of Lincoln; William Ruſſel, Knight; and Andrew de Ufford, Profeſſor of Civil Law; his Commiſſioners, to negotiate a peace with

thoſe of Philip de Valois in the preſence of the Pope, who was to be conſidered as acting in the capacity of a common friend, and not in that of a judge. Theſe conferences were accordingly opened at Avignon, where the Sovereign Pontiff then reſided, on the twenty-ſecond of October, and continued till the twenty-ſecond of the following month; when they concluded, without having come to any determination.

In the mean time, the frequent violations of the truce gave riſe to mutual complaints, each of the Monarchs attempting to throw the blame of it's infraction on the other. From the memorials which are ſtill to be ſeen on this ſubject, it appears that both parties were guilty of the groſſeſt perjury—Philip, in detaining John de Mountfort in priſon, in direct oppoſition to an expreſs article of the treaty; and likewiſe in ſeizing and putting to death many Noblemen in Brittany, whom he ſuſpected of favouring the pretenſions of that Prince: Edward, on his ſide, in violating the truce, by ſecretly encouraging the inhabitants of Vannes to expel the garriſon placed in that city by the Cardinals, and openly to declare for Mountfort. So inadequate is the ſolemnity of an engagement, contracted between Sovereigns, to ſecure it's obſervance, when intereſt or ambition impel it's infraction!

Edward, anxious to purſue a conteſt from which he ſtill hoped to derive both honour and emolument, aſſembled a parliament at Weſtminſter on the ſeventh of June 1344, and laid before them the faithleſs conduct of the French Monarch, demanding their advice as to his future operations. The parliament, entering fully into the views of their Sovereign, ſtrenuouſly urged him to continue the war with ſpirit and vigour, as the only means of obtaining a laſting and honourable peace; and, to enable him to follow an advice ſo congenial to his inclinations, they granted him a liberal ſupply, conſiſting of a fifteenth for two years from the counties, and a tenth from the cities and boroughs: the Clergy of the province of Canterbury alſo conſented to give him a tenth of the produce of their livings for three years. He raiſed a farther ſum by ſummoning every Gentleman in the kingdom poſſeſſed of forty pounds a year to repair to court by the tenth of Auguſt, in order to receive the honour of Knighthood, or to pay a pecuniary fine to have his attendance diſpenſed with. This was a ſpecies of extortion frequently practiſed in the times we are delineating, and authorized by the feudal inſtitutions.

The ſums thus obtained enabled the King to compleat his military preparations; and, having publiſhed a manifeſto, containing his reaſons for renewing the war before the expiration of the truce, he firſt diſpatched a ſmall force into Brittany, which he entruſted to the conduct of Sir Thomas Dagworth, to aſſiſt and encourage the gallant Counteſs of Mountfort and her adherents; and then ſent an army into Guienne, under the command of his couſin Henry, Earl of Derby, ſon to the Earl of Lancaſter, for the defence of that province. Derby, who is repreſented as a Prince of extraordinary accompliſhments, equally celebrated for his valour and military ſkill, and renowned for the liberality of his principles, his rigid obſervance of juſtice, and attention to the rights of humanity, executed with vigour and alacrity the commiſſion with which his Sovereign entruſted him. Soon after his landing, he advanced to attack the French army poſted at Bergerac, and commanded by Barnard, Count de L'Iſle; who, though his troops were greatly ſuperior to the Engliſh in number, was driven from the city with conſiderable loſs. The Earl of Derby next reduced a great part of Perigord; and purſued his conqueſts till the French General, having collected an army of ten or twelve thouſand men, inveſted Aubroche, which had fallen into the hands of the Engliſh; and proſecuted the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that the garriſon was reduced to the laſt extremity. Derby, apprized of their diſtreſs, marched privately from Bourdeaux with only a thouſand cavalry; and, taking the French by ſurprize, attacked them with irreſiſtible ardour, ſoon threw them into confuſion, and obtained a moſt compleat victory; in which the Count de L'Iſle himſelf, with many powerful Barons, were taken priſoners. After this action, Derby returned to Bourdeaux; and, having put his troops into winter-quarters, ſailed to England, to ſolicit a reinforcement.

About this time John de Mountfort, who had languiſhed in priſon for four years, effected his eſcape from the Louvre in the diſguiſe of a beggar, and ſoon after repaired to the court of Edward; to whom, as King of France, he did homage for the dutchy of Britanny, on the twentieth of May, in the year 1345; and in the following month returned to the continent with a ſupply of Engliſh troops, which enabled him to make ſome progreſs in ſupport of his pretenſions. But he was not long permitted to enjoy the flattering proſpect that opened itſelf to his ſight, being ſeized with a fever at Hennebonne, which put an end to his exiſtence on the twentieth of September.

The Earl of Derby had, in the month of June, returned to Guienne with the reinforcement he had come over to ſolicit, and had purſued his conqueſts with an aſtoniſhing rapidity of ſucceſs. He took Monſepat, Villefranche, and Monſegur. Miremont and Tonnins alſo, with the important fortreſs of Damaſſen, ſurrendered to his arms. Aiguillon, which had hitherto been deemed impregnable, experienced a ſimilar fate; and Angouleme, after a feeble defence, was likewiſe obliged to ſubmit. Reole was the only place where he met with conſiderable reſiſtance; but even that was reduced after a vigorous ſiege of nine weeks.

While the Earl of Derby was thus actively employed, Edward had made a voyage to Flanders, in the hope of obtaining that Earldom for his ſon; but his patron and ally, James D'Arteville, the Brewer of Ghent, who had induced him to undertake this expedition, being maſſacred, on the ſeventeenth of July, by that very populace who had ſo long revered him as their idol, the King was compelled to forego his deſigns, and return to his own dominions.

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The trifling oppoſition which Derby had met with in Guienne was owing to the difficulty that Philip had experienced in raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies for carrying on the war, and which had obliged him to have recourſe to an impoſt equally new and oppreſſive. This was the famous tax upon ſalt, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Gabelle*; which, though at firſt trifling, and only impoſed for a ſhort time, to anſwer preſent exigencies, has been ſince magnified into a more onerous burden on the ſubject, which ſtill continues to be levied with tyrannical rigour, and forms one of the moſt productive ſources of revenue to the French crown. But when Philip, by this means, had raiſed a ſufficient ſupply of money, he collected an army of one hundred thouſand men; which marching into Guienne, under the conduct of John Duke of Normandy, attended by the Duke of Burgundy, and many of the chief nobility, threatened the total reduction of that province. The Earl of Derby, unable to face a force ſo ſuperior in the open field, was conſtrained to act merely on the defenſive; ſo that the French marched unmoleſted to Angouleme, which they immediately inveſted. This place was commanded by John Lord Norwich; who, after a vigorous defence, finding it impoſſible to prevent the town from falling into the hands of the enemy, had recourſe to a ſtratagem by which he ſaved the garriſon from becoming priſoners of war. According to Froiſſard, he demanded a parley with the Duke of Normandy, who told him that he ſuppoſed it was his intention to capitulate. "By no "means," replied Norwich; "but as to-morrow "is the Feaſt of the Virgin, for whom I know, "Sir, that you, as well as myſelf, entertain a proper "degree of reſpect, I deſire a ceſſation of arms for "that day." The Duke having ſignified his aſſent to the propoſal, the Governor ordered his troops to prepare their baggage, and on the next day marched out of the town, and advanced towards the French camp. The beſiegers, ſeeing the Engliſh approach, inſtantly flew to arms; when Norwich ſent a meſſenger to the Duke, to remind him of his engagement. The Duke, who on no occaſion could be prevailed on to break his word, exclaimed —"The Governor, I ſee, has outwitted me; ſo "we muſt e'en content ourſelves with obtaining "poſſeſſion of the town:" and the Engliſh were allowed to paſs through the camp unmoleſted.

The Duke of Normandy ſoon afterwards laid ſiege to Aiguillon; but all his efforts to take that fortreſs by aſſault being baffled by the natural ſtrength of the place, aided by the conduct of it's valiant commanders, the Earl of Pembroke and Sir Walter Manny, he converted the ſiege into a blockade, with a determination to reduce it by famine. Before, however, he could accompliſh his deſign, his preſence was required in another quarter of the kingdom.

Edward, apprized by the Earl of Derby of the imminent danger which menaced the province of Guienne, had reſolved to repair in perſon to it's relief; and for that purpoſe had collected a powerful army, which he embarked on board a fleet of one thouſand ſail. But, the fleet having been detained at Portſmouth, by contrary winds, from the beginning of June to the tenth of July, Edward had, during that time, been prevailed upon to change his plan of operations; and, inſtead of repairing to Guienne, where the enemy was prepared to receive him, to diſembark his troops in Normandy, and over-run that country, where he was not likely to experience any conſiderable oppoſition. This plan had been ſuggeſted to him by a Norman Nobleman, named Godfrey de Harcourt; who, having ſuſtained ſome groſs inſult from the French King, had repaired to the Engliſh court, where he experienced an hoſpitable reception from Edward, and was admitted into his confidence. In compliance with the advice of this Nobleman, Edward ſailed from St. Helen's on the tenth of July, in the year 1346, accompanied by his eldeſt ſon, the Prince of Wales, who had now attained his ſixteenth year, and by all the principal Nobility of the kingdom. After a voyage of two days, he landed at La Hogue with his army, which conſiſted of four thouſand men at arms, ten thouſand archers, and eighteen thouſand infantry; and, as they had been long pent up in their veſſels, he allowed them ſix days to refreſh themſelves. During this time, he created the Earl of Arundel Conſtable of his army, and the Earl of Warwick and Godfrey de Harcourt Mareſchals: he likewiſe beſtowed the honour of Knighthood on the Prince of Wales, and on ſeveral of the young Nobility. After this, he ſent his fleet to deſtroy all the veſſels in the ports of La Hogue, Barfleur, and Cherbourg; while he advanced with his troops, in three diviſions, to ravage the open country, and inveſt the towns, which being ill fortified, and worſe defended, were ſpeedily reduced. Thus Montebourg, Carentan, St. Lo, Valognes, and other places in the Cotentin, were taken and pillaged; and the whole province was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation.

When the news of this ſudden and unexpected invaſion reached Paris, Philip, greatly alarmed, iſſued orders for aſſembling all the forces that could be collected; and ſent the Count d'Eu, Conſtable of France, and the Count de Tancarville, with a body of troops to the defence of Caen, the capital of Lower Normandy; while he repaired himſelf to Rouen, the metropolis of Upper Normandy. As Caen was a rich and populous city, Edward, allured by the proſpect of ſpoil, determined to attack it; and the citizens, inſtead of acting on the defenſive, being encouraged by the reinforcement they had lately received from Paris, and by the number of gentlemen who daily flocked in from the country, imprudently ventured to attack him in the open field: but, their courage ſoon failing them, they fled with precipitation. The Count d'Eu and the Count de Tancarville were taken priſoners; and the Engliſh preſſed ſo cloſe on the heels of the fugitives, that they followed them into the city, where a dreadful maſſacre enſued. The pillage is ſaid by Froiſſard to have continued three days. The jewels, plate, and moſt valuable effects, were reſerved for the King, and the reſt beſtowed on the army. The whole

whole was embarked on board the fleet, and ſent over to England; together with three hundred of the moſt wealthy citizens of Caen, whom Edward intended to keep till they ſhould be able to pay their ranſom.

The King next advanced to Rouen; but finding Philip arrived before him, and the bridge over the Seine already broken down, he changed his courſe, and purſued his march along the banks of that river towards Paris; laying waſte the whole country, and deſtroying every town and village that lay in his way. Some of his light troops extended their ravages to the very gates of Paris; and the royal palace of St. Germains, together with Nanterre, Ruelle, and ſome other places, was reduced to aſhes in ſight of the capital. Edward intended to paſs the river at Poiſſy, but found the French army encamped on the oppoſite banks, and the bridge at that place, as well as all others over the Seine, broken down by order of Philip. He now ſaw that the French meant to encloſe him in their country, with the view of attacking him to advantage; but he ſoon extricated himſelf from this perilous ſituation, by making a feint march towards Paris, and then haſtily returning, when he repaired the bridge with incredible celerity, having ſecretly provided materials for that purpoſe; and, paſſing over his army, advanced by quick marches towards Flanders. His vanguard, commanded by the Count d'Harcourt, met with the inhabitants of Amiens, who were going to join their Sovereign, and defeated them with great ſlaughter. As he paſſed by Beauvais in his way to Poix, he burnt the ſuburbs of that city; but when he reached the banks of the Somme, he found himſelf reduced to the ſame dangerous ſituation from whence he had ſo lately diſengaged himſelf; all the bridges on that river were either broken down or rendered impaſſable by the ſtrength of the detachments ſtationed to protect them. A ſtrong body of forces, under the command of Godemar du Fay, was placed on the oppoſite ſide; and Philip was advancing from the other quarter to attack him with an army of one hundred thouſand men. In this extremity he publiſhed a reward of one hundred nobles to any one who ſhould conduct him to a ford. A French peaſant named Gobin Agace, who was well acquainted with the country, allured by the proſpect of gain, was ſeduced on this occaſion into an act of treachery; and informed Edward of a paſſage between Abbeville and the ſea, where, at low water, he might paſs the river in ſafety. Preceded by his guide, the King continued his march during the whole night; and, in the morning of the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, arrived at the Ford of Blanchetaque; but Godemar du Fay, aware of his deſign, had arrived there before him, and appeared on the oppoſite bank ready to diſpute his paſſage. The neceſſity of the caſe did not admit of deliberation; the King therefore jumped into the river, ſword in hand, attacked the enemy, and having driven them from their ſtation with great ſlaughter, advanced to Noyelle where he paſſed the night, and the next morning proceeded to Crecy.

Though Edward had hitherto ſurmounted every obſtacle that had preſented itſelf to impede his progreſs, he was ſenſible that the great ſuperiority of the French army, now arrived at Abbeville, particularly in cavalry, muſt materially incommode his march over the open plains of Picardy, which would afford him but little opportunity of profiting by his ſuperior ſkill. For this reaſon he prudently determined to wait for them in a ſituation that would not deprive him of that advantage; and accordingly choſe his ground with great judgment near the village of Crecy, where he drew up his army on a gentle aſcent, and divided it into three lines. The firſt, conſiſting of eight hundred men at arms, four thouſand archers, and ſix thouſand Welſh infantry, was commanded by the young Prince of Wales, aſſiſted by the Earls of Warwick and Oxford, by the Count de Harcourt, and by the Lords Stafford, Chandos, Holland, Clifford, and the flower of the Engliſh Nobility. The Earls of Arundel and Northampton, with the Lords Willoughby, Roos, Baſſet, and Sir Lewis Tufton, led on the ſecond line, which was compoſed of eight hundred men at arms, four thouſand halbardiers, and two thouſand archers. The third line, which was meant as a corps-de-reſerve, either to facilitate a retreat in caſe of neceſſity, to ſupply the other two lines with occaſional ſuccours, or to ſecond any advantage they might gain over the enemy, was commanded by the King in perſon, attended by the Lords Moubray, Mortimer, Dagworth, Sir Hugh Haſtings, and other of the Nobility. This line was ranged on the ſummit of the hill, and conſiſted of ſeven hundred men at arms, five thouſand three hundred billmen, and ſix thouſand archers. Edward had taken the precaution to ſecure his flanks by trenches; while his rear was defended by a wood, in which he placed his baggage, and ſurrounded the whole by an intrenchment. When the army was drawn up in this excellent order, the King rode along the ranks; and, by his chearful countenance and animating exhortations, inſpired his troops with a degree of courage not inferior to his own. He then ordered his cavalry to diſmount, and his whole army to repoſe themſelves a while on the graſs, and refreſh themſelves by food, that they might be prepared to receive the enemy with more ſpirit and vigour.

Philip, in the mean time, eager to overtake the Engliſh, had marched from Abbeville at ſun-riſe with a prodigious army; and, when he had advanced about two leagues, is ſaid to have diſpatched four Knights to reconnoitre the ſituation of the enemy: one of them, an experienced officer in the ſervice of the King of Bohemia, made ſuch a report of the order and regularity of their diſpoſition, as induced the French monarch to liſten to his advice, and order his troops to halt till the next morning, that they might have time to recover from the fatigue of a long march. But his orders were ſent too late to command obedience; the van of his army chiefly, compoſed of auxilaries, commanded by independent Princes, who were ſubject to no ſubordination, and each of them, anxious to obtain the poſt of honour, ruſhed

ruſhed impetuouſly forward, regardleſs of his commands, and advanced in great confuſion till they arrived at Creçy, where they doubtleſs imagined the ſuperiority of their numbers would amply ſupply any want of regularity. Thus forced, as it were, to engage, Philip formed his army, as well as their ſituation would admit, into three lines. The firſt, in which were placed fifteen thouſand Genoeſe croſs-bowmen, under the conduct of Antonio Doria and Carolo Grimaldi, was commanded in chief by the King of Bohemia; who, though blind from age, was determined to ſet a worthy example to his followers, and therefore ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each ſide to the horſes of two of his moſt valiant Knights. The ſecond line was led by the Count d'Alençon, brother to the French King; and Philip himſelf commanded the third in perſon. Each of the three lines contained a greater number of troops than the whole Engliſh army.

The attack was begun about three o'clock in the afternoon by the Genoeſe croſs-bowmen, who were oppoſed by the Engliſh archers; but a ſhower of rain which had fallen a little before the engagement, having moiſtened and relaxed the ſtrings of their bows, their arrows fell ſhort of their mark; whereas thoſe of the Engliſh, who kept their bows in caſes, did infinite execution among the Genoeſe, who fell back in confuſion upon the heavy-armed cavalry of the Count d'Alençon; and that nobleman, enraged at their cowardice, ordered his troops to put them to the ſword. Having by this means remedied the diſorder occaſioned by the fugitives, he advanced with great fury againſt the body conducted by the Prince of Wales, who received him with aſtoniſhing intrepidity; at the ſame time, an impetuous attack was made by a choſen body of French and German Knights on the Engliſh archers, who were driven from the ranks, ſo that the Prince was in imminent danger of being ſurrounded by the enemy. In this emergency, the Earl of Warwick diſpatched a meſſenger to the King, entreating him to advance to the relief of his ſon. Edward had choſen his ſtation in a windmill on the ſummit of a hill, from whence he ſurveyed in tranquillity the ſcene of action. When the meſſenger accoſted him, he enquired whether the Prince were ſlain, wounded, or unhorſed; and being anſwered in the negative—" Return, then," ſaid he, " to my " ſon; tell him I am confident he will prove him- " ſelf worthy the honour of Knighthood which I " ſo lately conferred on him; and that I am deter- " mined the glory of this victory ſhall be wholly " reſerved to him and his brave companions." This anſwer being reported to the Prince and his followers, it immediately inſpired them with freſh courage. The archers recovered their ſtation; the Earls of Arundel and Northampton had advanced to ſupport the Prince, and enabled him to repel the attack of the Count d'Alençon, though ſtrengthened by continual ſupplies. The ſhock was long and bloody; but, at length, the Count being ſlain, together with the King of Bohemia, and many of the principal Nobility, the two firſt lines of the French army were thrown into confuſion, and forced off the field. The King of France, who evinced the moſt ſignal courage on this important day, undiſmayed at the ſlaughter of his troops, and the loſs of his beſt officers, advanced with the line under his own command, and made an impetuous attack on the Engliſh: but the Prince of Wales, ſtimulated to exertions of valour by every incitement that could animate the generous boſom of youth, ſignalized his firſt feats of arms in a manner that would have done honour to the moſt experienced veteran; active and intrepid, he was foremoſt in every danger, and by his own conduct rendered his troops invincible. The French were repulſed with great ſlaughter; and their Monarch, after having two horſes killed under him, and being twice wounded, was literally forced off the field by John de Hainault, accompanied only by five Knights and ſixty followers. The Engliſh purſued the flying enemy till the night was far advanced, and put great numbers of them to the ſword.

When the King ſaw that the victory was compleat, he deſcended the from the hill; and, running up to the Prince of Wales, claſped him in his arms—" My valiant ſon," exclaimed Edward, " perſevere in your honourable courſe! You are " my ſon; for you have acquitted yourſelf nobly " this day, and have ſhewn yourſelf worthy the " crown you are deſtined to wear!" The Prince, whoſe modeſty was equal to his courage, made no reply to this well-merited effuſion of paternal ſatisfaction: the bluſh of unconſcious merit ſuffuſed his youthful cheek; he ſunk down on his knees, and demanded the bleſſing of his father.

This important action, which is known by the name of *The Battle of Creçy*, was fought on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, in the year 1346. It began about three in afternoon, and continued till late in the evening. The victorious Edward, having ordered his men to keep a ſtrict watch during the night, leſt the enemy ſhould rally, detached a ſtrong party the next morning in purſuit of the fugitives; who, meeting with a body of French troops, from Rouen and Beauvais, on their march to join the main army, defeated them at the firſt onſet. The Archbiſhop of Rouen, and the Grand Prior of France, advancing with a freſh reinforcement, were likewiſe defeated and ſlain, with two thouſand of their followers. The Engliſh, too, having collected ſome French ſtandards which lay ſcattered on the field of battle, placed them on an eminence, as a decoy to ſuch of the enemy as were diſperſed in the parts adjacent. The ſtratagem ſucceeded: the French flocked to their ſtandards from all quarters, and were immediately maſſacred. Indeed, the only circumſtance which tarniſhed the ſplendor of this victory, was the order iſſued by Edward, previous to the engagement, to give no quarter. In this he is ſaid to have imitated the example of Philip; but inſtances of retaliation, in which the innocent are made to ſuffer for the crimes of the guilty, cannot ſurely be juſtified on any principle whatever! The plea of neceſſity could alone palliate ſuch flagrant inhumanity; and when we conſider the ſuperior numbers of the French, and

the extreme danger that muſt have ariſen to Edward from being encumbered with priſoners in his critical ſituation, it is more than probable that his conduct on this occaſion was influenced by no other motive.

The numbers that fell in the action and purſuit are variouſly repreſented; but it appears, by the moſt moderate computation, that on the day of battle, and on the enſuing day, there were ſlain twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen, four thouſand men at arms, and thirty thouſand ſoldiers of inferior rank. Many of the principal Nobility of France; the Dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon; the Counts of Alençon, Flanders, Blois, Vaudemont, Auxerre, Aumale, Sancerre, and St. Pol, with eighty Bannerets, were left on the field of battle. The body of the King of Bohemia, with thoſe of his four attendants, were found among the ſlain, with their horſes ſtanding by them, all tied together. The ſtandard of this King, who acted as a volunteer, was taken and carried to the Prince of Wales: on it was his Creſt, Three Oſtrich Feathers; with the motto, in German—"*Ich Dien*—"*I ſerve*;" which the Prince of Wales and his ſucceſſors adopted, in memorial of the victory. The King of Majorca is alſo ſaid by ſome writers to have periſhed in this action; but others affirm, with equal confidence, that he was engaged at the time in his own dominions.

The loſs of the Engliſh is not accurately known: Knyghton, indeed, aſſerts that it only amounted to three knights, one eſquire, and very few ſoldiers; but this aſſertion can only be credited by thoſe who are poſſeſſed of ſufficient credulity to accept it as a demonſtration that no engagement, in thoſe days, was ever ſuſtained with vigour on both ſides, and that this, like others, reſembled a rout rather than a battle.

The French hiſtorians aſcribe the glorious victory of Creçy to two reaſons: the firſt is, the artillery—four or five pieces of cannon—which Edward is ſaid to have employed that day againſt the enemy, and which they aſſert were unknown to the French. That Edward had ſome pieces of cannon appears certain, from the teſtimony of numerous writers; and if John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who wrote about the fourteenth century, may be credited, they had been uſed by that Monarch againſt the Scots ſo early as the year 1327: but that the uſe of them was unknown to the French is falſe, as may be ſeen in the Gloſſary of Du Cange, where mention is made of their having been employed at the ſiege of Puii Guillaume, in the year 1338. It is probable, however, that Philip, either in his hurry to overtake Edward, or from the confidence he had in the ſuperiority of his own numbers, had neglected to bring his cannon to Creçy. The other reaſon adduced is the enmity of the French Nobles to their Monarch, which prevented them from making ſuch exertions as their duty required. This appears plauſible, as it is certain that Philip was a Monarch whoſe tyrannical and ſuſpicious temper rendered him extremely odious to his ſubjects in general, and more eſpecially to the Nobles, who were the immediate objects of his miſtruſt, and whoſe minds, like thoſe of all the feudal Barons, were averſe to controul. Theſe circumſtances, however, by no means detract from the commendation due to Edward for the prudent diſpoſition of his army previous to the attack; nor from the wonderful degree of valour evinced both by the officers and men in ſuſtaining and repelling it.

Edward remained on the field of battle four days, in order to afford decent burial to thoſe brave men who had periſhed in fighting for their country; and the humanity which he diſplayed on this occaſion gives the ſtrongeſt ground for believing that the order he had iſſued for ſhewing no quarter to the enemy was repugnant to his diſpoſition, and was influenced merely by motives of ſelf-preſervation. On the firſt of September he decamped from Creçy, and directed his march through the Boulonnois towards Calais, which he inveſted on the eighth of the ſame month. His object in laying ſiege to this town was to ſecure an entrance into France at all times; and Calais, from it's vicinity to his own dominions, was certainly the moſt proper place for that purpoſe.

The Governor of Calais was John de Vienne, a valorous Knight of Burgundy, who determined to diſcharge the truſt that had been confided to him with vigour and fidelity; and Edward, ſenſible of the impracticability of reducing the place by aſſault, contented himſelf with blockading it in the moſt effectual manner. He choſe a ſecure ſtation for his camp, which he ſurrounded with ſtrong entrenchments; raiſed huts, which he covered with ſtraw or broom, to preſerve his ſoldiers from the inclemency of the weather; and ſtationed a fleet at the mouth of the harbour, to prevent the introduction of proviſions into the town. The Governor, perceiving the King's intentions, diſmiſſed all the uſeleſs mouths from the garriſon; and Edward had the generoſity to allow theſe unhappy people to paſs through his camp, and even provided them with money to defray the expences of their journey.

While the King was engaged in theſe various tranſactions, the Engliſh arms made conſiderable progreſs, and acquired great honour, in other quarters.

The retreat of the Duke of Normandy from Guienne left the Earl of Derby maſter of the field; and he did not fail to profit by this advantage. He firſt took Mirebeau by aſſault; then marched to Leuſignan, which he reduced in a ſimilar manner: Taillebourg, and St. Jean d'Angeli, ſhared the ſame fate; Poictiers opened it's gates; and the Earl, having thus broken into the frontiers on that quarter, extended his incurſions to the banks of the Loire, and carried his devaſtations through all the ſouthern provinces of France.

About this period, too, the Scots, inſtigated by the King of France, invaded England with an army of fifty thouſand men; and, having committed great ravages on the frontiers, advanced to the very gates of Durham. But Queen Philippa, having collected a body of about twelve thouſand troops, which ſhe entruſted to the command of Lord Percy, came up with

with them at Neville's Croſs, near that city, on the twelfth of October 1346; and, riding through the ranks, exhorted her ſoldiers to imitate the conduct of their countrymen on the continent: nor could ſhe be perſuaded to leave the field till the armies were on the point of engaging. The Scots, though ſo greatly ſuperior in numbers, ſuſtained a total defeat: fifteen or twenty thouſand of them were ſlain, among whom were Edward Keith, Earl Mareſchal; and Sir Thomas Charteries, Chancellor; and their King, David Bruce, was taken priſoner—with the Earls of Sutherland, Fife, Monteith, Carrick, Lord Douglas, and many other Noblemen—and was ſent to the Tower of London.

In Brittany, the Engliſh arms were equally ſucceſsful. Charles of Blois having entered that province with a conſiderable army, in the ſummer of the year 1347, laid ſiege to the fortreſs of Roche de Rien; but the gallant Counteſs of Mountfort, with the Engliſh troops that had been ſent to her aſſiſtance, under the command of Sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked his entrenchments on the twentieth of June, during the night, put his army to flight, and took Charles himſelf priſoner. His wife, from whom he had derived his pretenſions to Brittany, in imitation of the Counteſs of Mountfort, immediately aſſumed the government of the party, and proved a worthy rival of that heroic Princeſs, both in the field and cabinet.

The ſiege of Calais ſtill continued; and the brave Governor, John de Vienne, in hopes of relief, pertinaciouſly refuſed to ſurrender, though the inhabitants were reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs. At length, Philip, informed of their condition, determined to march to their aſſiſtance. With this view he ſummoned all his numerous allies and vaſſals to meet him at Amiens in Whitſun-week, and by that means aſſembled an immenſe army; which, according to ſome contemporary writers, amounted to two hundred thouſand men. With theſe he advanced towards Calais; and, on the twenty-ſeventh of July, approached the Engliſh entrenchments, which he found to be ſo ſtrong as to preclude the poſſibility of attacking them with any proſpect of ſucceſs: he was therefore reduced to the pitiful recourſe of ſending a challenge to Edward to meet him in the open field; which being refuſed, he was obliged to return to Amiens on the ſecond of Auguſt, where he diſbanded his army.

The garriſon of Calais was by this time reduced to the laſt extremity: their proviſions had been long gone; and not a dog, horſe, cat, or any ſpecies of vermin that was eatable, however unpalatable and diſguſting, remained in the town. The Governor, therefore, finding that his hopes of relief from the army of Philip were all vaniſhed, now reſolved to ſurrender a fortreſs he was wholly unable to preſerve. He accordingly appeared on the walls; and, making a ſignal to the Engliſh centinels that he deſired a parley, the King ſent Sir Walter Manney to receive his propoſals, which conſiſted of an offer to capitulate, on the ſole condition of enſuring the lives and liberty of the garriſon. But Edward was ſo incenſed at the obſtinate reſiſtance he had experienced during a ſiege of eleven months—a reſiſtance which had expoſed him to numerous inconveniences—that he is ſaid to have rejected this reaſonable offer, and to have inſiſted on the Governor's ſurrendering the fortreſs at diſcretion, that he might not be precluded from inflicting ſuch puniſhment as he ſhould think fit on the gallant objects of his reſentment. At length, however, by the ſpirited remonſtrances of John de Vienne, and the ſtrenuous perſuaſions of Sir Walter Manny, whoſe courage was ever tempered with mercy, Edward ſo far receded from his determination as to grant their lives to all the inhabitants and garriſon, except to ſix of the principal citizens, who he inſiſted ſhould bring the keys of the town to his camp, bare-headed and bare-footed, with ropes about their necks. Intelligence of this reſolution being conveyed to the inhabitants of Calais, they were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation; all was tumult and confuſion; and every one was at a loſs how to act: till Euſtace de Saint-Pierre, one of the moſt opulent citizens, whoſe name deſerves to be recorded in the page of Hiſtory, boldly ſtepped forth, and offered himſelf a voluntary victim to the ſafety of his friends and companions. An example ſo noble ſoon impelled emulation; and five of the burgeſſes joined him, in devoting themſelves to voluntary deſtruction. Theſe heroic patriots were attended to the gates by the tears and benedictions of their friends and fellow-citizens; and, when they arrived in the preſence of Edward, they laid the keys of the town at his feet, and implored his mercy. The King, however, is ſaid to have reſiſted their ſupplications, which affected all who heard them; and, perſiſting in his barbarous reſolution, to have ordered them to be led to execution: but his Queen Philippa, who, after the victory obtained over the Scots, had repaired to the camp of her huſband, threw herſelf on her knees; and, with tears in her eyes, begged the lives of the generous citizens. Having obtained her requeſt, ſhe led them to her tent, where ſhe ordered a repaſt to be ſet before them; and, after making them a preſent of money and clothes, diſmiſſed them in ſafety.

Such is the account of this extraordinary tranſaction, as recorded by Froiſſart; but it ſhould be remembered, that it reſts on the ſingle teſtimony of that author, ſince all ſubſequent writers have taken it from him, whoſe frequent errors and miſrepreſentations are univerſally acknowledged. Robert de Aveſbury, who was a contemporary writer, ſays not a word on the ſubject; and his Hiſtory of the Reign of Edward, up to the year 1356, is remarked for it's correctneſs and fidelity. From this conſideration, and from an attentive review of Edward's character, we are ſtrongly inclined to ſuſpect the veracity of Froiſſart's account; and to believe, that his love of the the marvellous, ſo frequently viſible in his works, induced him to exaggerate. Edward, exaſperated by the obſtinacy of their reſiſtance, might poſſibly excite the fears of the inhabitants of Calais in an unjuſtifiable manner, by promulgating a pretended reſolution to ſacrifice ſix of the principal citizens; but we cannot believe that he could ſe-

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riouſly intend to puniſh with death an uncommon portion of courage; when, at other times, acts of extraordinary valour formed the chief object of his praiſe and admiration.

The King took poſſeſſion of Calais on the fourth of Auguſt; and, in order to ſecure a conqueſt which had coſt him ſo much trouble to acquire, he expelled all the inhabitants, and repeopled the town with Engliſh: an act of policy which, though it ſavoured of cruelty, was certainly juſtifiable; as men, who had exerted ſo much courage in reſiſting the attacks of a foreigner, could never be ſuppoſed to bear his government with patience. Edward made Calais the ſtaple of wool, leather, tin, and lead, the chief commodities of the kingdom for which there was any conſiderable demand on the continent.

Through the mediation of the Pope's Legates, a truce was ſoon after concluded between the Engliſh and French, to continue till the eighth of July in the following year, 1348; and which was afterwards prolonged, by different treaties, till the year 1355.

The King, having now compleated his arrangements at Calais, by repairing the fortifications, and appointing Amerie of Pavia, an Italian, who had acquired his eſteem by many brave actions during the late war, to be Governor of the town, embarked for England with his family, and landed at Sandwich on the twelfth of October.

Soon after his return, Edward ſummoned a parliament to aſſemble at Weſtminſter on the fourteenth of January, and aſked their advice as to the propriety of attempting to negotiate a ſolid peace during the continuation of the truce; and as to the moſt effectual means of preſerving the internal peace of the kingdom. The Commons, recollecting how dear they had paid for the laſt counſels they had afforded him, were careful not to adviſe him to purſue the war, as the demand of a ſubſidy would, they knew, be the inevitable conſequence. The King, finding them backward in offering what he wiſhed them to grant, ſpeedily diſmiſſed them; and in a ſhort time ſummoned another parliament, to meet at the ſame place, on the ſeventeenth of March. He there repreſented the alarming preparations of France for an invaſion of his dominions; and demanded an aid, that he might be enabled to adopt ſuch means as ſhould be deemed neceſſary for averting a danger of ſo ſerious a nature. The Commons, after making heavy complaints of the late onerous impoſts, and ſtrenuouſly pleading their extreme poverty, granted him a ſupply of three-fifteenths, to be expreſsly appropriated to defray the expences of the war.

The truce, however, ſtill continued; and, on it's expiration, was renewed, though the enemy made an inſidious attempt upon Calais, which had nearly deprived the King of the ſole fruit of all his victories. Amerie of Pavia, the Governor, though a man of undaunted courage, was deſtitute of every principle of honour. Allured by the offers of Geoffrey de Charny, the Governor of St. Omer's, he had engaged, for a bribe of twenty thouſand crowns, to deliver the town and caſtle to the French. Edward, informed of this treachery by means of his Secretary, ſummoned Amerie to London on ſome other pretence; and, there ſhewing him that he had a ſufficient proof of his guilt, offered to remit the puniſhment due to his crime, if he would implicitly follow the inſtructions that ſhould be given him, and thereby render the French the victims of their own cunning. The Italian joyfully conſented to purchaſe his life on ſuch eaſy conditions; and, having returned to Calais, informed Edward of the day which he had appointed for the admiſſion of the French. The King accordingly departed ſecretly from London, with the Prince of Wales, taking with him eight hundred men at arms, and one thouſand archers, under the command of Sir Walter Manny; and arrived unperceived at Calais the evening before the plot was to be accompliſhed. Having made every neceſſary diſpoſition for the reception of the enemy, at the appointed day, a hundred of the French were admitted at the poſtern; and, having paid the ſtipulated ſum to Amerie, were ſuddenly ſurrounded by the Engliſh troops, who put ſome of them to the ſword, and ſecured the reſt. During this time, Charny, with a ſtrong body of forces, had advanced to the gate of Boulogne, where they remained in eager expectation of being admitted into the town; but they were greatly ſurprized, when the gates opened, to ſee an Engliſh army march out to attack them. Soon, however, recovering from their aſtoniſhment, they defended themſelves with great bravery; and a bloody conflict enſued, which continued till the break of day; when the King, who wore no particular badge of diſtinction, and who fought as a private man under the ſtandard of Sir Walter Manny, remarking a French gentleman, named Euſtace de Ribaumont, who was giving the moſt ſignal proofs of extraordinary courage, conceived a deſire of encountering him in ſingle combat. As Edward knew Ribaumont, he challenged him by name, and a deſperate action took place. The King was twice beaten to the ground, and twice recovered himſelf: equal valour and ſkill were exerted for ſome time by both parties; but, at length, the Frenchman was compelled to acknowledge the ſuperiority of Edward, and yield up his ſword to him. The defeat became general; and all the party were either ſlain or taken priſoners.

The French officers were conducted to Calais, where Edward ordered a magnificent repaſt to be prepared for them in the Great Hall of the Caſtle; and during the banquet he made his appearance, diſcovered to them the antagoniſt with whom they had had the honour to be engaged, and treated them with great regard and courteſy. He converſed with them in the moſt affable manner, and even talked to Charny without reproaching him for his inſidious and diſhonourable attempt, in direct violation of the truce. But his principal attention was directed to Ribaumont, on whom he beſtowed the higheſt encomiums; declaring him to be the moſt valorous Knight he had ever been acquainted with; and acknowledging that he himſelf had never been

been in ſuch imminent danger as during his combat with him. He preſented him with a chaplet of pearls, ſaying—" Sir Euſtace, this preſent I be-
" ſtow on you as a ſmall teſtimony of my eſteem
" for your bravery. I entreat you to wear it for
" my ſake; and, as I know you to be of a gay and
" amorous diſpoſition, delighting in the company
" of ladies and damſels, let them all be told from
" what hand you received it. You are no longer
" a priſoner: I acquit you of your ranſom; and
" to-morrow you will be at liberty to diſpoſe of
" yourſelf as you think proper." Though the human mind may be replete with contradictory ſentiments, and ſubject to continual changes that baffle all argument, it is difficult to conceive that a Prince, who could act thus generouſly, ſhould be guilty of ſuch flagrant barbarity as is laid to the charge of Edward in his conduct to the ſix citizens of Calais!

Soon after the King's return from the continent, having adorned his favourite Caſtle of Windſor with new embelliſhments and fortifications, and compleated the Chapel, which he dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St. George, and St. Edward the Confeſſor, he founded a military order in honour of St. George, the patron of England. A Garter of blue velvet, with the inſcription—" *Honi ſoit qui mal y*
" *penſe—Evil to him who evil thinks*," was the ſymbol of union choſen for this noble fraternity; which from hence was ſtiled the Order of the Garter, and which conſiſted of the King of England, as Sovereign, and twenty-five Knights, Companions: and, as the number has never been enlarged, this badge of diſtinction continues as honourable as at it's firſt inſtitution. On the feſtival of St. George this year, 1349, the Knights walked bareheaded in proceſſion, clad in gowns of ruſſet, and mantles of fine blue woollen-cloth, with the reſt of the habit of the order, to St. George's Chapel; where they heard maſs celebrated by William Edendon, Biſhop of Winchester, Prelate of the order; and, after divine ſervice was finiſhed, they returned to a ſumptuous entertainment. The ſolemnity concluded with military ſports of tilts and tournaments; at which David Bruce, with other priſoners of quality, both Scots and French, were permitted to aſſiſt. Indeed, theſe diverſions formed the principal occupation of Edward in times of peace, probably as much from motives of policy as inclination, that he might thereby keep the minds of his martial Barons employed; for, as war was their only ſource of amuſement, when public tranquillity was reſtored, and nothing remained to fix their attention, they were too apt to give way to their turbulent ſpirit, and ſeek for employment in treaſonable and ſeditious practices.

A ſtory prevails, and, though not ſupported by any ancient authority, obtains very general credit, that, at a court-ball, Edward's miſtreſs, commonly ſuppoſed to be the Counteſs of Saliſbury, dropped her garter in dancing; and the King taking it up, obſerved a ſmile on the faces of ſome of his courtiers, as if they thought he was not indebted to accident for the poſſeſſion of ſuch a favour. Upon which he exclaimed, " *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe.*" And, as every incident of gallantry, however trivial, in thoſe times, when the ſpirit of chivalry was univerſally prevalent, excited attention, and was magnified into a matter of great importance, Edward inſtituted the order of the Garter in memorial of this event, and adopted theſe words as the motto of the order. When the ſpirit of the times is duly conſidered, this origin will not be deemed abſurd: and, indeed, thoſe who have ſeemed moſt averſe to admit the veracity of this anecdote, have not attempted to account either for the adoption of ſo ſingular a motto, or for the peculiar badge of the Garter, which are certainly not applicable to any military purpoſe, either of uſe or ornament, and only appear natural when applied to this particular incident.

But the feſtivity occaſioned by this inſtitution was ſoon interrupted by a deſtructive peſtilence, which now invaded England in common with all the other kingdoms of Europe. In every country it attacked, it is computed to have carried off about one-third of the inhabitants; but in England, were Stowe, Knyghton, and Walſingham, to be credited, it proved infinitely more fatal, as they affirm that, in leſs than two years, it deſtroyed nine-tenths of the people, together with nearly all the cattle in the kingdom. But theſe accounts appear wholly incredible. In London, however, it carried off immenſe numbers. The church-yards being found inadequate to contain all the dead bodies, Sir Walter Manny purchaſed a piece of ground in Smithfield, belonging to St. Bartholomew's Hoſpital—on which he afterwards founded a convent of Carthuſian Friars—where fifty thouſand bodies were interred. This malady firſt appeared in the north of Aſia; and, after infecting all that country, made it's progreſs from one end of Europe to the other, and ſenſibly depopulated every ſtate through which it paſſed.

While England was afflicted with this grievous calamity, it's coaſts were inſulted by a formidable fleet of Spaniſh pirates, conſiſting of forty ſail of ſtrong ſhips, ſuppoſed to be ſecretly inſtigated by the court of France; and theſe daring depredators, not content with taking every veſſel that came in their way, had the audacity to meditate an invaſion, and even to flatter themſelves with the conqueſt of the kingdom. Edward, however, ſoon put a ſtop to their deſtructive courſes; for, having embarked on board a powerful fleet, accompanied by many of his chief Nobility, he came up with the pirates, off Winchelſey, on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt 1350; and, after a fierce conflict, obtained a compleat victory, and took twenty-four of their veſſels.

About this time died Philip de Valois; who, in the early part of his reign, had acquired the appellation of *Fortunate*; a title which but ill accorded with the many reverſes of fortune he experienced towards the cloſe of his life. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, John the Firſt; a Prince ſtill more unfortunate than his father. Soon after his acceſſion, this Monarch renewed the truce with England; but the mutual animoſity which prevailed between

the two nations induced it's violation whenever an opportunity occurred. Frequent incurſions were made, both by the Engliſh and French Governors, on the territories of each other, in the courſe of the two ſucceeding years; which, as uſual, gave riſe to mutual complaints; but no event occurred of ſufficient importance to be recorded in hiſtory, except an action on the plain of Mauron, near Rennes, in Brittany, which took place on the fourteenth of Auguſt, in the year 1352, between a body of Engliſh troops under the command of Sir Walter Bently, and a French army conducted by the Marſhal de Neſle; in which the former, though taken by ſurprize, and greatly inferior in numbers to the enemy, obtained a compleat victory. The French general was ſlain, with eighty knights and five hundred gentlemen; and one hundred and ſixty knights and gentlemen were made priſoners.

Edward, conſcious that the hour of victory was the moſt proper time for ſecuring an advantageous peace, ſeems at this period to have been ſeriouſly inclined to liſten to terms of accommodation. A negotiation having taken place, under the mediation of the Pope, he gave inſtructions to his Plenipotentiaries, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Duke of Lancaſter, to propoſe the entire reſignation of his pretenſions to the French crown, on condition that the King of France would, in return, give up to him the abſolute ſovereignty of Guienne, Aquitaine, and the town and marches of Calais. But theſe propoſals were rejected by John, though the ſtate of his kingdom, weakened by frequent and unſucceſsful exertions, and ſhaken by inteſtine feuds, ſhould have urged him to ſeek for peace on almoſt any terms he could procure. The dangerous faction that now prevailed in France owed it's origin to Charles, King of Navarre, on whom the epithet *Bad*, or *Wicked*, had been juſtly beſtowed. This Monarch was poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, of wit, penetration, eloquence, and generoſity; ſpecious endowments, which give a luſtre to virtue, and render vice more dangerous! The poſſeſſions which he inherited from his mother, who was the daughter of Louis Hutin, were conſiderable; and his pretenſions, as being deſcended from the blood-royal of France, were ſtill greater. John, aware of the danger to be apprehended from a Prince of his turbulent diſpoſition, reſolved, if poſſible, to attach him firmly to his intereſts; and, for that purpoſe, gave him his own daughter, Jane, in marriage. But experience ſoon convinced him, that the mind which is deaf to the precepts of morality will always be found callous to every impulſe of gratitude: where the ties of religious duty cannot deter a man from the commiſſion of evil, the more feeble bonds of affinity muſt ever prove inadequate. Charles continued his evil practices; and, having cauſed Charles de la Cerda, Conſtable of France, to be aſſaſſinated, would not even conſent to aſk pardon for his crime, but on condition of receiving an acceſſion of territory; and, when this extraordinary requeſt was complied with through the imbecility of the French Monarch, he refuſed to repair to court, to make the required humiliation, till one of John's ſons was put into his hands, as a ſecurity for his perſon.

It cannot be ſuppoſed that a reconciliation thus obtained could be ſincere, or was likely to prove durable. John muſt inevitably regard his ſon-in-law as a dangerous traitor; and Charles had too much ſenſe not to be apprehenſive of experiencing, at a convenient opportunity, the effects of that reſentment which he was ſo conſcious of deſerving. To avert, therefore, the danger he dreaded, he ſought to form an alliance with England; and, with that view, entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the Earl of Lancaſter, who was then at Avignon, employed in the fruitleſs negotiations we have before noticed. This correſpondence was detected by John; who, in order to provide againſt the effect of it, ſent a body of forces into Normandy, to attack the poſſeſſions of the King of Navarre; but, receiving intelligence of great preparations made by Edward for the aſſiſtance of Charles, he was weak enough to propoſe an accommodation with this perfidious Prince, and to purchaſe a feigned reconciliation with the ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns. Charles, as might eaſily have been foreſeen, after receiving the money, applied it to the acquiſition of new partizans. The number of his adherents was ſoon conſiderably augmented; and he had even ſufficient addreſs to ſeduce from his duty Charles, the eldeſt ſon to the King of France, a youth of ſeventeen, who was the firſt that bore the title of Dauphin, by the re-union of the province of Dauphiny to the crown. But this Prince, inſpired with a juſt ſenſe of his criminal conduct, promiſed to make atonement to his father by the ſacrifice of his aſſociates: he therefore invited the King of Navarre, and ſeveral Noblemen of the party, to a feaſt which he prepared at Rouen; where they were betrayed into the hands of John. Some of the moſt obnoxious were immediately executed, and the King of Navarre was thrown into priſon. But this treacherous meaſure was not attended with the advantage which the French Monarch expected to derive from it; for Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles, and Geoffrey D'Harcourt, put all the towns and fortreſſes belonging to that Prince in a poſture of defence, and made inſtant application to Edward for protection.

The truce between England and France, which had been ſo frequently violated on both ſides, expired at Midſummer, in the year 1355; ſo that Edward now found himſelf at full liberty to commence hoſtilities againſt John. Determined to carry on his operations with unuſual vigour, he projected an invaſion of France, both on the ſide of Guienne and of Calais at the ſame time; the firſt to be conducted by the Prince of Wales, and the latter by himſelf.

The Prince, attended by a ſplendid train of Engliſh Nobles, and a ſtrong body of troops, ſailed from Plymouth, with a fleet of three hundred ſail, on the tenth of September; and arrived ſafe at Bourdeaux. Being joined by great numbers of the Gaſcon Nobility, he marched from that city on the fifth of October, and directed his courſe to the fertile

fertile province of Languedoc, which he desolated with fire and sword. The Constable of Bourbon, though at the head of a superior army, had received orders not to risque a battle on any account; so that the Prince was permitted to continue his ravages with impunity. He presented himself before Thoulouse; passed the Garonne; burned the suburbs of Carcassonne, and, after a most destructive course, in which five hundred villages, and many considerable towns, were reduced to ashes, he returned, about Christmas, to Bourdeaux, with a vast booty, and put his army into winter-quarters.

During this time the King of England was committing similar depredations in the other extremity of France. Having landed at Calais, with a numerous army, in the month of October, he advanced to St. Omer's, where the King of France was posted, in hopes of bringing that Monarch to a battle: but, as John retired at his approach, he pursued him as far as Hesdin, laying waste the country as he advanced. Edward then returned to Calais, and embarked for England, where his presence was required to repel a threatened invasion of the Scots.

The Scots, taking advantage of the King's absence, had made an incursion into the northern counties, and taken the town of Berwick by surprize: the King, therefore, on his return, summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster on the twenty-third of November; at which Sir Walter Manny, by order of his Sovereign, gave an account of the Scottish invasion, as well as of his foreign expedition; and demanded an aid, to enable the King to bring the war to a speedy and propitious termination. This demand gave rise to some debate; which, however, ended in a determination to grant a liberal supply of fifty shillings on every sack of wool exported for six years.

Edward now began to prepare for his northern expedition; and appointed the rendezvous of his forces at Newcastle, whither he speedily repaired in person: and the Scots, apprized of his approach, abandoned Berwick, as not being tenable so long as the castle was in possession of the English. The King therefore entered Scotland without opposition; and, as the Scottish army had retired to their woods and mountains, he was left at full liberty to lay waste all the country from Berwick to Edinburgh. But, when he had advanced to the capital, the enemy having had the precaution to take with them all the provisions they could find, and the English fleet having been dispersed in a storm, he found himself reduced to the necessity of immediately returning to Roxburgh. At that place Baliol, who had attended the King on this expedition, now bending beneath the weight of infirmities almost inseparable from age, and fearing that his steady adherence to the English had inspired his countrymen with an unconquerable aversion to his title, resigned his pretensions to the crown of Scotland; and Edward, in consideration of this cession, paid all his debts, and granted him a pension of two thousand pounds a year for his life, with which he passed the remainder of his days in privacy and retirement. After this transaction the King returned to London, in the month of February; and the Earl of Northampton concluded a truce with the Scots till Michaelmas.

Edward, on his return, dispatched a body of troops into Normandy, under the command of the Earl of Lancaster, to support the partizans of Charles King of Navarre, who was still in confinement. The war was carried on with various success, but chiefly to the disadvantage of the French malcontents, till an event occurred in another quarter of the kingdom, that almost threatened the monarchy of France with total annihilation.

The Prince of Wales, encouraged by the success of the preceding campaign, marched from Bourdeaux, on the sixth of July, with an army which no historian makes amount to more than twelve thousand men, viz. two thousand men at arms, six thousand archers, and four thousand infantry; and with this small body he ventured to penetrate into the heart of France. After having laid waste the Agenois, Quercy, Auvergne, and the Limousin, he entered the province of Berry, with the intention of advancing into Normandy, there to join the forces of the Earl of Lancaster, and the partizans of the King of Navarre; but finding all the bridges on the Loire broken down, and every pass carefully guarded, he was obliged to think of making his retreat into Guienne. The wisdom of this resolution soon became evident; for the King of France, piqued at the insults he had received in the heart of his kingdom, and hoping that the young Prince's temerity would afford him an opportunity of revenge, had raised an army of sixty thousand horse, exclusive of infantry; and was advancing, with hasty marches, to intercept him in his retreat. The Prince not suspecting that John was so near him, stopped before the castle of Romorantin, which he took on the fourth of September, after a siege of six days: then continuing his route through a part of Touraine and Anjou, he entered Poictou; and, on Saturday the seventeenth of September, encamped at Maupertuis, within two short leagues of Poictiers. That same evening the French army appeared in sight; and the Prince finding an action inevitable, prepared for it with all the courage of a youthful hero, and with all the skill and prudence of an experienced veteran. The ground he pitched on was a small plain, gently inclining, surrounded by woods and vineyards, and accessible only by a narrow defile in front, which was inclosed with thick hedges on either side. But neither the courage of the Prince, nor the prudence of this disposition, could have availed, had the King of France known how to profit by the present advantage. From his great superiority in numbers, he might easily have surrounded the English; and, by intercepting their provisions, have speedily reduced them to the necessity of yielding, or at least of issuing from their camp, and engaging under a certainty, almost absolute, of being vanquished: but such was the ardour of the French Nobility—who thought that, to conquer, they needed but to fight—that, solely intent on bringing the enemy to action, no other idea ever occurred to them. Early, therefore, on the

the enſuing morning, the King of France drew up his troops in order of battle; but, when they were on the point of beginning the attack, they were ſtopped by the appearance of the Cardinal de Perigord; who, having learned the approach of the two armies to each other, had haſtened to prevent, if poſſible, the effuſion of blood. By John's permiſſion, he repaired to the Prince of Wales, whom he found ſenſible of his dangerous ſituation; and, indeed, willing to liſten to any terms of accommodation that were not inconſiſtent with his own honour and with that of England: he even offered to purchaſe a retreat by a ceſſion of all the conqueſts he had made in the courſe of that and the preceding campaign; by reſtoring all the priſoners and all the booty he had taken; and by engaging not to bear arms againſt France for ſeven years. But John peremptorily inſiſted that the Prince ſhould ſurrender himſelf priſoner, with a hundred of his Knights: the negotiation, therefore, was broken off; Edward declaring, that he would never accede to ſuch diſhonourable terms; and that, whatever fortune might attend him, England ſhould never have his ranſom to pay.

Both ſides now prepared for action, though the day was ſo far advanced that it was found neceſſary to defer it till the next morning; and, during the night, young Edward ſtrengthened by additional entrenchments the poſt he had ſo judiciouſly choſen. Early in the morning of Monday the nineteenth of September, in the year 1356, the Engliſh and French armies were drawn up in order of battle. The Prince of Wales had formed his army into three lines: the van was commanded by the Earl of Warwick; the main body by the Prince himſelf; and the rear by the Earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk. The Lords Chandos, Audley, and many other brave and experienced officers, were at the head of different corps of his army. Edward had alſo taken the precaution to detach the Captal de Buche, with three hundred men at arms, and as many archers, to form an ambuſcade under cover of the trees and hedges, that they might be ready to fall on the flank or rear of the enemy, as opportunity ſhould ſerve, during the heat of the action; and he lined the hedges, on both ſides of the defile which led to his camp, with a body of his beſt archers.

The King of France arranged his forces likewiſe in three diviſions, nearly equal: the firſt was commanded by his brother, the Duke of Orleans; the ſecond by the Dauphin, attended by his brothers, Lewis and John; and the third by the King himſelf, who was accompanied by his favourite ſon Philip, then about fourteen years of age.

The attack was begun about nine in the morning, by a choſen body of men at arms, who were ordered to paſs the defile, to clear the paſſage for the reſt of the troops; but the Engliſh archers plied their arrows with ſuch effect, that one half of them were killed before they reached the end, where the other were immediately cut to pieces. The Mareſchals Clermont and Andrehan next entered the defile with a more numerous body of men at arms, diſmounted; but they alſo were ſo galled by the archers, and experienced ſo warm a reception from the van of Edward's army, that they were ſpeedily thrown into confuſion. Clermont was ſlain; and Andrehan felled to the ground by the Lord Audley, who took him priſoner. The fate of theſe Noblemen ſo much diſcouraged their followers, that they repaſſed the defile with precipitation, and threw the firſt line of the French army into diſorder. The ſecond, under the command of the Dauphin, immediately advanced to ſupport it; but, at that critical conjuncture, the Captal de Buche opportunely appeared, and attacked them in flank with great fury. The Dauphin's diviſion being ſeized with a general conſternation at this unexpected attack, Landas, Bodenai, and St. Venant, to whom the care of that Prince and his brothers had been entruſted, too anxious either for their charge or for their own ſafety, carried them off the field, and ſet an example of flight, which was followed by the whole line. The Prince of Wales, obſerving the confuſion that now prevailed in the enemy's army, mounted his horſe, and advanced with his diviſion to attack the third line of the French, commanded by the King in perſon, which ſtill remained entire, though ſomewhat diſmayed by the flight of their companions, and was far ſuperior in numbers to the whole Engliſh army. A body of German cavalry, commanded by the Counts of Sarbruck, Nydo, and Naſſau, being placed in the front, Edward ruſhed on them with great impetuoſity, ſoon routed them, killed two of their leaders, and took the third priſoner. The battle now raged with incredible fury, and victory long remained doubtful. The French, animated by the preſence and example of their Sovereign, who diſplayed the moſt undaunted courage, made a deſperate reſiſtance: but the Duke of Athenes, Conſtable of France, being ſlain, his brigade gave way, and left the King to ſuſtain the whole fury of the enemy. Still John hoped to change the fortune of the day by his own perſonal bravery; and he continued fighting, with his young ſon Philip by his ſide, for a conſiderable time. At length, however, the Prince being wounded, and himſelf overcome with fatigue, and almoſt alone amidſt a hoſt of foes, who exhorted him to ſurrender, he enquired anxiouſly for his couſin, the Prince of Wales; but, being told that the Prince was in a diſtant part of the field, he threw down his gauntlet, and yielded himſelf and his ſon to Denis de Morbec, a Knight of Arras, who had been obliged to fly his country for ſome criminal tranſaction.

The Prince of Wales, who had purſued the fugitives to ſome diſtance, finding the field entirely clear on his return, had ordered a tent to be pitched, that he might repoſe himſelf after the fatigue of the battle. Having enquired after the King of France, and found that he had not fled, he diſpatched the Earl of Warwick and Lord Cobham in ſearch of him; and theſe Noblemen arrived juſt in time to ſave the life of the captive Prince, which was in as much danger now as it had been during the heat of the action, from a violent altercation which had ariſen between a party of Engliſh and Gaſcon ſoldiers,

diers, who had taken him from Morbec, and were diſputing about his ranſom. When Warwick and Cobham appeared, their preſence put a ſtop to the contention: they approached the King with the greateſt demonſtrations of reſpect, and offered to conduct him to the Prince's tent.

It was now that the Prince of Wales exhibited proofs of the moſt perfect heroiſm. Minds the moſt brutal may be endued with courage; and ignorance of danger may impel the callous and unfeeling ſoul to exertions of valour: but the virtues of moderation and humanity are indiſpenſably requiſite to the formation of an hero; and never did mortal poſſeſs theſe virtues in a more eminent degree than young Edward. Though furious amidſt the din of battle, he was now all mildneſs and humility. When the captive Monarch approached his tent, he went forth to meet him, with a countenance that beſpoke the ſympathetic feelings of his mind: he received him with every poſſible mark of tenderneſs and regard; attempted to ſoothe him by the moſt conſolatory language that dignified compaſſion could ſuggeſt; paid the tribute of praiſe that was due to his valour; aſcribed his own ſucceſs to accident, that often overturned the beſt-concerted plans; and, finally, aſſured him that he had fallen into the hands of thoſe who knew how to honour his virtues, and to reſpect his misfortunes. John's conduct on this memorable occaſion ſhewed him worthy the generous treatment he experienced: he ſuffered no mean depreſſion of ſpirits to render him forgetful of his own dignity, or to ſink the ſovereign in the captive. More affected by the liberality of Edward than by his own calamities, he confeſſed he was conſcious that the defeat he had ſuſtained could not be aſcribed to any impropriety of conduct in him, nor could poſſibly convey the ſmalleſt reflection upon his honour; and he expreſſed his ſatisfaction that, ſince he was doomed to captivity, he was ſo fortunate as to be priſoner to the moſt gallant and generous Prince in the univerſe.

Edward ordered a magnificent repaſt to be prepared in his own tent for the royal captive, and aſſiſted in ſerving him: he conſtantly refuſed to be ſeated at table; declaring, that he knew too well the diſtance between a ſubject and a Sovereign to aſſume ſuch freedom. The French officers who had been taken in the battle, were ſtricken with aſtoniſhment at this ſingular inſtance of generoſity and moderation: regarding the Prince as a being of ſome ſuperior ſpecies, their admiration was mingled with reverential awe; and the veneration they manifeſted for the great qualities he diſplayed, was only checked by the reflection that their native country was reduced to a ſituation more pregnant with danger from being expoſed to the reſentment of an enemy endowed with ſuch extraordinary talents.

All the Engliſh and Gaſcon Knights, eager to imitate the glorious example of their Prince, treated their captives with the utmoſt humanity; and only exacted from them ſuch ranſoms as would not injure their fortunes, ſo as to prevent them from ſupporting that dignity which their rank and ſituation required.

Hiſtory affords but few examples of a victory ſo compleat and extraordinary as that of Poictiers. The French are ſaid to have left on the field of battle two Dukes, nineteen Counts, a great number of Knights and Gentlemen, five thouſand men at arms, and about eight thouſand infantry; ſo that, if this account be true, the number of ſlain exceeded that of the whole Britiſh army. Beſides the King and his ſon Philip, there were taken the Counts of Ponthieu, Eu, and Tancarville, Princes of the blood; the Archbiſhop of Sens; ſeventeen Counts; fifteen hundred Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen; and ſeveral thouſand men at arms. Every ſoldier in Edward's army was enriched with the ſpoils of the French camp, and the ranſom of the priſoners, which, though moderate, amounted to a conſiderable ſum: for, when the ranſom of a captive did not exceed ten thouſand crowns, it belonged to the captor; when more, it became the property of the King.

The day after the battle, Edward ordered a general thankſgiving to the Diſpenſer of all human events for the glorious victory he had obtained: he then thanked his troops for the gallantry of their conduct, to which, under Heaven, he aſcribed his ſucceſs. As the Lord Audley had ſignalized his bravery during the action in a very particular manner, the Prince beſtowed on him a grant of five hundred marks a year, to be paid out of his own inheritance; which that generous Nobleman immediately divided among his four valiant Eſquires, who had fought by his ſide in the battle. Edward, informed of this circumſtance, highly applauded an act in which juſtice and generoſity coincided; confirmed the donation; and made a farther grant to the Earl of ſix hundred marks a year, payable from the Coinage of the Stannaries of Cornwall.

The Prince of Wales, finding his army not ſufficiently powerful to purſue the advantages he had gained by extending his military operations, retired by eaſy marches to Bourdeaux, where he paſſed the winter. As the Pope ſtill continued to offer his mediation, and their misfortunes had rendered the French more tractable, a truce was concluded between England and France, on the twenty-third of March, in the year 1357, to continue for two years; and, on the twenty-fourth of the following month, the Prince, accompanied by the French Monarch and his ſon, and attended by a numerous train of Engliſh and French Nobility, ſailed from Bourdeaux, and arrived in England at the beginning of May. The King, on receiving the intelligence of his ſon's ſucceſs, endued with that philoſophic firmneſs of mind which adverſity cannot ſink to depreſſion, nor proſperity tranſport beyond the limits of moderation, inſtead of evincing any extravagant ſymptoms of joy, ordered the Primate to appoint a week of prayer and thankſgiving; which was religiouſly obſerved throughout the kingdom. Having thus fulfilled the firſt of duties, he now ordered his ſon to be received with the honours that were due to his merit, and to the rank of the captive

who accompanied him. The Lord Mayor was commanded to raiſe triumphal arches on his road, and to regulate the proceſſion which was appointed to attend him. That magiſtrate accordingly met the Prince in Southwark, followed by the aldermen, all adorned with the inſignia of their office, and one thouſand of the principal citizens. The captive Monarch was arrayed in royal robes, and mounted on a ſuperb white courſer, conſpicuous from it's ſize and beauty, and the magnificence of it's furniture; while his princely victor, ſimply habited, rode by his ſide on a black palfry, whoſe figure and trappings diſplayed an appearance of that humility which dignified and adorned the ſoul of it's maſter. The houſes were hung with tapeſtry and military weapons, and the ſtreets were lined with an infinite concourſe of people. In this ſituation, more glorious than that of a Roman Emperor in the hour of triumph, inſulting the misfortunes of his ſhackled captives, did the Prince proceed to Weſtminſter Hall; where his father deſcended from his throne, and advanced to meet the King of France, whom he received with the ſame reſpect and cordiality as if he had repaired to his court for the purpoſe of paying him a viſit of friendſhip. When the ceremony of reception was over, John and his ſon were conducted to the palace of the Savoy; where they were entertained in the moſt ſumptuous and hoſpitable manner.

Edward at this period appears to have enjoyed happineſs as perfect as the frailty of human nature will admit of. He had a full portion of domeſtic felicity, was adored by his ſubjects, feared by his enemies, and admired by the whole world; and he moreover held the Sovereigns of thoſe two nations which were alone hoſtile to his government, in captivity. But as he found that the confinement of the King of Scots, who had now been eleven years a captive, did not contribute in the ſmalleſt degree to the conqueſt of his dominions, which were governed with vigour by his nephew and heir, Robert Stuart, he conſented to releaſe Robert Bruce, on the condition of paying a hundred thouſand marks ſterling in ten years; during which time a truce was to ſubſiſt between the two nations.

The fatal effects of the battle of Poictiers now became manifeſt in France, which during the captivity of John was reduced to the brink of deſtruction. The populace of Paris, profiting by the diſtreſs of the nation, and ſtimulated by the dangerous eloquence of the King of Navarre, who made his eſcape from priſon, were induced to aim at the annihilation of the ſovereign power, which in the abſence of his father the Dauphin had very naturally aſſumed: but, after a long ſcene of confuſion, in which hoſtilities were actually commenced by the Pariſians againſt their Prince, the people, having diſcovered the ambitious intentions of the King of Navarre, who had formed a claim to the French crown, invited the Dauphin to return to that metropolis, from whence they themſelves had expelled him; and, by a tranſition not unfrequent in the minds of the vulgar, converted their curſes into benedictions.

During theſe tranſactions, the captive Monarch had been endeavouring to procure his releaſe from Edward; and, on the fourth of May, in the year 1359, a treaty of peace was actually ſigned by them both, by which John agreed to relinquiſh to Edward the abſolute ſovereignty of ſome of the richeſt provinces in France: but, a copy of it having been ſent to the Dauphin, he convoked the States General of the kingdom, who unanimouſly adviſed him to reject it. Edward, incenſed at a conduct which was evidently founded in wiſdom, threatened to viſit the Dauphin at Paris as ſoon as the truce ſhould expire. For this purpoſe he made the moſt formidable preparations; and, on the twenty-ſeventh of October, ſailed for Calais, with a fleet of eleven hundred ſail, on board of which were his four eldeſt ſons, all the principal Nobility of England, and an army of one hundred thouſand men.

On the fourth day of November, Edward began his march from Calais, and continued his progreſs through the provinces of Picardy and Artois till he reached the city of Rheims in Champagne, where the French Kings were generally crowned. Here he propoſed to be inveſted with the royal diadem of France; and the Archbiſhops of Lincoln and Durham attended him in order to perform the ceremony: but he found that place ſo well fortified, and ſo ably defended, that, though he lay before it three months, he was unable to reduce it. He therefore directed his march into Burgundy; where Philip, the Duke of that province, paid him a hundred thouſand nobles, in order to ſecure his territories from the depredations of the Engliſh army. From thence Edward proceeded towards the Nivernois; which ſaving itſelf by a ſimilar compoſition, he extended his ravages to Brie and the Gatinois. After a long and deſtructive march, he arrived at the gates of Paris on the laſt day of March; and, taking up his quarters at Bourg-La-Reine, extended his army to Long-jumeau, Montrouge, and Vaugirard. But the capital had too numerous a garriſon to be taken by aſſault; and it's magazines were too well ſupplied to be reduced by blockade. After a fruitleſs attempt on the ſuburbs, he was therefore obliged to remove his quarters, and to march towards Brittany; in which province he intended to repoſe his troops, who had ſuffered conſiderably from the ſevere fatigues of a winter campaign, and return to renew his attack on Paris about the month of July.

The Dauphin, alarmed at ſeeing his country expoſed to ſuch dreadful devaſtations, and having no proſpect of being able to impede the progreſs of ſo powerful an army, became extremely anxious to obtain a ceſſation of hoſtilities. For this purpoſe he ſent the Chancellor of France, with four other Commiſſioners, to Edward; and, their ſolicitations being ſeconded by the inſtances of the Pope's Legate, and the prudent counſels of the Duke of Lancaſter, the King conſented to an accommodation, and appointed Commiſſioners to open a conference at Bretigni, in the Pays Chartrain. Edward is ſaid to have been diſpoſed to peace by an accident which happened during his march. At the diſtance of about

about two leagues from Chartres his army was overtaken by a dreadful ſtorm of hail, the ſtones of which were of ſuch a prodigious ſize as to kill ſix thouſand horſes, and one thouſand men. The King, frightened at the dreadful ſcene, threw himſelf proſtrate on the ground; and, extending his arms towards the church of Chartres, made a ſolemn vow no longer to reject the offers of peace, if he could obtain it on reaſonable terms. Be that as it may, a peace was concluded at Bretigni, on the eighth of May, in the year 1360, on the following conditions. It was ſtipulated that, excluſive of the abſolute ſovereignty of Guienne and Ponthieu, the following territories ſhould be ceded to Edward—The county of Poictiers; the fief of Thouars; the provinces of Poictou, Xaintonge, Agenois, and Perigord; the Limouſin, Quercy, Bigorre, Gavre, Angoumois, and Rouvergue; together with Calais, Guiſnes, and Montreüil. The full ſovereignty of all theſe provinces was to be veſted in the crown of England; and France agreed to renounce all title to the feudal juriſdiction, homage, or appeal, from them. It was farther ſettled, that the King of France ſhould pay for his ranſom the ſum of three millions of crowns of gold—equal to fifteen hundred thouſand pounds of our preſent money—and to renounce for ever his alliance with the Scots. In return for theſe important conceſſions, Edward reſigned his claim to the French crown, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, which had been poſſeſſed by his anceſtors; he alſo conſented to diſſolve his confederacy with the Flemings. By another article of the treaty, it was ſtipulated that the diſputes relative to the ſucceſſion of Brittany, between the Houſes of Blois and Mountfort, ſhould be left to the deciſion of arbiters, appointed by the two Kings; and that forty hoſtages ſhould be ſent to Edward, as a ſecurity for the execution of theſe various conditions.

When Edward had compleated the pacification, he embarked for England; and, on the eighteenth of May, landed at Rye. About ſix weeks after his arrival, he ſent John to Calais, whither he ſoon repaired himſelf; and there the treaty, after ſome deliberation, was ſolemnly ratified by the two Kings, on the twenty-fourth of October. Next day, John ſet out for Boulogne; and Edward accompanied him to the diſtance of a mile from Calais, where they parted with the moſt cordial profeſſions of mutual amity and eſteem. Still, however, great difficulties occurred in executing the articles of the treaty, chiefly from the averſion expreſſed by many of the inhabitants of Guienne to ſubmit to the Engliſh government; but the rigid integrity of the French Monarch, and the active vigilance of Lord Chandos, who was appointed by the King to govern the ceded countries, in a great meaſure removed theſe impediments.

The joy experienced by every claſs of people at the termination of a war which, though marked with ſucceſs, had occaſioned the exaction of numerous impoſts, was exceſſive. But their ſatisfaction was ſpeedily interrupted by a dreadful peſtilence, which made it's appearance in the ſpring of the year 1361, and deſtroyed great numbers of people; and, among others, the Lords Mowbray and Seymour, and ſeveral other Noblemen of rank: but the loſs of no man cauſed ſuch extreme regret as that of Henry Duke of Lancaſter, juſtly denominated *The Good*; a Nobleman whoſe virtuous principles and numerous accompliſhments, both of mind and perſon, highly deſerved that eſteem and affection in which he was univerſally held.

Edward, finding his new ſubjects on the continent ſtill averſe to the Engliſh government, wiſely determined to place them under the immediate command of the Prince of Wales, who was eſteemed even by his enemies. The Prince had lately married, by virtue of a diſpenſation from the Pope, his couſin Jane, daughter and ſole heireſs of Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Kent, and widow of Sir Thomas Holland; when his father had conveyed to him the county of Poitou, together with all the provinces in his poſſeſſion from thence to the Pyrenees: and the King now farther inveſted him with the dignity of Prince of Aquitaine, accompanied by a grant of part of Gaſcony, and of all other territories which he enjoyed in France, ſubject to feudal homage, and an annual tribute of an ounce of gold.

The Prince of Wales, having received the inveſtiture of his new dominions, reſolved to fix his reſidence at Bourdeaux, at which place he arrived in the month of February, in the year 1363, and experienced a moſt welcome reception from all the Nobles of that country, who immediately took the oath of fealty; and he ſoon found means, by a mild and equitable adminiſtration, to conciliate the affections of the people.

The final execution of the treaty of Bretigni being ſtill retarded by many of the French Governors, who refuſed, in oppoſition to the orders of their Sovereign, to evacuate the places entruſted to their command, the brother and two ſons of the French King, the Dukes of Orleans, Anjou, and Berry, who had been ſent as hoſtages to the Engliſh court, evinced an anxiety to return to their native country; and they gave Edward to underſtand that, if they were removed to Calais, they might by their influence remove thoſe obſtructions which delayed their liberation. They were accordingly conveyed thither, and ſuffered to enjoy as much liberty as they could deſire; but, finding their efforts unſucceſsful, the Duke of Anjou broke his parole, and eſcaped into the dominions of his father, who ſeverely reproved him for his diſhonourable conduct; and, in order to make atonement for his fault, he reſolved to repair to England in perſon, to obviate the poſſibility of miſrepreſentation, and to concert meaſures with Edward for the accompliſhment of the treaty. When his miniſters, who thought honour ſhould be rendered ſubſervient to policy, endeavoured to divert him from a reſolution which to them appeared imprudent and dangerous, he told them, that *though honour and good faith were baniſhed from every other place, they ought always to find an aſylum in the boſoms of Princes:* a ſentiment which ſhewed that the Monarch who poſſeſſed it was worthy

thy the crown he wore. John accordingly embarked for England, and was received by Edward with thoſe marks of reſpect which his virtues ſo richly deſerved. He was lodged in the Savoy, where he had reſided during his captivity; and where he died of a fever, about three months after his arrival, on the eighth of April, in the year 1364.

John was ſucceeded in the throne of France by his ſon, Charles the Fifth; a Prince who, having received his education in the ſchool of Adverſity, had acquired a conſiderable portion of that prudence and addreſs which Experience alone can beſtow, and which in the government of an empire is generally of greater utility than the moſt undaunted courage. His firſt care was to compoſe thoſe animoſities which ſtill prevailed in his dominions, and to reduce the King of Navarre, who had taken up arms againſt him, to liſten to an accommodation on reaſonable terms. He then ſent the commander of his armies, the brave Conſtable Du Gueſclin, into Brittany—where a war was ſtill carried on between the two competitors for that dutchy—in order to decide the conteſt in favour of his kinſman, Charles de Blois. Du Gueſclin, however, failed of his uſual ſucceſs; for John de Mountfort, apprized of the preparations making againſt him, had ſolicited the aſſiſtance of John de Chandos, Conſtable of Guienne, who ſuccoured him in perſon with a body of Engliſh archers and men at arms; which, though ſmall, enabled him to oppoſe the progreſs of his rival. Charles de Blois, truſting to his ſuperior numbers, reſolved to terminate the competition by one deciſive action; and with that view advanced to Auray, which was inveſted by Mountfort. Here the two armies, on the morning of the twenty-ninth of September, drew up in order of battle. The right wing of Charles's army was commanded by Du Gueſclin; the left by the Counts of Auxerre and Joigny; and the center by Charles himſelf. The diſpoſition of Mountfort's army being left to the Lord Chandos, that Nobleman placed Sir Robert Knolles oppoſite to Du Gueſclin; oppoſed Oliver de Cliſſon to the Count of Auxerre; placed himſelf with Mountfort at the head of the main body; and entruſted the corps de reſerve to the conduct of Sir Hugh de Calverly. The whole line of either army engaged at the ſame inſtant; and Charles de Blois attacked his rival with ſuch reſiſtleſs impetuoſity, that Mountfort's ſtandard was beaten down, and his main body compelled to retire. At that moment, Calverly, purſuant to the directions of Chandos, advanced; and, by giving a ſeaſonable check to the enemy, afforded Mountfort an opportunity of rallying his diviſion; which being effected, the former retired to his firſt ſtation. In the mean while, the Count of Auxerre being wounded and taken priſoner, the body he commanded was thrown into confuſion; and Oliver de Cliſſon attacking them with great fury, put moſt of them to the ſword, and drove the reſt off the field. Calverly then made a circuit, and fell on the flank of the main body, which was ſpeedily routed and diſperſed, leaving it's commander, Charles de Blois, dead on the field. Gueſclin ſtill kept his ground; but, being dangerouſly wounded, was at length compelled to yield himſelf a priſoner to Chandos, who thus obtained a compleat victory, which terminated the competition for the dutchy: for the King of France, fearful leſt Mountfort ſhould be induced to claim the abſolute ſovereignty of Brittany for himſelf, prudently conſented to acknowledge the validity of his title, and to receive the proffered homage for his dominions.

Still, however, the kingdom of France was far from being reſtored to a ſtate of tranquillity; for great numbers of military adventurers, of different nations, who had followed the Engliſh and French ſtandards during the late war, being diſperſed into the different provinces, took poſſeſſion of ſeveral ſtrong fortreſſes, which they refuſed to deliver up, and from whence they extended their depredations over the adjacent country. This lawleſs banditti aſſumed the appellation of *The Companions*; and the bodies into which they were formed were called *The Companies*. Many Engliſh and Gaſcon gentlemen of repute, either allured by the proſpect of plunder, or infected with a rage for martial atchievements, however diſhonourable, diſgraced themſelves by taking the command of theſe ruffians, whoſe numbers amounted in the whole to near forty thouſand, and who bore the appearance of regular armies, rather than of bands of robbers. Among their leaders were Sir Matthew Gournay, Sir Hugh Calverly, and the Chevalier Verte, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their courage and conduct in ſome pitched battles with the troops of France, whom they defeated; and, in one of them, they ſlew Jaques de Bourbon, a Prince of the blood.

The Pope, who then reſided at Avignon, expecting a viſit from theſe formidable depredators, iſſued a ſentence of excommunication againſt them; and publiſhed a cruſade, in order to promote their extirpation. But it could not reaſonably be expected that men, whom the ties of Morality were inſufficient to reſtrain from the commiſſion of evil, could be brought to the paths of Juſtice by the dread of ſpiritual thunders. The menaces of his Holineſs were treated with contempt; and the Companies increaſed to ſuch an alarming degree, that Charles found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of making application to the King of England; who, by one of the articles in the treaty of Bretigny, was bound to aſſiſt him. Edward, in compliance with his requiſition, made immediate preparations for an expedition into France; but Charles, alarmed at the number of his forces, and fearing that, inſtead of affording him protection, they might be employed for purpoſes of hoſtility, ſent him word that his aſſiſtance was no longer neceſſary. Edward, though juſtly offended at a meſſage which betrayed ſuſpicions of his honour, acquieſced in it, and diſbanded his army.

Charles, convinced of his inability to remove this intolerable grievance by force, had now recourſe to policy. He firſt prevailed on the Pope to tempt the Companies, by the promiſe of a general remiſſion of all their ſins, to undertake an expedition to the Eaſt for the recovery of the Holy Land;

Land: but, finding them averſe to ſo diſtant an excurſion, he was obliged to abandon this ſcheme, and propoſed an expedition into Spain; which, promiſing greater plunder and leſs danger, they were at length perſuaded to undertake.

Pedro, King of Caſtile, juſtly ſtigmatized with the epithet *Cruel*, among other acts of deſpotic violence and unreſtrained barbarity, had put to death three natural ſons of Alphonſo the eleventh: the three who ſurvived, apprehenſive of incurring the ſame fate, fled for refuge into Arragon; but, being purſued by Pedro, at the head of a powerful army, they retired to France, where they were protected by Charles, who was incenſed againſt the Spaniſh Monarch for having, at the inſtigation of Mary de Padilla, poiſoned his wife Blanche de Bourbon, ſiſter to the Queen of France. This brutal Caſtilian was no ſooner informed that his brothers had fled to Paris, than he cauſed their mother, Leonora de Guſman, to be put to death, themſelves to be proclaimed traitors, and their eſtates to be confiſcated. Henry, Count of Traſtamare, one of the brothers, being determined to exact vengeance for theſe numerous crimes, applied to the King of France for permiſſion to enliſt the Companies in his ſervice, and to lead them into Caſtile; where, from the concurrence of his own friends, and the enemies of his brother, he had the faireſt proſpect of immediate ſucceſs. The French Monarch, delighted with the project, employed Du Gueſclin in negotiating with the leaders of theſe banditti; and a treaty was ſpeedily concluded. The high character of honour which that General poſſeſſed, made every one place the moſt implicit confidence in his promiſes; and his known reputation for valour induced them to enliſt under his banners, though the object of the expedition was not divulged. The only aſſurance they exacted before they entered into an engagement, was, that he would not lead them into Guienne to act againſt the Prince of Wales.

Du Gueſclin, having compleated his levies, firſt led the army to Avignon, where he demanded from the Pope an abſolution for his ſoldiers, and the ſum of two hundred thouſand livres towards defraying the expence of the expedition. His Holineſs readily promiſed the firſt; but, making ſome heſitation to comply with the ſecond, Du Gueſclin replied—"My troops, I believe, may contrive to diſpenſe "with your abſolution; but the money is abſo-"lutely neceſſary." The Pope then extorted from the inhabitants of the city and it's environs one half of the ſum demanded, and offered it to Du Gueſclin. "It is not my intention," exclaimed that warrior, as generous as brave, "to oppreſs the "innocent people. The Pope and his Cardinals "can well ſpare the ſum I require from their own "coffers; I inſiſt, therefore, that this money be "immediately reſtored to it's lawful owners; and, "ſhould they be defrauded of the ſmalleſt portion "of it, I ſhall return myſelf from the other ſide "of the Pyrenees, and compel you to make them "ſatisfaction." The Pope, finding him too reſolute to admit of equivocation or delay, paid the money from his own treaſury. Du Gueſclin then led his army into Spain; where he eaſily prevailed over the King of Caſtile, whoſe ſubjects, far from joining in the defence of their oppreſſor, crouded to the ſtandard of his enemies. In ſhort, Pedro found himſelf totally forſaken; and the defection was ſo ſudden, that he had ſcarcely time to ſecure himſelf, family, and treaſure, at Corunna; from whence he fled to Bourdeaux, leaving Henry de Traſtamare in poſſeſſion of his dominions: and that Prince was accordingly crowned King of Caſtile, and acknowledged as ſuch by all the cities and nobility of the kingdom.

Pedro, on his arrival at Bourdeaux, applied for aſſiſtance to the Prince of Wales: but it is difficult to conceive what motives could have induced Edward to afford protection to a man whoſe conduct and diſpoſition were ſo diametrically oppoſite to his own. The Caſtilian is, indeed, repreſented as endued with the moſt ſpecious and engaging qualities; but theſe alone muſt ſurely have proved inſufficient to prevail on the Prince to eſpouſe the cauſe of a man rendered juſtly odious by the moſt flagrant enormities: we are therefore inclined to believe that he was urged to the adoption of a meaſure ſo repugnant to the general tenour of his conduct by motives of policy: he might be fearful that, if he refuſed to grant the required aſſiſtance, Pedro would be unable to recover his throne; and the French Monarch, by the acquiſition of ſo potent a confederate as the new King of Caſtile, might attain to a degree of ſtrength and power that would render him formidable, if not dangerous, to his neighbours. Whatever might be his motives, he embraced the party of Pedro with zeal and effect. Having obtained his father's conſent, he gave a general invitation to the military adventurers of every country; who, allured by the reputation of ſo illuſtrious a leader, flocked to his ſtandard in crowds. Even the Companies who had enliſted in the ſervice of Henry de Traſtamare, in obedience to his ſummons, deſerted that Prince, and repaired by thouſands to Bourdeaux. From theſe troops Edward ſelected an army of thirty thouſand men, with which he ſet out on his enterprize. He was accompanied by his younger brother, John of Gaunt, created Duke of Lancaſter, in the room of the good Prince of that name, who had died without any male-iſſue, and whoſe daughter and heireſs he had married. He was likewiſe attended by the Kings of Caſtile and Majorca; and by a ſplendid train of Engliſh and Gaſcon Nobles, at the head of whom was the gallant Lord Chandos. But, as the Kings of Arragon and Navarre, who ſtill adhered to the intereſts of Henry de Traſtamare, barred his paſſage into Caſtile, it was deemed expedient to ſend Ambaſſadors to the latter Monarch, Charles the Bad, who perſuaded him to a conference with the Prince of Wales and Don Pedro at Bayonne; where, in conſideration of a large ſubſidy, and the ceſſion of Guipuſcoa, Vittoria, Alava, Logrogno, Guduzen, Calahorra, and Alfaro, he not only renounced his engagements with Henry, but undertook to aſſiſt Pedro with three hundred

men, and to grant him a free paſſage through his dominions.

While Pedro was thus occupied in his attempts to recover his crown, Henry de Traſtamare adopted every precaution that could poſſibly tend to maintain his acquiſition. His extreme munificence to the Caſtilians had already obtained him the epithet *Liberal*; and his continued exertions of benevolence effectually ſecured the love and eſteem of his new ſubjects. From theſe advantages—advantages the moſt honourable a Monarch can boaſt!—he was enabled to raiſe a powerful army; and, being ſupported by the King of Arragon, and others of the neighbouring Potentates, he advanced to meet the Prince of Wales, at the head of forty thouſand cavalry, and ſixty thouſand infantry, which were afterwards augmented by the junction of four thouſand men at arms, under the gallant Du Gueſclin. Encouraged by a ſuperiority of numbers, apparently ſo deciſive, Henry reſolved to come to action with all poſſible ſpeed, in oppoſition to the advice of Du Gueſclin and all his principal officers; and particularly to that of the Mareſchal de Andrehan, who ſtrenuouſly urged him to guard the paſſage of the Ebro, and by that means cut off the Prince of Wales's proviſions.

The two armies met on the third of April, in the year 1367, in the vicinity of Najara; when an obſtinate action enſued, in which the conduct and courage of the Prince of Wales were attended with their uſual ſucceſs. Henry ſuſtained a total defeat; twenty thouſand of his troops were left dead on the field, beſides five thouſand gentlemen. The priſoners were not leſs numerous; and among them were the brave Du Gueſclin, the Mareſchal de Andrehan, the Grand Prior of the order of St. Jago, the Grand Maſter of Calatrava, and two thouſand French and Spaniſh Knights. The loſs of the Engliſh was inconſiderable.

Pedro, in compliance with a ſavage impulſe of revenge, would have put all the captives to the ſword, had he not been reſtrained by the remonſtrances of the Prince of Wales; who farther prevailed on him to publiſh a general offer of pardon to ſuch of his ſubjects as would immediately return to their obedience. This offer was univerſally accepted, and Pedro replaced on his throne without farther trouble.

Though Edward had added to his military fame by this expedition, he ſoon found reaſon to repent his connections with a tyrant like Pedro; who, not leſs ungrateful than cruel, refuſed the ſtipulated pay to the army that had reſtored him to his dignity; and the Prince, having paſſed the whole ſummer in Caſtile, finding his troops daily periſhing by the exceſſive heat of the climate, and his own health conſiderably impaired, was compelled to return to Bourdeaux without receiving any ſatisfaction on this head.

The barbarities exerciſed by Pedro over his unfortunate ſubjects, whom he now regarded as vanquiſhed rebels, revived the animoſity of the Caſtilians, and determined them to effect his deſtruction. In the year 1369, Henry de Traſtamare, —who after the battle of Najara had fled to the court of his friend and ally, the King of Arragon— returned to Caſtile with a body of French forces, to the amount of nine thouſand, accompanied by Du Gueſclin, who had obtained his liberty by paying his ranſom; and, having defeated the tyrant in a pitched battle, took him priſoner, and put him to death with his own hand. Henry again mounted the throne of Caſtile, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity; while the Duke of Lancaſter, who eſpouſed in ſecond marriage the eldeſt daughter of Pedro, inherited only the empty title of that ſovereignty; and, by claiming the ſucceſſion, increaſed the animoſity of Henry againſt England.

But the deſtruction of the Caſtilian tyrant put no ſtop to the troubles in which Prince Edward had involved himſelf by this ſplendid though imprudent expedition. He had not only exhauſted his treaſury in levying and paying the army which he had led into Caſtile, but had contracted an immenſe debt, which he knew not how to diſcharge. In this emergency, the Biſhop of Rodez, whom he had appointed Chancellor of Guienne, adviſed him to impoſe, with the conſent of the States, an impoſt of one livre upon every hearth in his dominions; which, by a very erroneous computation, was eſtimated to produce an annual revenue of twelve hundred thouſand livres. Though reſpect for the Prince induced ſome of the provinces to ſubmit to a tax at once onerous and unuſual, it was oppoſed with great violence by many of the Gaſcon Nobles, who embraced this opportunity to revive the ancient prejudice of the people againſt the Engliſh government, and entered into ſecret intrigues with the Court of France, in order to give that prejudice both ſtrength and effect. Finding the French Monarch eager in favouring their deſigns, they ventured openly to diſobey the orders of Edward, though ratified by the States; and publicly appealed to Charles, as Lord Paramount of Guienne, though they well knew that the feudal ſuperiority of France over that principality had been formally given up in the treaty of Bretigni. Charles, however, was unwilling to forfeit his pretenſions to political wiſdom by imitating the virtuous conduct of his father: he deemed that oaths and treaties ſhould always be rendered ſubſervient to ambition and a thirſt for power; that honour and good faith were contemptible ties, which the ſtrong hand of Intereſt could eaſily diſſolve; and, in compliance with theſe accommodating principles, he received the appeal of Edward's rebellious ſubjects, and cited that Prince to appear before the Court of Peers at Paris, on the firſt of May. Edward, not leſs incenſed than ſurprized at this inſolent ſummons, returned an anſwer ſuitable to his character: he ſent word to Charles, that, ſince he requeſted his company at Paris, he would repair thither with all convenient ſpeed, at the head of ſixty thouſand men; but, unfortunately, the ill ſtate of his health prevented him from keeping his word.

The Prince of Wales having apprized his father of the diſhonourable conduct of Charles, Edward ſummoned a parliament to meet on the third of June,

June, who adviſed him to renew his pretenſions to the French throne, and immediately to reſume the title and arms of King of France. To enable him to ſupport theſe claims, and the war they would neceſſarily occaſion, they granted him a conſiderable ſupply, ariſing from a heavy duty on wool, woolfells, and leather.

Charles having foreſeen the ſtorm that would inevitably attend the reſumption of his own ſuperiority over the foreign dominions of Edward, had made every preparation to oppoſe it with vigour and effect; but, as his addreſs was ſuperior to his courage, he relied chiefly on intrigue for the ſucceſs of his ſchemes. The governors of ſeveral towns and fortreſſes, both in Ponthieu and Guienne, were bribed to violate their oath, and to betray the intereſt of their lawful ſovereign. The citizens of Abbeville opened their gates to the French; thoſe of St. Valori, Rue, and Crotoy, followed their example; the gallant Lord Chandos, Conſtable of Guienne, was ſlain in a ſkirmiſh on the firſt of January, in the year 1370; and the health of the Prince of Wales being ſo much impaired, as to render him unable to ſit his horſe, or to head his troops, the French purſued their advantage with aſtoniſhing rapidity. Among the towns that were taken by treachery, was Limoges, whoſe inhabitants, inſtigated by their Biſhop, had revolted, and granted admiſſion to a French garriſon. The Prince of Wales, having expended a conſiderable ſum in fortifying this city, was greatly enraged at the loſs of it; and ſent word to the inhabitants, that if they did not return to their duty without delay, and expel the enemy, he would level the place with the ground, and put all the citizens to the ſword. But the people of Limoges, relying on his inability to put his threats in execution, ſent him an anſwer that was couched in terms of inſolence and contempt. The Prince collected a body of forces; and placing himſelf in a litter, being unable to ride, conducted them to Limoges, and laid ſiege to the city; but, ſenſible that the place was ſufficiently ſtrong to reſiſt any attempts to take it by aſſault, he prudently began by undermining the walls; and, having by that means effected a practicable breach, he entered it at the head of his troops, and put the whole garriſon, together with three thouſand of the inhabitants, to the ſword. He was prevailed on, however, to ſpare the life of the Biſhop, who having been the primary cauſe of the revolt, ought certainly to have been the firſt victim of his own perfidy.

The reduction of Limoges was the laſt military atchievement of the gallant Prince of Wales; who, finding his ſtrength inadequate to ſuſtain the fatigues of war, firſt retired to Bourdeaux; but, being led by his phyſicians to believe that his native air would greatly facilitate his recovery, he determined to quit the continent. Accordingly, having exacted a promiſe from all the Nobles who ſtill preſerved their loyalty, that they would pay obedience to his brother, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, he embarked for England, in the month of January, in the year 1371, with his Princeſs, and only ſurviving ſon, Richard, and arrived ſafe at Southampton.

The departure of the Prince proved fatal to the Engliſh; and every attempt that was afterwards made by Edward to recover the places that had been taken by the French proved unſucceſsful. The Duke of Lancaſter having reſigned his command in Guienne, the Earl of Pembroke was appointed to ſucceed him; but, on his voyage to Rochelle with a fleet of forty ſail, (on board of which were a ſtrong reinforcement of troops and a ſupply of money) he was intercepted by a Spaniſh ſquadron of ſuperior force, fitted out by Henry, King of Caſtile, who had warmly eſpouſed the intereſt of the French King. The two fleets met on the morning of the twenty-third of June, in the year 1372, when the action immediately commenced, and continued with unremitting ardour till night put an end to the combat; which was, however, renewed on the enſuing morn with equal fury. As the conteſt was maintained with equal ſkill and valour, the victory was at length decided in favour of the ſtrongeſt, who had moreover the advantage of cannon, with which the Engliſh fleet was wholly unprovided. The Earl of Pembroke, with ſeveral other officers of note, were made priſoners; and moſt of his ſhips were either taken or ſunk.

By this diſaſter, the Engliſh territories were left expoſed to the attacks of the enemy, who advanced with rapid ſtrides, and reduced moſt of the principal places in Ponthieu and Guienne. The Mayor of Rochelle betrayed that city to the French; and Thouars being inveſted, propoſed terms of capitulation; offering to ſurrender, if not relieved by the King, or one of his ſons, before Michaelmas. Edward, apprized of this circumſtance, determined to haſten to the relief of Thouars, with an army which he had aſſembled for an invaſion of France on the ſide of Picardy; but, having been detained at ſea nine weeks by contrary winds, he was obliged to forego his enterprize, and return to England.

Theſe diſappointments, however, appear not to have damped the ſpirits of the Engliſh; for, in a parliament which aſſembled at the commencement of November, in order to enable the King to proſecute the war with vigour, they granted him a fifteenth; beſides continuing the additional duties on wool, wool-fells, and leather, for two years longer.

In the following ſummer, Sir Robert Knolles, with an army of thirty thouſand men, marched from Calais, and extended his ravages to the very gates of Paris. His utmoſt efforts, however, proving inſufficient to provoke the cautious Charles to an engagement, he continued his march to the provinces of Maine and Anjou, which he laid waſte; but, a part of his army having revolted and forſaken him, he was attacked and defeated by the French, under the conduct of Du Gueſclin: the reſt were ſcattered and diſperſed; and the ſmall remains of the Engliſh forces, inſtead of reaching Guienne, which was the place of their deſtination, were compelled to take ſhelter in Brittany, whoſe Sovereign had contracted an alliance with England.

A ſimilar attempt was afterwards made by the Duke of Lancaſter, who marched from Calais, with an army of equal force, on the twentieth of

July,

July, in the year 1373; and, having ravaged the provinces of Artois and Picardy, purſued his route through Champagne, Burgundy, Beaujolois, Faiez, and Auvergne, into Guienne; and arrived at Bourdeaux about Chriſtmas, with barely one half of his army, without having beſieged a ſingle town, or fought a ſingle battle.

Through the mediation of the Pope, conferences had been lately opened at Bruges for the purpoſe of effecting an accommodation; and Edward, now finding his affairs in an unproſperous ſtate, conſented to a truce, which was ſigned on the eleventh of February, in the year 1374, and was to continue till Eaſter; but, before it's expiration, it was prolonged to the firſt of May 1375. The Duke of Anjou, however, who had before broken his parole with Edward, in violation of the truce, entered the province of Guienne, and reduced the greateſt part of it to ſubmiſſion; ſo that what the King had acquired by the valour of his troops, he now loſt by the perfidy of his enemies.

This treacherous conduct did not prevent a farther prolongation of the truce to the firſt of April 1377; and, as it was generally believed that the war would be then renewed with additional vigour, the King ſummoned a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter, in the month of April 1376, and obtained a continuation of the extra duty on wool, woolfells, and leather, for the term of three years; and a promiſe of farther ſupplies, ſhould the neceſſity of his affairs require them. But, while the parliament were thus liberal in ſupporting the pretenſions of the crown, they deemed it neceſſary to reſtrain the licentious abuſe of that liberality in the miniſters, who appear to have embezzled the public treaſure, and to have appropriated to their own uſe no inconſiderable portion of the money which had been granted for the ſupport of the national honour. In conſequence of their repreſentations to Edward, Lord Latimer, the King's Chamberlain and Privy-Counſellor, with ſeveral officers of inferior note, were fined and impriſoned. The Parliament alſo preferred complaints againſt Alice Perrers, a woman of deep ſenſe and high ſpirit, who had gained the affections of Edward after the death of his Queen; and whoſe influence over his mind is ſaid to have been ſo great, that he allowed her the unlimited gratification of her pride and avarice, both of which were exceſſive. The abuſes that reſulted from this unjuſtifiable indulgence created univerſal diſguſt, and formed the ſubject of the preſent complaint, by which the King was induced to baniſh her from court, though ſhe was ſoon after recalled.

At this period the Engliſh ſuſtained an irreparable loſs in the death of their favourite, the Prince of Wales; who, after ſuffering a gradual declenſion of health ever ſince his return from Spain, died at the Palace of Weſtminſter, on the eighth of June 1376, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, to the inexpreſſible ſorrow of his father, and the moſt ſincere regret of the whole nation, which had flattered itſelf with the pleaſing proſpect of enjoying, under his future adminiſtration, an uninterrupted ſeries of happineſs and proſperity. The mind of this illuſtrious Prince was endued with that happy combination of virtues which conſtitutes perfect heroiſm. In valour and military ſkill he was equalled by few, and excelled by none; yet his courage, though impetuous, was tempered with humanity; and his victories, though ſplendid, never tranſported him beyond the bounds of moderation: he knew how to blend the dignity of a prince with the affability of a friend; and by his numerous good qualities, he acquired and *deſerved* univerſal admiration and eſteem. In ſhort, as a *true hero*, in which character that of a *good man* is comprized, he has never been ſurpaſſed in ancient or modern times. As a proof of the aſcendancy which the ſingular endowments of this Prince were calculated to obtain over the minds of thoſe whom he honoured with his friendſhip, it is ſaid that the celebrated warrior, John de Greilly, Captal de Buche, (who had been taken priſoner in Guienne, and was now in confinement at Paris) was ſo extremely affected with the news of his death, that he obſtinately refuſed to take any kind of ſuſtenance, from a fixed determination not to ſurvive a maſter to whom he was ſo firmly attached, and from whoſe intereſt and ſervice the court of France had in vain tried to ſeduce him, by the moſt tempting offers of extraordinary preferment. In conſequence of this reſolution, he expired a few days after the Prince.

The parliament evinced the deepeſt ſorrow for the death of young Edward; and the higheſt veneration for his character, by attending his remains to the cathedral of Canterbury, where they were interred; and by preſenting a petition to the King, to requeſt he would introduce his only ſurviving ſon, Richard of Bourdeaux, then little more than ten years of age, into their aſſembly, that they might enjoy the ſatisfaction of beholding the ſole repreſentative of their beloved Prince, and of paying him their duty as heir-apparent to the crown. At the particular deſire of both Houſes, Richard was created Prince of Wales, and inveſted with all the honours and poſſeſſions of his illuſtrious father.

As the truce with France was now on the point of expiring, and a renewal of the war conſequently expected, the parliament met on the twenty-ſeventh of January 1377, in order to make ſome farther proviſions for ſupporting the conteſt; and the King being indiſpoſed, it was opened by Richard, Prince of Wales. After ſome deliberation, the Commons having conferred with a committee of the Lords, granted the King a poll-tax of four pence, to be levied on every individual in the kingdom above fourteen years of age, except ſuch as came under the denomination of beggars. A perfect harmony appears to have ſubſiſted between Edward and his parliament at this time, as they petitioned him to releaſe the Lord Latimer, Alice Perrers, and others, from the cenſures inflicted by the late parliament, and to reſtore them to their former ſtate.

The King perceiving, from the rapid decline of his health, that his diſſolution was near at hand, became anxious to conclude a peace with France, that his infant ſucceſſor might not have ſo powerful an enemy to encounter on his acceſſion to the throne. But the ſame circumſtance which produced that anxiety,

encouraged the French to be ſo exorbitant in their demands, as to render an accommodation impracticable before the death of Edward, who expired at his palace of Shene, in Surry, on the firſt of June, in the year 1377, the ſixty-fifth of his age, and the fifty-firſt of his reign.

In the character of Edward the Third were many qualities, both ſhining and ſolid. His military talents were indiſputably great; and, as far as glory may be acquired by victory, his reign is certainly one of the moſt glorious in the Engliſh annals. But the evils which aroſe from his moſt ſucceſsful expeditions were by no means counterbalanced by the advantages they produced; no important acquiſition of territory was obtained, though his ſubjects were burdened with frequent and onerous exactions, which nothing indeed but ſentiments of eſteem and admiration for the perſon of their Sovereign could have impelled them to endure with patience. His frivolous claim to the crown of France, and the revival of his grandfather's unjuſt pretenſions to the feudal ſuperiority of Scotland, afford the ſtrongeſt proofs that the ſolid ties of juſtice were too feeble to reſtrain his impetuoſity in the purſuit of martial fame, and in the gratification of an ambitious mind. Hence we muſt conclude that, though Edward was a *perfect warrior*, he was no hero. In other reſpects, however, this Prince has a juſt claim to the moſt unqualified commendation. By his prudence in finding occupation on the continent for his turbulent Barons, whom he ever managed with ſingular policy and addreſs, he ſecured to his ſubjects the enjoyment of domeſtick tranquillity, for the maintenance of which he enacted many ſalutary laws, and enforced a regular and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. He was affable, munificent, and generous; and, without appearing to ſolicit popularity, poſſeſſed the art of acquiring the affections of the people in an eminent degree. Such part of his time as was not devoted to martial or political ſtudies, he generally employed in the cultivation of letters. He underſtood many languages, was well ſkilled in the learning of the age, and proved a liberal patron to men of ſcience.

The life of this monarch affords a rare example of human felicity; as, for more than forty years, he enjoyed an uncommon ſhare of domeſtick happineſs, while the ſucceſs of his public undertakings did not experience the ſmalleſt interruption—a certain proof that his virtue was great, and his wiſdom profound.

Edward had a numerous progeny—ſeven ſons, and five daughters, by his Queen, Philippa of Hainault. viz. Edward, Prince of Wales, (generally denominated *The Black Prince*, from the colour of his armour) who was born at Woodſtock on the 15th of June 1330. This Prince married his couſin Joan, commonly called the *Fair Maid of Kent*, daughter and heireſs of his uncle, the Earl of Kent, who was beheaded at the commencement of this reign; by whom he left one ſon, named Richard, who ſucceeded his grandfather in the throne. —William of Hatfield, who was born in 1336, and died in his infancy.—Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence, born November 29, 1338; who was firſt married to Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter and heireſs to the Earl of Ulſter; by whom he left only one daughter, Philippa, married to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of Marche: Lionel eſpouſed, in ſecond marriage, Violante, daughter of the Duke of Milan; and died in Italy in 1368, ſoon after the conſummation of his nuptials, without leaving any poſterity by that Princeſs. The Duke of Clarence is ſaid to have poſſeſſed all the noble qualities of his father and elder brother.—John of Gaunt, born in 1340; who firſt married, in 1359, Blanche, one of the daughters and coheireſſes of Henry the Good, Duke of Lancaſter: after the death of his father-in-law this Prince was created Duke of Lancaſter; and from him ſprang that branch which afterwards poſſeſſed the crown. He left by Blanche, one ſon, named Henry, firſt created Earl of Derby, and afterwards Duke of Hereford and Lancaſter. John of Gaunt eſpouſed, in ſecond marriage, Conſtantia, the eldeſt daughter of Pedro, King of Caſtile; in whoſe right he aſſumed that title, and by whom he had a daughter, afterwards Queen of Caſtile: he alſo married a third wife, named Catharine Swinford, by whom he had ſeveral children.—Edmund of Langley, born in 1341, created Earl of Cambridge in 1362, and Duke of York in 1384. This Prince married Iſabella, the youngeſt daughter of the King of Caſtile, by whom he had two ſons; Edward, who died without iſſue; and Richard, Earl of Cambridge, who married his couſin, Anne Mortimer, heireſs of the Houſe of Clarence.—William of Windſor, who died in his infancy.—Thomas of Woodſtock, who received the title of Earl of Buckingham from his father, and that of Duke of Glouceſter from his nephew.

The daughters of Edward were—Iſabella, married, in 1365, to Engourrand de Coucy, created Earl of Bedford; Joan, who was contracted to Pedro, King of Caſtile, but died of the plague at Bourdeaux, in 1349, before the completion of her marriage; Blanche, who died in her infancy; Mary, wife to John de Mountfort, Duke of Brittany; and Margaret, married to John Haſtings, Earl of Pembroke.

During this reign, the parliament acquired a degree of conſideration which it had never before enjoyed, owing to the frequent applications which the King found it neceſſary to make for pecuniary ſupplies. A diviſion of the ſenate into the two Houſes of Lords and Commons, took place during this period, though the exact epoch of that important regulation is not marked by any hiſtorian. Probably, neither the members themſelves, nor the nation at large, were aware of thoſe happy conſequences which have reſulted from this glorious inſtitution—an inſtitution which ſecured to every claſs of people the full enjoyment of their civil and ſocial rights; and to the conſtitution, that wonderful combination of advantages derived from the union of the three moſt celebrated forms of government—a monarchy, an ariſtocracy, and a democracy, with a total excluſion of their ſeparate inconveniences.

conveniences. The parliament not being aware of theſe effects, might poſſibly ſuffer the change to take place from mere motives of perſonal accommodation. One of the firſt productions of this new-modelled aſſembly, was the definition and aſcertainment of treaſons; the tranſlation of the law-proceedings from French into Latin, was another. Much alſo was done, under the auſpices of this magnanimous Prince, towards the eſtabliſhment of our domeſtic manufactures, by prohibiting the exportation of Engliſh wool, by the importation or wear of foreign cloths or furs, and by encouraging cloth-workers from other countries to ſettle in the kingdom. Nor was the legiſlature inattentive to many other branches of commerce, or indeed to commerce in general; for, in particular, it enlarged the credit of the merchant, by introducing the ſtatute ſtaple, which enabled him with greater facility to pledge his landed property for the ſecurity of his mercantile debts. And, as perſonal property now became, by the extenſion of trade, much more conſiderable than formerly, care was taken, in caſe of inteſtacies, to appoint adminiſtrators particularly nominated by the law, for the diſtribution of that property among the creditors and kindred of the deceaſed, which before had been uſually applied by the officers of the ordinary to uſes then denominated pious. Some ſtatutes of *Præmunire*, for effectually depreſſing the civil power of the Pope, were likewiſe paſſed in this reign; in which the ſtate of the common law likewiſe attained to a degree of perfection, thus forcibly deſcribed by it's learned hiſtorian, Sir Matthew Hale. "King Edward the Third ſucceeded his father. "His reign was long, and under it the law was "improved to it's greateſt height. The Judges "and Pleaders were very learned. The pleadings "are ſomewhat more poliſhed than thoſe in the time "of Edward the Second; yet they have neither "uncertainty, prolixity, nor obſcurity. They were "plain and ſkilful; and in the rules of law, eſpe-"cially in relation to real actions, and titles of inhe-"ritance, very learned, and excellently poliſhed; "and exceeded thoſe of the time of Edward the "Firſt. So that, at the latter end of this King's "reign, the law ſeemed to be near it's meridian." But, before the law became thus perfect, continual changes and confirmations were found requiſite, particularly in thoſe laws that related to purveyance, which the parliament always termed *outrageous*, and the ſource of *infinite* damage to the people. The parliament attempted to effect the total abolition of this oppreſſive prerogative, by prohibiting any one from taking goods without the conſent of the owners, and by changing the *heinous name* of *Purveyors*, as they called it, into that of *Buyers:* but all their efforts proved fruitleſs; for, as this diſorder was in a great meaſure owing to the ſtate of the public finances and of the kingdom, it was extremely difficult to adopt a remedy for it. The King was in frequent want of money, and his family muſt be ſubſiſted: he was therefore obliged to employ force for that purpoſe; and to give tallies, at what rate he pleaſed, for ſuch goods as his neceſſities compelled him to ſeize. The kingdom alſo abounded ſo little in commodities, and the interior communication was ſo imperfect, that had the law afforded ſufficient protection to the owners, they could eaſily have exacted from the King any price which their avarice might have induced them to demand; eſpecially in his frequent progreſſes to diſtant places, where the court did not uſually reſide, and where a regular plan for ſupplying it could not eaſily be eſtabliſhed. Not only the King, but many powerful Barons, inſiſted on this right of purveyance within certain diſtricts.

Excluſive of the hereditary revenues of the crown, Edward the Third is ſaid to have received no leſs than thirty thouſand pounds a year from Ireland; and, in time of peace, it is probable that he derived conſiderable reſources from his continental territories. Theſe fixed hereditary revenues were amply ſufficient to defray all the expences of the civil government, and to maintain the Royal Family in ſplendour and affluence ſuitable to their rank and dignity; but they were wholly inadequate to ſupport the long and expenſive wars in which he was ſo frequently engaged with France and Scotland. Thoſe wars involved him in debts and difficulties; and compelled him not only to make continual applications to parliament (as we have before obſerved) for pecuniary aids, but to have recourſe to ſeveral unjuſtifiable modes of procuring money. The luſtre of Edward's perſonal accompliſhments, and glorious victories, rendered him ſo popular, that his applications were ſeldom unſucceſsful; and he obtained from parliament far more frequent and liberal grants than any of his predeceſſors.

The following conciſe account of the parliamentary grants, and of the various ſums extorted from his ſubjects by other means, in the courſe of one year, will enable us to form an adequate idea of their value and importance. On the third of February, 1338, the parliament granted the King one half of the wool of the enſuing ſummer, which was accordingly collected, and ſold for four hundred thouſand pounds. About the ſame time the King ſeized all the money, jewels, and other effects, of the Lombard merchants then reſident in London; ſeized, and retained for twenty years, all the revenues of the alien priories; and borrowed many conſiderable ſums from different abbeys. The ſame parliament alſo granted an additional duty of two ſhillings on every tun of wine imported. Another parliament, which met at Northampton in the month of October, granted a fifteenth, beſides the pre-emption of all the wool in the kingdom, at a very low price; and the Clergy in convocation granted a tenth for two years. Theſe numerous impoſts, all levied in that memorable year in which the Sovereign raſhly aſſumed the title of *King of France*, muſt have proved infinitely oppreſſive to the people.

The Laity, at this period, appear to have been extremely prejudiced againſt the Papal Power, and even againſt their own Clergy, on account of their connections with the Sovereign Pontiff. The Parliament pretended that the uſurpations of the Pope gave riſe to all the plagues, injuries, famine, and poverty, of the realm: that theſe were productive

of

of greater deſtruction than all the wars, and were the reaſons that a conſiderable decreaſe of commodities and population had taken place. They ſaid that the taxes levied by the Pope exceeded thoſe which were paid to the King in a proportion of five to one; that venality was univerſally prevalent in the ſinful city of Rome; and that even the patrons of benefices in England had, from thence, learnt to practiſe ſimony without ſhame or remorſe.

At another time they petitioned the King to employ no churchman in any office of ſtate; and even threatened to expel the Papal Authority by force, in order to provide an effectual remedy againſt oppreſſions which they were neither willing nor able any longer to tolerate.

Had the King ſeconded theſe ſpirited efforts, a compleat reformation in the church might have poſſibly been effected; but he contented himſelf with having reduced ſuch of the Romiſh Eccleſiaſtics as poſſeſſed revenues in England to an entire dependence upon him, by means of the Statute of Proviſors. The fruitleſs endeavours of the Barons, therefore, only tended to augment the inſolence of the Clergy; the exceſs of which the following inſtance will amply illuſtrate.

Robert Lord Moreley, one of the moſt potent of the Engliſh Barons, having committed ſome treſpaſſes in a park belonging to William Bateman, Biſhop of Norwich, was proſecuted by that prelate with ſuch unrelenting virulence, that neither his own power and influence, which were extenſive, nor the moſt earneſt interpoſition of the King in his favour, could exempt him from the neceſſity of ſubmitting to an ignominious penance. He was ſentenced to walk in his waiſtcoat, bare-headed and bare-footed, with a lighted wax-taper, weighing ſix pounds, in his hand, through the ſtreets of Norwich, to the cathedral; and there, in the preſence of a prodigious concourſe of people, to beg the Biſhop's pardon on his knees, and in the moſt humble and ſubmiſſive language.

It appears from a record in the Exchequer, that, in the year 1354, the exports of England amounted to two hundred and ninety-four thouſand, one hundred and eighty-four pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings and two-pence; and the imports to thirty-eight thouſand, nine hundred and ſeventy pounds, three ſhillings and ſix-pence, money of that time. When it is conſidered that this balance in favour of England aroſe wholly from the exportation of raw wool and other rough materials, it muſt be regarded as very conſiderable. The articles of importation chiefly conſiſted of linen, fine cloth, and a ſmall quantity of wine.

Luxury was as much complained of in that age, as in others of ſuperior refinement; and attempts were made by the Parliament to reſtrain it's progreſs, particularly in the article of dreſs. No man, whoſe income did not amount to one hundred pounds a year, was permitted to wear gold, ſilver, or ſilk, in his cloaths. Servants were prohibited from eating either fleſh-meat or fiſh above once a day; and, by another law, it was ordained that no one ſhould be allowed, either for dinner or ſupper, more than three diſhes in each courſe, and not more than two courſes; and it was likewiſe further declared, that *ſouſed* meat ſhould count as one of thoſe diſhes. But laws ſo truly ridiculous, it might eaſily have been foreſeen, could never prove effectual, or even be put in execution.

The firſt toll in England for mending the highways, according to Rymer, was impoſed in this reign. It was that for repairing the road between St. Giles's and Temple Bar.

After the great peſtilence, the Parliament made a vain attempt to reduce the price of labour, and alſo that of poultry. A reaper, in the firſt week of Auguſt, was allowed only two-pence a day, not quite ſix-pence of our preſent money; and in the ſecond week, a third more. A maſter carpenter was limited, throughout the year, to three-pence a day; a common carpenter to twopence; money of that age. It is remarkable that, in the ſame reign, the pay of a common ſoldier, an archer, was ſix-pence a day; which, by the change both in denomination and value, would be equivalent to near five ſhillings of our preſent money. Soldiers were then enliſted but for a very ſhort time; the reſt of the year, and generally, indeed, the reſt of their lives, was paſſed in idleneſs. One ſucceſsful campaign, by pay, plunder, and the ranſom of priſoners, was reckoned a tolerable fortune; which proved a great inducement to enter into the ſervice.

Robert de Aveſbury relates a circumſtance which proves the extreme ignorance of this age in Geography. Pope Clement the Sixth having, in the year 1344, (after preaching a ſermon to prove that he had the ſole right of creating Kings and beſtowing kingdoms) created Lewis of Spain King of the *Fortunate Iſlands*, meaning the Canaries, then recently diſcovered, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Rome, and his attendants, were ſeized with an alarm that Lewis had been created King of England; and they haſtened home, with great expedition, to communicate this important intelligence to their Sovereign. Yet ſo great was the ardour for ſtudy at that time, that we find, in Speed's Chronicle, that the univerſity of Oxford alone contained thirty thouſand ſtudents; but unfortunately the application of this numerous body was more generally directed to metaphyſical diſquiſitions, than to the attainment of uſeful knowledge.

Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of Engliſh poetry, flouriſhed in this reign. He was greatly diſtinguiſhed by Edward the Third; who appointed him to be one of his pages, and gave him ſo many ſubſtantial marks of his favour, that he is ſaid to have enjoyed an annual income equal to twelve thouſand pounds of our preſent money; a circumſtance that will ſcarcely appear credible to the poets of the preſent age.



Published as the Act directs by Harrison & Co. June 1. 1793

RICHARD THE SECOND.

RICHARD the Second, on his acceſſion to the throne of his anceſtors, had not quite attained the twelfth year of his age; yet none of thoſe commotions enſued which might naturally have been expected to reſult at ſuch a perilous conjuncture, when the kingdom changed an illuſtrious and experienced Maſter for a Monarch in a ſtate of infancy. The clear and inconteſtible title of Richard; the remembrance of his glorious father, ſo dear to every Engliſhman; and the authority of his three uncles, the Dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Glouceſter; formed a combination of powerful motives to repreſs the daring ſpirit of the Nobles, and to enſure the affection and obedience of the people. On the very day of Edward's death, a ſolemn deputation of the citizens of London repaired to Kingſton-upon-Thames, where Richard then reſided; and, with the warmeſt profeſſions of attachment to his perſon and intereſt, preſſed him to eſtabliſh his reſidence in the metropolis. With this invitation the youthful Monarch complied: he went to London on the following day; and, on the ſixteenth of July, in the year 1377, was crowned at Weſtminſter, amidſt the acclamations of his ſubjects.

Though Edward, previous to his death, had been careful to fix the ſucceſſion in ſo explicit a manner as to preclude all poſſibility of diſpute, he had neglected to eſtabliſh a plan of government during the infancy of his grandſon: the Parliament were therefore bound to ſupply this defect; and the Houſe of Commons, which during the late reign had acquired a conſiderable portion of authority, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by taking the lead on this occaſion. The repreſentatives of the people, aware of their own importance, now began to diſplay ſtrong ſymptoms of that free and independent ſpirit which, after a variety of ſtruggles, has brought our conſtitution to it's preſent ſtate of excellence. Finding it neceſſary to chuſe ſome one of their own members to preſide in the Houſe, in order to promote that regularity ſo eſſentially requiſite to be maintained in important debates, and to communicate to the King and to the Houſe of Lords ſuch reſolutions as they might think proper to adopt, they proceeded, for the firſt time, to the election of a *Speaker*; and their choice unanimouſly fell on Sir Peter de la More, Knight of the Shire for the county of Hereford: a man who had been impriſoned by the late King, for his freedom of ſpeech in attacking the miſtreſs and the miniſters of that Prince. After the election, they paſſed a ſentence of baniſhment on Alice Perrers, and confiſcated her eſtates; and then proceeded to preſent a petition to the Lords, requeſting they would immediately appoint a Council of nine, who might direct the national concerns; and likewiſe chuſe men of virtuous manners and known integrity to inſpect the conduct and education of the young Prince. With the firſt part of this requeſt the Lords evinced a ready compliance; and elected the Biſhops of London, Saliſbury, and Carliſle; the Earls of Marche and Stafford; Sir Richard de Stafford; Sir Henry le Scrope; Sir John Devereux; and Sir Hugh Segrave; to whom they delegated authority to afford advice and aſſiſtance to the King in the adminiſtration of public affairs for the ſpace of one year: and they farther ordained, that a ſimilar Council ſhould be choſen annually, by the Parliament, during the minority of the King. But they declined any kind of interference in chuſing the houſhold, which, they obſerved, ought to be left ſolely to his Majeſty.

When the Parliament had made theſe neceſſary regulations, and voted a conſiderable ſupply to their Sovereign, the produce of which was appointed to be received and diſburſed by John Philpot and William

William Walworth, two citizens of London, they were diſſolved; having, previous to their diſſolution, enforced the neceſſity of re-aſſembling them annually, in obedience to the law.

Edward had left his ſucceſſor involved in many dangerous wars. The pretenſions of the Duke of Lancaſter to the crown of Caſtile rendered the Monarch of that kingdom an inveterate foe to the Engliſh; while Scotland, which was now governed by Robert Stuart, nephew to David Bruce, and the firſt Prince of that name, maintained ſuch cloſe connections with France, that it was impoſſible to wage war with one crown without provoking hoſtilities from the other. England, indeed, was ſtill poſſeſſed of Calais, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne; had lately made the acquiſition of Cherbourg, ceded by the King of Navarre; and of Breſt, from the ceſſion of the Duke of Brittany: and, having thus an eaſy entrance into France from every quarter, was able, even in it's preſent ſituation, to give diſturbance to the French government. Before Charles could execute his plans for the removal of the Engliſh from theſe important poſts, he died, on the ſixteenth of September, in the year 1380; and left his kingdom to a ſon, then in the twelfth year of his age, who bore the name of Charles the Sixth.

Meanwhile, the war with France being carried on without ſpirit or vigour, no remarkable enterprize was atchieved by either party. Sir Hugh Calverly, Governor of Calais, making an incurſion into Picardy with a detachment of the garriſon, ſet fire to Boulogne. The Duke of Lancaſter conducted an army into Brittany, and inveſted St. Malo; but, on the approach of the Conſtable du Gueſclin, raiſed the ſiege, and returned home without being able to perform any thing worthy to be recorded in hiſtory.

In the ſubſequent year, the Parliament having been induced, though with great reluctance, to continue the high duty on wool, wool-fells, and leather; and even to grant an additional tax of one mark on every ſack of wool, and on every two hundred and forty fells, beſides ſixpence in the pound on every article exported or imported: the Duke of Glouceſter, who had collected a body of troops, marched out of Calais with two thouſand cavalry and eight thouſand infantry, and ventured, with this inconſiderable force, to penetrate into the heart of France, and to continue his ravages through Picardy, Champagne, Le Brie, Le Beauſſe, Le Gatinois, and L'Orleanois, till he reached his allies in the province of Brittany. Though the Duke of Burgundy, with a ſuperior army, came within ſight of him in his march, the French were ſo over-awed by the remembrance of the glorious victories obtained by the Engliſh in the preceding reign, that they were afraid to bring him to action. As the Duke of Brittany, ſoon after the arrival of theſe ſuccours, formed an accommodation with the Court of France, this enterprize alſo proved in the iſſue unſucceſsful, and made no durable impreſſion on the enemy.

The expences of theſe military expeditions, and the uſual want of economy attending a minority, when the private intereſt of many is to be gratified at the public expence, exhauſted the treaſury, and induced the Parliament, in order to recruit it, to have recourſe to a new impoſt of three groats on every perſon, male and female, above fifteen years of age; and, in ſome meaſure to mitigate the ſeverity of ſo onerous a tax, they wiſely ordained that the opulent ſhould relieve the poor, by contributions proportioned to the magnitude of their fortunes. This ſalutary regulation, however, from the vague and indefinite terms in which it was expreſſed, being wholly neglected, and the impoſt levied with the moſt cruel rigour by a ſet of rapacious collectors, to whom the neceſſities of the King had compelled the government to farm it, a violent commotion enſued, which threatened to overturn the conſtitution of the kingdom.

That numerous claſs of men, diſtinguiſhed in the feudal governments by the appellation of *Villains*, had about this period begun to entertain ſome faint ideas of their own ſtrength and importance. A growing ſpirit of independence was the natural conſequence of thoſe ideas; and that ſpirit made them ſpurn the yoke of ſlavery, which their fathers had borne with the moſt patient ſubmiſſion. Theſe ſtrong ſymptoms of increaſed civilization gave riſe to popular inſurrections both in France and Flanders; the report of which events being conveyed to England—where we are told that ſlavery was carried to a greater extent than in any other country in Europe—prepared the minds of the multitude for any deſperate exertion that could effect their emancipation from that ſtate of ſervitude to which they were reduced. Thus diſpoſed, the ſmalleſt grounds for diſcontent were ſufficient to impel them to the moſt dangerous attempts; and this diſpoſition was greatly increaſed by the ſeditious efforts of one John Ball, an itinerant preacher, who had acquired conſiderable popularity by favouring the ideas of the people, and by inculcating the doctrine of primitive equality, which gave all men an equal right to the enjoyment of civil as well as natural liberty.

The inſurrection began in Eſſex; where a report was circulated with great induſtry, that it was the intention of the Nobles to put all the peaſants and lower claſs of people to death. The groſs improbability of this report did not prevent it from obtaining univerſal credit; and the populace, alarmed at the dreadful intelligence, aſſembled in great numbers, armed with ſuch offenſive weapons as they could haſtily collect. A deputation was immediately ſent to the inhabitants of Kent, to urge them to join in ſupport of the common cauſe; and an incident, which had juſt occurred at Deptford, induced them to obey the ſummons with alacrity. The poll-tax-gatherers went to the ſhop of a plebeian named Walter, a tyler by trade, and demanded payment for his daughter; which was refuſed, on the pretence that ſhe had not attained the age aſſigned by the ſtatute. One of the ruffians, however, maintained the contrary; and, in order to prove his aſſertion, proceeded to acts of the moſt groſs indecency, which the father immediately reſented, by knocking out his brains with a hammer. All the

by-ſtanders applauded the action, and engaged to protect the tyler from puniſhment. The ſpirit of mutiny ſpread like a contagion through the counties of Kent, Hertford, Surrey, Suſſex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln: not only the peaſants, who might have juſt ſubject of complaint, but every man of deſperate fortune, who could hope to derive advantage from the promotion of anarchy, took the field on this occaſion; and every ſeparate multitude choſe a leader, whoſe firmneſs and reſolution gave him ſome claim to diſtinction. Before the government was apprized of the danger, they had become ſo formidable as to ſet the civil power at defiance: they demoliſhed the houſes of the Nobility, put all the Lawyers that fell into their hands to inſtant death, burnt all the court-rolls and records, and compelled every man to ſwear that he would ſupport them in oppoſing the collection of impoſts.

On the twelfth of June, in the year 1381, this deſperate banditti aſſembled on Blackheath, to the amount of one hundred thouſand men, under the command of their leaders, Wat Tyler and Jack Straw; and as the Princeſs of Wales, the King's mother, returning from a pilgrimage to the ſhrine of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, paſſed through the midſt of them, they inſulted ſome of her attendants in the groſſeſt manner, and even proceeded to force kiſſes from the Princeſs herſelf, in purſuit of their *levelling* principles.

The progreſs of this tumult was ſo rapid, that no meaſures for it's ſuppreſſion could be adopted by the government; and it happened at an unfortunate period, when the King's three uncles, who had the chief management of public affairs, were all abſent: the Duke of Lancaſter was in Scotland, negotiating a truce with that kingdom; the Duke of York was in Portugal, whither he had repaired with ſome Engliſh troops for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the Monarch of that country againſt his enemy, the King of Caſtile; and the Duke of Glouceſter was at his eſtate in Wales. In this emergency, the young King took ſhelter, with his mother and ſome few members of the council, in the Tower of London; whither the inſurgents ſent a meſſage to him, deſiring a conference. Richard, determined to comply with their requeſt, ſailed down the river in a barge; but, on his approach to the ſhore, diſcovering ſome motions demonſtrative of a deſign to intercept his retreat, the Noblemen who accompanied Richard prudently adviſed him to return. This diſappointment increaſed the rage of the populace to a dreadful degree: they immediately repaired to London; reduced the Duke of Lancaſter's palace at the Savoy to aſhes; decapitated every Nobleman and Gentleman they could lay hold of; and pillaged the warehouſes of all the opulent merchants. A conſiderable detachment of the rioters eſtabliſhed their quarters at Mile-End Green; and the King, finding the Tower incapable of ſuſtaining an aſſault, from the weakneſs of the garriſon and the ſcarcity of proviſions, was obliged to go out to meet them, and enquire into the nature of their demands. The inſurgents required a general pardon; the total abolition of ſlavery; freedom of commerce in market-towns, without toll or impoſt; and a fixed rent on lands, inſtead of the ſervices due by villenage. Theſe requeſts, which, at the ſame time that they breathed a ſpirit of liberty, were founded on reaſon and juſtice, the King complied with, and immediately granted charters for their confirmation; which were no ſooner received, than this body inſtantly diſperſed, and retired to their ſeveral homes.

During theſe tranſactions, another body of the inſurgents had forced the gates of the Tower, where they murdered Simon Sudbury, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Chancellor; and Sir Robert Hales, the Treaſurer, with ſome other perſons of diſtinction; and then extended their outrages into the city, which it was the intention of their deſperate leader, Wat Tyler, to reduce to aſhes, after ſeizing the perſon of the King, and putting all his Nobles to death. Theſe diabolical deſigns, however, were providentially fruſtrated by the following occurrence. On the fifteenth day of June 1381, as the King was paſſing through Smithfield, attended by a ſlender train of ſixty horſe, he met Wat Tyler at the head of twenty thouſand of his followers. The inſolent demagogue no ſooner perceived his Sovereign, than he ſet ſpurs to his horſe, and entered into a conference with him; having previouſly ordered his companions to keep back till he ſhould give them a ſignal, at which they were to advance; murder all the attendants of Richard, and take the King himſelf priſoner. But the extreme inſolence of Tyler prevented the execution of his plan, by provoking Walworth, then Mayor of London, who was preſent, to ſtrike him a violent blow with his mace, which felled the ruffian to the ground, when Philpot put an end to his exiſtence by thruſting his ſword through his body. The inſurgents ſeeing their leader fall, prepared themſelves for revenge; and their bows were actually bent for that purpoſe; when the young King, with an admirable preſence of mind, ſaved himſelf and his atttendants from deſtruction, by advancing alone towards the enraged multitude, and accoſting them in a tone, in which kindneſs and majeſty were moſt happily blended. "What is the meaning of this tumult, my good "people?" ſaid he. "Be not concerned for the loſs "of your unworthy leader; I am your king, "and will be your leader myſelf; follow me to "the fields, and whatever you deſire, I will "grant." Overawed by the preſence of their Prince, and confounded by the loſs of their leader, this turbulent rabble did not heſitate to follow the King, who rode gently on towards the fields of Iſlington. While Richard was there enquiring into the nature of their demands, Sir Robert Knolles appeared with a choſen band of veterans, and ſome thouſand of Londoners, collected by the gallant Walworth, immediately after the death of Tyler. The ſight of theſe troops compleated the dejection of the inſurgents; and the King offering them a general pardon, and the ſame kind of charter which he had already granted to their companions, they fell on their knees, and ſubmit-

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ted; and, on the following day, having received their charter, they diſperſed, and returned to their reſpective habitations.

While the King was employed in ſuppreſſing the inſurgents of London, the moſt violent commotions were raging in other parts of the kingdom. At St. Alban's, an immenſe mob, conducted by William Gryndicobbe, and William Cadyndon, a chandler, put ſeveral gentlemen to death; and, by threatening to murder the Abbot and all his monks, extorted from them charters of freedom and manumiſſion. At St. Edmundſbury, another mob, under the command of one Robert Weſtbroom, committed the moſt dreadful depredations; and beheaded Sir John Cavendiſh, Chief Juſtice of England, with many others of inferior note. At the ſame time, a great number of ruſtics had aſſembled in Norfolk, and choſe for their leader John Littiſter, a dyer of Norwich; who, aſſuming the title of *King of the Commons*, proceeded to emulate the violence of the other inſurgents. But the duration of theſe popular tumults was fortunately ſhort; for the Nobility and Gentry hearing of the King's danger, in which they were all involved, flocked to London with their adherents and retainers, and by that means enabled Richard to take the field with an army of forty thouſand men. The rebels, therefore, were compelled to ſubmit; the charters which had been extorted from the King were formally revoked by the parliament; the lower claſs of people were reduced to the ſame ſtate of ſlavery as before; commiſſioners were appointed to try the inſurgents in the different counties; and theſe executed their truſts with ſuch ſeverity, that fifteen hundred of the culprits were condemned and executed.

The King having now attained his ſixteenth year, concluded a treaty of marriage with the Princeſs Anne, daughter of the Emperor Charles the Fourth, and ſiſter to Winceſlaus, King of Bohemia: and that Princeſs arriving in England at the commencement of the year 1382, the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence.

The extreme prudence and reſolution which Richard diſplayed in ſuppreſſing the late inſurrections, gave his ſubjects the moſt favourable hopes of a happy and auſpicious reign: but their expectations ſoon proved to be fallacious; the glorious road to Honour which the King had hitherto purſued, in imitation of his illuſtrious father, was now forſaken for the more alluring paths of voluptuouſneſs. His uncles, who had the chief ſuperintendence of his education, were too buſy in accompliſhing the projects of their own ambition, to pay the requiſite attention to the mind and morals of their Royal pupil. That important taſk, on which the glory of their Sovereign and the welfare of the people ſo greatly depended, was reſigned to a train of youthful ſycophants, more ſtudious to pleaſe than inſtruct; men of ſpecious talents, but of diſſolute manners, who corrupted with adulation the mind they ſhould have ſtrengthened with advice. Thus tutored, a love of oſtentation and pleaſure ſuperſeded every nobler impulſe, and the Prince was ſunk in the ſenſualiſt. The firſt effect of this pernicious neglect which rendered him juſtly unpopular, was the removal of the ſeals from the hands of Henry le Scroop, (to whom the parliament had entruſted them) becauſe that Nobleman, with a degree of firmneſs that reflects the greateſt honour on his character, had refuſed to affix them to certain extravagant grants of land, which Richard had been perſuaded to make to ſome of his profligate and intereſted retainers. The King, incenſed at this virtuous oppoſition to his will, put the ſeals to the different grants with his own hand, and then delivered them to the care of Robert Braybroke, Biſhop of London.

The war with France ſtill continued; and the French threatening to inveſt Calais, a parliament aſſembled in the month of February 1383, to adopt ſuch reſolutions as ſhould appear neceſſary for the defence of the Engliſh poſſeſſions. They determined to ſend over a body of troops under the command of the Biſhop of Norwich, a martial Prelate who had ſignalized his courage during the late commotions. The Biſhop accordingly ſailed to Calais, with his army, in the month of May; and, after refreſhing his troops, marched to attack Gravelines, which he took by aſſault. He next engaged and defeated an army of thirty thouſand French near Dunkirk, and made himſelf maſter of that place: after which he continued his ſucceſsful progreſs, with wonderful rapidity, through great part of Flanders; taking the towns of Burburgh, Caſſel, Dixmude, Furnes, Nieuport, and Poperiny. But theſe conqueſts were attended with more glory than advantage; for, having inveſted Ypres, the garriſon made ſo reſolute a defence, that the Biſhop was obliged to raiſe the ſiege; while his army, being apprized of the approach of the enemy, ſeparated; a part of them retiring to Burburgh, which place they were ſoon obliged to ſurrender to the French; and the remainder to Gravelines. The French army immediately laid ſiege to the laſt town; and the Biſhop, having no proſpect of relief from England, agreed to the propoſals of the French Commander, who offered to pay him fifteen thouſand marks, and gave him the liberty of demoliſhing the town, and retiring with his army whither he ſhould pleaſe. Although this martial prelate had certainly evinced both ſkill and courage in this expedition, on his return to England he was arraigned by the Parliament for it's failure; and, finding his enemies too potent to be openly reſiſted, he was compelled to ſubmit to the mercy of the King, who for ſome time deprived him of his temporalities.

The truce with the Scots being now expired, Richard, who had obtained the neceſſary ſupplies from the Parliament, reſolved to conduct an army into the North, and ſixty thouſand men were raiſed for that purpoſe. The Scots, ſenſible of their own deficiency in cavalry, had made application to the Regency of Charles the Sixth; who ſent over John de Vienne, Admiral of France, with fifteeen hundred men at arms, to ſupport them in their incurſions on the Engliſh territories.

When Richard approached with his troops, the Scots, far from oppoſing him in the field, abandoned their

their country to be pillaged and deſtroyed; and when De Vienne expreſſed his ſurprize at this plan of operations, they told him that all their cattle were driven into foreſts and mountains that were inacceſſible to the enemy; that their houſes and effects were but of little value; and that they could ſoon repair any loſs they might ſuſtain in that reſpect, by an irruption into England. Accordingly, when Richard entered Scotland by Berwick and the eaſt coaſt, the Scots, to the number of thirty thouſand men, accompanied by the French, entered the borders of England by the weſt, and extending their depredations through the counties of Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Lancaſter, collected a valuable booty, and then returned to their own country without moleſtation. During this time, Richard advanced towards the capital of Scotland, and in his way levelled every town and village with the ground; he reduced the city of Edinburgh to aſhes, together with the towns of Perth and Dundee, and ſome other places in the low countries; but, when he was adviſed to direct his route to the weſt, in order to intercept the Scotch army on their march from England, his impatience to return to the enjoyment of his uſual pleaſures outweighed every other conſideration; and he led back his army, without having effected any thing by theſe mighty preparations.

The Scots having found the heavy bodies of French cavalry wholly uſeleſs in the deſultory kind of war they were accuſtomed to wage, treated their allies with ſuch brutality and contempt, that they ſoon returned home much diſguſted with the country, and with the manners of it's inhabitants. The French, however, reſolved to attempt an invaſion of England; and accordingly collected an army of ſixty-three thouſand men, and a fleet of twelve hundred ſail was aſſembled in the harbour of Sluys for tranſporting them to this country. The Engliſh were kept in a ſtate of alarm for ſome months; great preparations were made to receive the invaders; but the Duke of Berry, unwilling to promote the ſucceſs of a project which he had not formed himſelf, neglected to join them, till the ſeaſon was too far advanced for the voyage. The French fleet, too, was diſperſed in a ſtorm, and many of the veſſels taken by the Engliſh; ſo that Richard was relieved from the fears excited by this threatened invaſion, which had engaged the attention of all Europe during the whole ſummer.

The French had been induced to undertake the expedition at this period from two circumſtances, which ſeemed to favour their deſigns. The one was the abſence of the Duke of Lancaſter, who had ſailed for Spain in the month of Auguſt, with twenty thouſand of the beſt troops in England, in order to proſecute his ridiculous claim to the crown of Caſtile; an enterprize which, after ſome promiſing ſucceſs, he was finally compelled to abandon: the other was, the violent diſſenſions and diſorders which now prevailed in the Engliſh government.

A parliament having been ſummoned to meet on the firſt of October 1386, to provide for the ſupport of a conſiderable body of forces that were poſted along the ſea-coaſt; the Commons, inſtead of granting the ſupplies with that alacrity which the preſſure of the occaſion ſeemed to require, made bitter complaints of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, the Chancellor; and inſiſted on his immediate removal from the high office he enjoyed, as well as from the King's council. The King, averſe to comply with a requeſt urged in ſo preremptory a tone, made no anſwer, but inſtantly retired with his whole court to Eltham; whither the parliament ſent the Duke of Glouceſter, (the chief inſtigator of this proſecution againſt the miniſters) with James Arundel, Biſhop of Ely, to deſire he would return; and to aſſure him, that if he did not comply, they would immediately diſſolve, and leave the kingdom in it's preſent diſtracted ſtate. Richard, however, ſtill refuſing to accede to their terms, they proceeded to greater lengths, reminded him of the fate of Edward the Second, and plainly intimated that he would experience a ſimilar treatment, if he perſiſted in abſenting himſelf from parliament.

The King, at length, intimidated by their threats, gave up his oppoſition, and returned to parliament; when the Biſhop of Ely was appointed to the dignity of Chancellor, which the Earl of Suffolk had reſigned. The Biſhop of Hereford was made Treaſurer in the place of the Biſhop of Durham; and John de Waltham was promoted to be Keeper of the Privy Seal. But Suffolk's reſignation was inadequate to appeaſe the indignation of the Commons, who preferred an impeachment againſt him for high crimes and miſdemeanors; and, though it appears that the proſecution was founded on frivolous grounds, that Nobleman was deprived of all his honours and poſſeſſions, except his title of Earl of Suffolk, and an income of twenty pounds a year; and was committed to the cuſtody of his moſt inveterate enemy, the Duke of Glouceſter.

The parliament, having ſhewn their power, did not think proper at that time to exerciſe it againſt any of the other miniſters; but they made an attack on the Royal prerogative, more dangerous in it's nature, and more fatal to the welfare of the conſtitution. They compelled the King to ſign a commiſſion, by which he delegated the regal authority for one year to fourteen commiſſioners, conſiſting of the new-appointed Chancellor, Treaſurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal, with eleven of the principal Barons. By this means the government was ſuddenly converted into an ariſtocracy; which, though nominally limited in it's duration, was evidently deſigned to be rendered perpetual. Richard now found himſelf wholly diveſted of power, and enjoying the title of King without any one attribute of royalty. His perſon was treated with neglect; his court forſaken; and every application was made either to the Duke of Glouceſter, or to ſome of the other commiſſioners, who were all, except the Archbiſhop of York, mere creatures of the Duke. Thus reduced to a ſtate of inſignificancy, he could not fail to experience the moſt lively reſentment againſt the authors of his diſgrace; and theſe ſentiments were encouraged by the few followers who ſtill adhered to him; the chief of whom were Robert de Vere, lately created Duke of Ireland; the Earl of Suffolk, who had made

made his eſcape from the priſon of Windſor; Alexander Nevel, Archbiſhop of York; Sir Nicholas Brembre, late Mayor of London; and Sir Simon de Burley, Conſtable of Dover Caſtle. With theſe few adherents the King held frequent conſultations as to the beſt mode of recovering his loſt authority, which gave riſe to many malicious reports framed by his enemies for the purpoſe of rendering him odious in the eyes of his ſubjects; and ſo effectually did they ſucceed in their infamous deſigns, that Richard and his friends became the objects of univerſal deteſtation.

In this emergency, the King made application to the Judges, whoſe ſentiments and inclination proved favourable to his cauſe. He met at Nottingham Sir Robert Treſilian, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench; Sir Robert Belknappe, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas; Sir John Cary, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Holt, Fulthorpe, and Bourg, inferior Juſtices; and Lockton, Serjeant at Law; and he propoſed to them certain queries, which they anſwered in a manner perfectly conſonant to his wiſhes. They declared that the late commiſſion was derogatory to the ſovereignty and prerogative of the King; that thoſe who procured it, or adviſed the King to conſent to it, were liable to be puniſhed with death; that thoſe who extorted his approbation were guilty of treaſon; that ſuch as ſhould perſevere in maintaining it were equally criminal; that the right of diſſolving parliaments at pleaſure was veſted in the King; that the parliament, while it ſits, muſt firſt proceed on the King's buſineſs; and that this aſſembly cannot, without his conſent, impeach any of his miniſters or Judges. Even now that the law is more ſtrictly defined, and the royal prerogative reduced within more circumſcribed limits, all theſe deciſions but the two laſt appear to be founded on principles juſtifiable by reaſon; and as the great privileges of the Commons, particularly in the article of impeachment, were hitherto novel, and almoſt unſupported by precedents, theſe opinions of the Judges may be ſupported on plauſible grounds. They therefore ſigned their anſwers to the King's queries in the preſence of the Archbiſhops of York and Dublin; the Biſhops of Durham, Chicheſter, and Bangor; the Duke of Ireland; the Earl of Suffolk; and two other counſellors of inferior quality.

This tranſaction did not long remain a ſecret; for the very next day it was imparted by Fulthorpe to the Earl of Kent, who told it to the Duke of Glouceſter and his adherents. Alarmed at the intelligence, they reſolved to prevent their own ruin, by impeding the execution of the King's deſigns. With this view, they ſent private orders to all their friends and followers to hold themſelves in readineſs to take arms at a moment's warning; and then diſpatched the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to the King, to perſuade him to come to London, which being entirely at their devotion, was juſtly deemed the moſt proper place for reducing their ſchemes to practice. The King, not aware of their deſigns, complied with the requeſt of the Primate; and, entering the metropolis on the tenth of November 1387, was received by the Mayor and a great concourſe of citizens, who conducted him to his palace.

But, the very next day, Richard received intelligence that the Duke of Glouceſter, and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, were approaching, with an army of forty thouſand men. The intentions of theſe rebellious Nobles were ſoon made known to him; for, on their arrival at Haringay Park, on the thirteenth, they ſent a letter to the Lord Mayor of London, commanding him to proclaim throughout the city that they had taken up arms for the expreſs purpoſe of bringing to juſtice thoſe traitors who had engroſſed the confidence of their ſovereign; and they accuſed by name the Archbiſhop of York, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Treſilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre, as public and dangerous enemies to the ſtate. The next day the rebels were joined at Waltham Croſs by the Earl of Derby, ſon to the Duke of Lancaſter; and the Earl of Nottingham, Mareſchal of England; and theſe five great Peers, whoſe combined power was able at any time to ſhake the throne, now entered a formal appeal or accuſation of high-treaſon againſt the five counſellors abovementioned, before the Prelates of Canterbury and Ely, who immediately notified the ſame to the King at Weſtminſter. The perſons accuſed perceiving their deſtruction was inevitable, reſolved to ſeek for ſafety in flight. The Duke of Ireland fled into Cheſhire, where he collected a body of five thouſand men, with which he marched to relieve the King from the violence of the Nobles; but the Duke of Glouceſter, apprized of his motions, advanced to meet him at the head of a powerful army. The two Dukes accordingly met, on the twentieth of December, at Radcot Bridge, in the county of Oxford; where an engagement enſued, in which the Duke of Ireland ſuſtained a total defeat, and eſcaped with great difficulty, by paſſing the Iſis on horſeback, at the hazard of his life. This Nobleman afterwards fled to the Low Countries, where in a few years he died in exile.

The Duke of Glouceſter returned with his victorious army to London; and, arriving at Clerkenwell on the twenty-ſixth of December, was met by the Lord Mayor, who delivered him the keys of the city. The ſame day he had a conference with the King, in the Tower; and Richard being entirely at the mercy of the rebels, was compelled to ſubmit to whatever they required of him. Every perſon they choſe to accuſe was therefore committed by the King's orders; about fourteen Peers, Knights, and Gentlemen, were ſent to different priſons, in order to take their trial at the approaching parliament. Two Prelates, three Peers, and as many Peereſſes, were arbitrarily baniſhed the court; from whence every one was driven who had the misfortune to be diſtinguiſhed by the partiality of his Sovereign.

On Monday, the third of February, in the year 1388, the parliament that was deſtined to reſcue the kingdom from this ſtate of diſtraction aſſembled at Weſtminſter; when the accuſations were immediately preferred againſt the captive Nobles. But an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice was not to be ex-

pected from an aſſembly which did not bluſh to exact an oath from all it's members who were to act in the capacity of Judges, whereby they bound themſelves to live and die with the Lords Appellants, and to defend them againſt all oppoſition with their lives and fortunes. The ſequel was worthy the commencement of this iniquitous tranſaction: a charge, conſiſting of thirty-nine articles, was exhibited by the appellants; and as none of the perſons accuſed, except Sir Nicholas Brembre, was in cuſtody, the reſt were cited to appear; and, on their neglect to obey the citation, the Houſe of Peers, after a very ſhort interval, without hearing a ſingle witneſs, without inveſtigating a ſingle fact, or deliberating on one point of law, declared them guilty of high treaſon. The Earl of Suffolk made his eſcape to Paris, where he died in a few months; the Archbiſhop of York was taken at Shields; but the ſacredneſs of his character ſecured him from an ignominious death: he was ſuffered to eſcape from confinement; and, retiring to Flanders, there paſſed the remainder of his days in the capacity of a country curate. Sir Robert Treſilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre, however, were made to undergo the ſentence paſſed on them; the former was executed on the nineteenth, and the latter on the twentieth of February.

The articles of impeachment againſt the five counſellors may be ſeen at length in Knyghton, Tyrrel, and in ſome other collections. When it is conſidered that the royal prerogative was illegally invaded by the commiſſion extorted by the Duke of Glouceſter and his aſſociates, and that the King's perſon was afterwards detained in cuſtody by rebels; many of theſe articles will appear, not only to imply no crime on the part of the accuſed, but to impute to them actions which were laudable, and which, by their allegiance, they were bound to perform. The few articles impeaching the conduct of the miniſters, previous to the extortion of that commiſſion which ſubverted the conſtitution, and annihilated all juſtice and legal authority, are too vague and general to merit an anſwer; charging them merely with engroſſing the King's favour; keeping his Barons at a diſtance from him; obtaining unreaſonable grants for themſelves or their creatures; and diſſipating the public treaſure by uſeleſs expences; without any ſpecific inſtance to prove the validity of their accuſations. Nor are they even accuſed of committing any ſpecies of violence, or of violating any particular ſtatute; ſo that their adminiſtration may be concluded to have been ſo far innocent and inoffenſive. All the diſorders indeed appear not to have originated in any undue exertion of miniſterial tyranny, but merely in a rivalſhip of power, which the Duke of Glouceſter and the principal Barons, agreeably to the genius of the times, carried to the utmoſt extremity againſt their opponents, with an equal diſregard to reaſon, juſtice, and humanity.

Theſe were not the only deeds of violence committed during the triumph of this inveterate party. All the other Judges who had ſigned the anſwer to the queries propoſed to them by the King at Nottingham, were condemned to die; and their eſtates were confiſcated, though they pleaded the fear of their lives, and the menaces of the King's miniſters, as an excuſe for their conduct. Their ſentence, at the interceſſion of the Biſhops, was afterwards changed to baniſhment and perpetual impriſonment in Ireland, whither they were immediately ſent.

On the third of March, John Blake and Thomas Uſk were impeached of high treaſon by the Commons; the former for drawing up the queries abovementioned, and the latter under the ridiculous pretext of having procured himſelf to be made Under-Sheriff of Middleſex, with the view of arreſting the perſons of the Duke of Glouceſter, and ſome of his principal adherents. Their plea was the ſame as that employed by the Judges, and was productive of no better ſucceſs; for, on the following day, they received ſentence of death, and were immediately executed as traitors.

The next victim of this perſecuting ſpirit was the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who, on the ſixth of March, was accuſed of treaſonable conduct, in having been preſent at the deliberation at Nottingham; and in having induced the Judges, by threats and perſuaſions, to give ſuch anſwers as the King was deſirous to receive. The laſt part of the charge this Prelate moſt ſtrenuouſly denied; but all defence was vain where conviction had been determined on previous to trial: he was therefore found guilty, and baniſhed into Ireland; his eſtates were confiſcated, and the temporalities of his ſee appropriated to the uſe of government.

The inſatiate vengeance of the Duke of Glouceſter ſtill required freſh victims. On the twelfth of March, Lord Beauchamp of Holt, Sir James Berners, and Sir John Saliſbury, were alſo tried and condemned for high treaſon; merely for having been privy to the deſigns of the King, and for having enjoyed too great a portion of his confidence. The laſt object of perſecution was Sir Simon Burley, a gentleman whoſe perſonal merit had acquired him numerous friends; and who, by many gallant and honourable actions, had gained the eſteem of the late King, and of the Black Prince, who had both fixed on him as tutor to young Richard. He was greatly beloved by his Sovereign, whom he attended from his infancy, and to whom he was firmly and ſincerely attached. He alſo ſtood high in the favour of the Queen, whom he had been appointed to conduct into England. Theſe reaſons, however, inſtead of operating in his favour with that ſtrength and effect which even juſtice tempered with mercy would have allowed them, were conſidered by this abandoned party as additional motives to exertions of revengeful cruelty. The Queen, who had gained great popularity by her amiable qualities, which had acquired her the appellation of *The Good Queen Anne*, deeply intereſted herſelf in the fate of Burley; ſhe even condeſcended to fall on her knees before the Duke of Glouceſter, pleading for his life with the moſt earneſt importunity; but in vain—the haughty tyrant, intoxicated with power he was unworthy to poſſeſs, proved inexorable; he ſternly rejected her petition;

petition; and the gallant Burley underwent the ſentence impoſed on him by a venal and proſtituted parliament.

Theſe dreadful ſcenes of blood were concluded by a declaration of the parliament that none of the articles, decided on theſe trials to be treaſon, ſhould at any future period be uſed as precedents by the Judges, who were ſtill to be guided in their deciſions by the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of Edward. The Houſe of Lords, at this time, appear not to have known, or at leaſt not to have acknowledged, the principle—though founded on the moſt plain and incontrovertible rule—that, in their judicial capacity, they themſelves were bound to abide by thoſe laws which they had enacted in their legiſlative capacity. It was alſo ordained, that every one ſhould ſwear to the perpetual maintenance and ſupport of the forfeitures and attainders, and of all the other acts paſſed during this parliament: the Primate as a farther ſecurity, added the penalty of excommunication to all ſuch as ſhould violate them.

In the intervals of theſe trials, the parliament had found leiſure to impoſe more taxes on the people, by granting the King three ſhillings on every ton of wine imported, and a ſhilling in the pound of all merchandize except wool; the high duties on which, as well as wool-fells and leather, were continued. The Duke of Glouceſter having gratified his revenge, now took care to do the ſame by his avarice, by obtaining a vote of twenty thouſand pounds to himſelf and his infamous aſſociates; after which the parliament was diſſolved on the fourth of June, the ſeſſion having laſted four months, which was the longeſt that had ever yet been known in England.

A ſpirit of oppoſition, even at this period, betrayed itſelf among the people, who were divided into parties; and, though ſlaves themſelves, maintained their political opinions with as much energy and virulence as is diſplayed in ſimilar occaſions in the preſent æra of freedom and refinement. The Glouceſterian party—which, as foes to government, was conſequently moſt loud; and, what was of greater conſequence, moſt powerful—called the late factious aſſembly "*The Parliament that wrought wonders*;" while the Loyaliſts termed it, with greater juſtice, "*The mercileſs parliament.*"

About this time the Scots made ſeveral incurſions into the Northern counties; and a Scotch army, commanded by the Earl of Douglas, laid ſiege to Newcaſtle. Henry, Lord Percy, better known in hiſtory by the name of *Hotſpur*, marched to the relief of the place; and, after compelling the Scots to raiſe the ſiege, purſued them to Otterburn, where a bloody battle was fought on the tenth of Auguſt, 1388; in which Douglas was ſlain; and Hotſpur, with his brother, Ralph Percy, taken priſoner; while both nations laid claim to the victory.

As ſo formidable a combination had been entered into to reduce the King to a ſtate of total ſubjection; and as Richard had found himſelf wholly unable to reſiſt it's efforts; there was every reaſon to ſuppoſe that, ſo long as the confederated Nobles were united among themſelves—and their union appeared to be ſtrongly cemented by intereſt—the royal authority would never recover it's wonted vigour. But the event proved the fallacy of this ſuppoſition; for Richard, after ſubmitting for a year, with ſeeming patience, to the dictates of his ambitious uncle, whoſe fiat was law, ſecretly reſolved to throw off the diſgraceful yoke; and executed his reſolution with a ſpirit which his foes had deemed him incapable of exerting. On the third of May 1389, when a very numerous council had aſſembled, he entered the room, and in a firm tone demanded to know what age he was? When they anſwered that he was in his twenty-ſecond year, he immediately replied—"Am I not, then, old enough to take the reins of government into my own hands, and to emancipate myſelf from a ſtate of tutelage?" The party, wholly unprepared for this unexpected occurrence, were loſt in aſtoniſhment; and the King purſuing his plan with ſpirit, immediately ordered Thomas Arundel, Archbiſhop of York, who had been recently made Chancellor, to reſign the great ſeal; which he delivered to William of Wickham, Biſhop of Wincheſter. The Duke of Glouceſter, the Earl of Warwick, and all ſuch as were promoted through their intereſt, he removed from the council. The Biſhop of Hereford loſt his office of Treaſurer; the Earl of Arundel was deprived of his poſt of High-Admiral; the Keeper of the Privy-Seal, all the great officers of ſtate, together with thoſe of the houſhold, and even the Judges, were changed; and every place beſtowed on perſons in whom the King imagined he could repoſe an entire confidence. Richard had no ſooner re-aſſumed the royal authority, than he began to exerciſe it with a degree of prudence and moderation that was well calculated to acquire the affections of his ſubjects. He iſſued a proclamation to inform the people that he had taken the government of the kingdom into his own hands; and that they might expect to ſee the tranquillity of the nation more effectually preſerved, and juſtice more impartially adminiſtered, than during the reign of the Commiſſioners. At the ſame time he confirmed the general pardon which the parliament had paſſed for all offenders, and generouſly remitted ſome ſubſidies which had lately been granted him.

At this juncture, the Duke of Lancaſter returned to England, and effected an apparent reconciliation between the King and the Duke of Glouceſter: as a recompence for which ſervice, he was created Duke of Aquitaine by the parliament which met at Weſtminſter in the month of January, in the year 1390, and inveſted with the enſigns of honour appertaining to that dignity. Edward Plantagenet, eldeſt ſon of the Duke of York, was gratified with the Earldom of Rutland, and a penſion of eight hundred marks a year. On the fourth day of the ſeſſion, the Biſhop of Wincheſter reſigned the great Seal to the King; the Biſhop of St. David's delivered up the keys of the Exchequer, which had been given into his cuſtody as Treaſurer; and all the Lords of the council were diſcharged at their own deſire. They then aſked, in open parliament, if any

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perſon had any thing to advance againſt their conduct? It was anſwered, both by the Lords and Commons, "That they had nothing to alledge againſt them, and that they had all conducted themſelves with rectitude and propriety in their reſpective offices." The King, immediately after this declaration, reſtored them to their places, and added the Dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter to the liſt of his counſellors; though he thought it neceſſary at the ſame time to declare, that nothing then done ſhould be conſtrued as a reſignation of his right to remove, at his pleaſure, any member of the council.

After this reſtoration of the government to it's natural ſtate, there is an interval of ſome years wholly unproductive of important events. In the ſummer of 1394, Richard reſolved to undertake an expedition into Ireland, as well to ſettle ſome affairs which required arrangement, as to divert his grief for the loſs of his amiable conſort, who died on Whitſunday, at the palace of Shene. He accordingly embarked at Milford Haven about Michaelmas; and, on his arrival in Ireland, found all the Iriſh chieftains, whoſe incurſions had been the cauſe of his voyage, ready to make any kind of ſubmiſſion he ſhould require; and Richard, by nature generous and humane, wiſely preferred attaching them to his intereſt by acts of munificence to attempting to awe them into ſubjection by threats or puniſhment. He therefore received them kindly, and loaded them with preſents. Having paſſed the winter in Dublin, where he aſſembled a parliament, he returned to England in the ſpring of the year 1395.

When the King had paſſed a year in a ſtate of widowhood, he reſolved to take a ſecond wife; and, with that view, diſpatched a ſplendid embaſſy to the court of France, to demand the Princeſs Iſabella, eldeſt daughter of Charles the Sixth, who was then only in the eighth year of her age. His object, in deſiring ſo unequal a match, was moſt probably the hope of accelerating the concluſion of a peace between the two nations, and of forming an alliance that ſhould enable him to counterbalance the influence of his uncles, particularly of the Duke of Glouceſter, whoſe turbulent ſpirit kept his nephew in a ſtate of continual apprehenſion.

The Engliſh ambaſſadors having ſettled all the articles of the intended marriage, the contract was confirmed by the French Monarch at Paris, on the ninth of March, in the year 1396; and, at the ſame time, the truce between France and England, which was not yet expired, was farther prolonged for five and twenty years. As the contracting parties were within the degrees of conſanguinity prohibited by the Canons, a diſpenſation from the Pope was requiſite to be obtained; on which account the marriage was delayed till the firſt of November, when the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp in the church of St. Nicholas, at Calais, by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Though no act of the King's adminiſtration, at this period, could tend to render him unpopular, the foibles and vices of his perſonal character brought him into contempt. His extreme partiality alſo to his two uterine brothers, the Earls of Kent and Huntingdon, created him numerous enemies among the factious Nobles, each of whom thought his own title to diſtinction and honours preferable to that of another, however ſuperior in rank or abilities. The Duke of Glouceſter, who had ever proved himſelf the inveterate enemy of Richard, determined to foment theſe dangerous diſcontents. With this view, he had been violent in his oppoſition to the recent marriage of his nephew, as well as to the prolongation of the truce with France; and was now equally loud in his cenſures on their impolicy and prejudice to the nation. He ſeldom appeared at court or in council; and, when there, he never gave his opinion on any meaſure, except for the purpoſe of expreſſing his diſapprobation of the King's conduct, and that of his favourites; and he cultivated the friendſhip of every man whom diſappointment or private reſentment had rendered an enemy to adminiſtration. In the ſpring and ſummer of the year 1397, he had ſeveral private meetings with the principal Prelates and Nobles of his party, in which the moſt deſperate deſigns are ſaid—and with the greateſt appearance of truth—to have been formed againſt the government, if not againſt the perſon of the King. Richard, apprized of his uncle's diſaffection, began to entertain the moſt ſerious apprehenſions for his own ſafety; and his fears were greatly encreaſed by the ſuggeſtions of the Earls of Kent and Huntingdon, and of his other friends, who earneſtly preſſed him to prevent his own deſtruction, by ſecuring the chief accomplices of the Duke of Glouceſter, together with the Duke himſelf, from whoſe daring diſpoſition and extenſive power the moſt fatal conſequences were to be dreaded. Impelled by theſe powerful motives, the King at length yielded to their remonſtrances. Glouceſter was ſurprized at his caſtle of Pleſhy, in Eſſex; inſtantly conveyed on board a veſſel that lay in the river, and ſent to Calais; where alone, on account of his numerous partizans, he could ſafely be detained in cuſtody: the Earls of Arundel and Warwick were ſeized at the ſame time. The malcontents, thus deprived of their leaders, were aſtoniſhed and overawed; and the concurrence of the Dukes of Lancaſter and York, together with the Earls of Derby and Rutland, the eldeſt ſons of thoſe Princes, rendered any kind of oppoſition impracticable.

As ſoon as theſe illuſtrious rebels were in cuſtody, a council was held at Nottingham, to conſider of the beſt mode of conducting the proſecution againſt them. An appeal of treaſon was preferred, by ſix Earls and two Lords, againſt the three captives; to which they were ordered to anſwer at the next parliament, that was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter on the ſeventeenth of September 1397.

The meeting of a parliament, deſtined to decide the fate of a Prince of the blood, and ſome of the moſt powerful Nobles in the realm, was expected with impatience. When the time arrived, the members came attended by ſuch prodigious retinues, that, according to Rymer and Hollinſhed, they not only filled all the vacant apartments in London and it's ſuburbs, but in all the towns and villages within ten miles of the metropolis. The

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King himſelf was attended by a guard of ſix hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, raiſed for the purpoſe. The Clergy, who by the Canons were prohibited from being preſent at trials *of life and death*, having choſen Sir Thomas Percy for their procurator, the Parliament proceeded to buſineſs. They annulled for ever the commiſſion which had been framed by the Duke of Glouceſter, in the tenth year of the King's reign; declaring it an illegal uſurpation of the royal authority, and rendering it treaſon to attempt, at any future period, the revival of a ſimilar commiſſion. They alſo declared the general pardon thus granted to be invalid, and extorted by force, and never ratified by the free conſent of the King.

The Commons then preferred an impeachment againſt Thomas Arundel, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and, the Primate being found guilty, was puniſhed by baniſhment, and the ſequeſtration of his temporalities. The Earl of Arundel, his brother, was alſo accuſed of having aſſiſted in procuring and executing the commiſſion declared to be illegal, and of having appeared in arms againſt his Sovereign at Haringay Park. The Earl, in his defence, pleaded the general pardon; but, that plea being over-ruled, he was condemned, and conveyed immediately from the bar to Tower Hill, where he was beheaded on the twenty-firſt of September. On the ſame day, a royal mandate was iſſued to the Earl Mareſchal, Governor of Calais, to produce the Duke of Glouceſter with all poſſible expedition at the bar of the Houſe, in order to anſwer the accuſation of treaſon preferred againſt him by the Lords Appellants: but the Governor, on the twenty-fourth of September, returned for anſwer, "That he could not bring the ſaid Duke before the King and his Council in that Parliament; for that, being in his cuſtody in the King's priſon at Calais, he there died." It was then required by the Lords Appellants, and by the Commons likewiſe, that the late Duke of Glouceſter ſhould be declared to have been a traitor, and that all his eſtates ſhould be confiſcated; which requiſition was inſtantly complied with. In the interval between the iſſuing of the mandate to the Governor of Calais and the receipt of his anſwer, the Earl of Warwick was tried, and convicted of high-treaſon; but, on account of his ſubmiſſive behaviour, the King ſpared his life, and ſentenced him to perpetual baniſhment in the Iſle of Man. The four leaders of the malcontents having thus undergone the puniſhment which the diſloyalty of their conduct had indiſputably merited, the Commons interceded in favour of many others who had been accuſed of ſimilar crimes; and the King, having exacted vengeance on the chief objects of his juſt diſpleaſure, willingly put a ſtop to all farther proceedings.

The time, place, and other circumſtances, of the death of the Duke of Glouceſter, created ſtrong ſuſpicions that he had been aſſaſſinated. In the ſubſequent reign, theſe ſuſpicions were confirmed, undoubted proofs being produced in Parliament that he had been ſuffocated with pillows by his keepers; and it appeared that the King, apprehenſive leſt the public trial and execution of ſo popular a Prince might be attended with danger, had taken this ſecret mode of gratifying his revenge. That the Duke deſerved the fate he experienced, cannot admit of a doubt; but the mode of inflicting the puniſhment, which his conduct muſt have led him to expect, was baſe and unmanly, equally unworthy the Monarch and the Man.

This ſeſſion concluded with the creation or advancement of ſeveral Peers. The Earl of Derby was made Duke of Hereford; the Earl of Rutland, Duke of Albemarle; the Earl of Kent, Duke of Surrey; the Earl of Huntingdon, Duke of Exeter; the Earl of Nottingham, Duke of Norfolk; the Earl of Somerſet, Marquis of Dorſet; Lord Spenſer, Earl of Glouceſter; Ralph Nevil, Earl of Weſtmoreland; Thomas Percy, Earl of Worceſter; and William Scrope, Earl of Wiltſhire. The Parliament, after a ſeſſion of twelve days, was adjourned to the twenty-ſeventh of January following, then to meet at Shrewſbury. Before the members departed, Richard exacted an oath from them for the perpetual maintenance and eſtabliſhment of all the acts they had paſſed.

At Shrewſbury, the Parliament, being ſtill in the ſame diſpoſition towards the King, continued to act with the moſt obſequious ſubmiſſion to his will. All the acts which had met the approbation of that Parliament in the year 1388, in which the Duke of Glouceſter's party carried every thing before them, were now formally reverſed. The ſentence againſt the Judges who had delivered their opinions on the King's queſtions at Nottingham, was annulled; and, the anſwers there given being now read before the Parliament, all the members unanimouſly declared that the ſaid anſwers were juſt and lawful; and the Judges proteſted that, had the ſame queſtions been ſubmitted to their conſideration, they would have anſwered them in a ſimilar manner. The Houſe of Commons conferred on the King, *for life*, the duties on wool, wool-fells, and leather; and likewiſe granted him a ſubſidy of one-tenth and a half, and one-fifteenth and a half. Still farther to manifeſt their loyalty, they petitioned the Houſe of Lords to adopt ſome mode of ſecuring the tranſactions of that Parliament from the fate which thoſe of many former Parliaments had experienced. In conſequence of this petition, after ſome deliberation among themſelves, and conſultation with the Judges, all the Lords, ſpiritual and temporal, together with the Commons, took another ſolemn oath, on the Croſs of Canterbury, never to ſuffer the proceedings of that Parliament to be reverſed. So intent was the King on rendering the decrees of this Parliament perpetual and irrevocable, that he afterwards procured a bull from the Pope, containing dreadful anathemas againſt all who ſhould dare to oppoſe or reverſe them; and this was ſolemnly publiſhed in all the chief cities of the kingdom. But in this caſe, as in too many other, the multiplication of oaths only tended to diminiſh their importance.

Before the Parliament was diſſolved, they elected a Committee of twelve Lords and ſix Commoners, to whom they delegated the whole power both of Lords and Commons, and whom they endowed with full authority to finiſh all buſineſs which had been laid before the Houſes, and which they had not leiſure to inveſtigate. This was an unuſual conceſſion, and might have eſtabliſhed a dangerous precedent; but it was entirely owing to a ſingular and unexpected occurrence which engaged the attention of Parliament. On the laſt day of the ſeſſions, the Duke of Hereford preſented a ſchedule of certain ſlanderous expreſſions, which he affirmed had been ſpoken of his Majeſty by the Duke of Norfolk, in a private converſation between the Duke and himſelf. Norfolk ſtrongly denied the charge, and offered to prove his innocence by ſingle combat. The challenge was accepted. The combat was fixed for the ſixteenth of September, at Coventry; and, as the event of this important trial by arms might require the interpoſition of legiſlative authority, the Parliament thought it better to delegate their power to a Committee than to prolong the ſeſſion beyond the time, which was preſcribed by convenience and ſanctioned by cuſtom. But when the day arrived, and the two noble champions entered the liſts accoutred for the combat, the King interpoſed; by the advice and authority of the parliamentary Commiſſioners, ſtopped the duel; and, to evince his impartiality, he pronounced, by the ſame authority, a ſentence of baniſhment on both the combatants: by which the Duke of Hereford was ordered to leave the kingdom for ten years, and the Duke of Norfolk to remain in exile for life. The latter Nobleman appeared deeply affected at this cruel judgment: he firſt retired to Germany, and from thence repaired to Venice, where his grief in a ſhort time brought him to the grave. Hereford, on the contrary, who was poſſeſſed of conſummate prudence and great command of temper, bore his fate with apparent reſignation; and behaved with ſo much reſpect and ſubmiſſion when he went to take his leave of the King at Eltham, that Richard was induced to remit four years of his exile; and alſo to grant him letters patent, empowering him, in caſe any inheritance ſhould devolve to him during his abſence, to take immediate poſſeſſion, and to poſtpone the payment of homage till his return. He retired to Paris, where he experienced a favourable reception from the French King; and would have eſpouſed the daughter of the Duke of Barry, but for the interpoſition of Richard, who, dreading any increaſe of the Lancaſtrian intereſt, already too extenſive, ſent the Earl of Saliſbury to Paris, in order to prevent the completion of the marriage. An injury of this nature could not but augment the Duke's reſentment againſt the King, which he had hitherto concealed with the moſt ſtudious care; and an event ſoon occurred which tended to raiſe it to the higheſt pitch, and to give it that fair ſemblance of juſtice ſo neceſſary to the promotion of his ambitious deſigns.

In the fourth month of Hereford's exile, on the third of February 1399, his father, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, died, by which an immenſe acceſſion of wealth and power devolved on his ſon, to the peaceable poſſeſſion of which he was legally entitled by the tenor of thoſe letters patent which the King had granted him; but Richard—afraid of ſtrengthening the hands of a man who was already his enemy as well from motives of intereſt and ambition, as through a natural impulſe of reſentment—perſuaded the Parliamentary Commiſſioners, in virtue of their delegated power, to revoke his letters patent; after which he ſeized on all the eſtates of his deceaſed uncle, and by the ſame authority cauſed the Duke's attorney to be tried and condemned for attempting to execute with fidelity the truſt repoſed in him by his maſter. By this oppreſſive and impolitic act the King rendered himſelf extremely unpopular; and, as an injured man is generally compaſſionated by the multitude, when they themſelves are not the authors of his wrongs, in proportion as the friends of Richard decreaſed in number, thoſe of Lancaſter augmented.

The King appears not to have entertained the ſmalleſt apprehenſions of the danger that menaced him at this period; for, inſtead of attempting to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects by any popular act, or of adopting ſuch precautions as common prudence would have ſuggeſted on ſuch an emergency, he was weak enough to embark for Ireland, in order to revenge the death of his couſin, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, the preſumptive heir of the crown, who had lately been ſlain by the natives in a ſkirmiſh. By this means he left his kingdom expoſed to the attacks of a provoked and aſpiring enemy.

Henry of Bolingbroke, the preſent Duke of Lancaſter, was at the court of France when he received the news of his father's death, and of the revocations of his letters patent; and, as his friends in England were both numerous and powerful, he received very preſſing invitations to profit by the King's abſence, in order to recover thoſe eſtates which were unjuſtly with-held from him. Thus encouraged, he determined on the voyage; and, having obained a few ſhips from the Duke of Brittany, he embarked at Nantz with a retinue of ſixty armed men, accompanied by the exiled Primate, and the young Earl of Arundel, nephew to the Archbiſhop.

After hovering ſome days on the coaſt, he landed at Ravenſpur, in Yorkſhire, on the fourth of July; where he was immediately joined by the Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, two of the moſt potent Nobles in England. He here took a ſolemn oath that the ſole purport of his expedition was to recover the Dutchy of Lancaſter, to which he was legally entitled; and he invited all the friends and well-wiſhers of his family, and every foe to oppreſſion, to aſſiſt him in the promotion of ſo reaſonable a plan. Deceived by theſe ſpecious pretenſions, thus ſanctioned by the much-proſtituted ſolemnity of an oath, ſuch multitudes flocked to his ſtandard from all quarters, that in a few days he found himſelf at the head of an army of ſixty thouſand men.

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The Duke of York had been left Regent of the kingdom during the abſence of Richard, but his abilities were by no means anſwerable to direct the helm of government in the ſtorm of rebellion. His natural connections, too, with Lancaſter, rendered him wholly unfit for the diſcharge of his office at ſo critical a conjuncture.

Such of the Nobles as were firmly attached to the King, and might, by their preſence, have induced the Duke of York to conduct himſelf with ſpirit and fidelity, had unfortunately followed their Sovereign to Ireland. The Regent, however, ſoon aſſembled an army of forty thouſand men, with which he marched towards Briſtol, where he expected the King to land; but, receiving a viſit from Lancaſter at Berkeley, on the twenty-ſeventh of July, that Nobleman aſſuring him that he had only come for the purpoſe of recovering his lawful inheritance, the Duke was perſuaded to deſiſt from the purſuit of all hoſtile meaſures, and the greateſt part of his army was permitted to join the rebels. Lancaſter, thus reinforced, immediately advanced to Briſtol, where ſome of Richard's moſt obnoxious favourites had taken ſhelter; and ſoon obliging that place to ſurrender, he ordered three of his priſoners, the Earl of Wiltſhire, Sir John Buſſy, and Sir Henry Greene, to be immediately executed, without any form of trial.

The violence and injuſtice of theſe proceedings immediately betrayed the inſincerity of Lancaſter's oaths; and, had the people been open to conviction, muſt have ſhewn them the dangerous extent of his projects; but ſucceſs, however contaminated the ſource from whence it ſprings, too generally attracts the reſpect that is due to virtue alone.

The King, apprized of his deſcent, and the conſequent inſurrection, haſtened his departure from Ireland, and landed at Milford Haven, with an army of twenty thouſand men: but even theſe were infected with the ſame ſpirit of diſloyalty that prevailed throughout the kingdom; and, as they daily deſerted the ſtandard of their ſovereign, Richard ſoon found his forces reduced to about ſix thouſand troops. As this ſmall body could render him no effectual ſervice, but, on the contrary, muſt expoſe him to danger, he deemed it prudent to diſband them, and to retire, with a few faithful adherents, to Conway Caſtle. It was there diſcuſſed, with all the deliberation which the emergency would admit of, whether it would be moſt proper to leave the kingdom, and repair for ſhelter to his French dominions, or to open a negotiation with the Duke of Lancaſter, who had not yet promulgated his deſigns on the crown. Unfortunately, the laſt of theſe meaſures was adopted, and the Duke of Exeter diſpatched for the purpoſe of propoſing a treaty; but that Nobleman was detained by Lancaſter, who ſent the Earl of Northumberland to Conway, with demands of ſuch ſpecious moderation, that the King was impelled to an immediate compliance. The Earl then prevailed on Richard to hold a perſonal conference with Lancaſter at Flint Caſtle, in order to compleat the negotiation; but the King was ſeized on the road by a body of armed men, and conducted to the Duke of Lancaſter; who conveyed him firſt to his head-quarters at Cheſter; and then, by eaſy journies, to the Tower of London, where he was ſafely lodged on the ſecond of September.

The aſpiring Lancaſter having now removed the chief obſtacle to his own aggrandizement, determined to lay aſide the maſk he had hitherto worn, and openly to avow his nefarious intentions. A trifling difficulty, however, occurred, which probably he had not foreſeen. viz. on what baſis he ſhould found his pretenſions to the crown. The claim of conqueſt would ſcarcely have ſuited the proud ſpirit of thoſe factious Barons who bore with impatience the yoke of legal authority; and, to demand it by hereditary right, would have been too glaringly ridiculous. But, when the attainment of a particular point is determined on, and the determinator poſſeſſed of ſufficient power to enforce his reſolution, the *means* of accompliſhment are ſeldom ſuffered to operate as a laſting impediment. Lancaſter, therefore, reſolved to reject the two former titles; and, by the advice of his uncle, the Duke of York, adopted another equally prepoſterous. He determined to claim the crown by a kind of mixed title; founded on the *voluntary* reſignation of the King—to be obtained by *force*; on his depoſition by parliament, to be procured by threats and violence; and on his own ſervices to the nation, which chiefly conſiſted in promoting a dangerous rebellion, in direct violation of a ſolemn oath. To execute this *laudable* deſign, he cauſed a parliament to be ſummoned in Richard's name, to meet on the thirtieth of September; and, on the day before it met, he extorted from his unhappy Sovereign, who knew that his only hopes of prolonging a miſerable exiſtence muſt be founded on his compliance, a formal reſignation of his crown, which was then produced before the parliament, who, at the inſtance of Lancaſter, ſignified their acceptance of it.

But, as the Duke was aware that the validity of this reſignation, though boldly aſſerted to be purely voluntary, might hereafter, when the people ſhould recover their ſenſes, be liable to objection; he determined to ſhew that, had Richard refuſed to reſign his crown, his crimes would have juſtified the parliament in depoſing him. With this view, the audacious rebel cauſed three and thirty articles of impeachment to be exhibited againſt his lawful Sovereign; to which the coronation-oath was prefixed, for the purpoſe of proving that, by particular acts ſpecified in thoſe articles, he had violated that oath.

The articles, (which may be ſeen at length in Knyghton, Tyrrel, and ſome other authors) though drawn up with all the virulent acrimony of intereſted malice, contain not a ſingle accuſation that could poſſibly warrant the deciſion which the Duke wiſhed to found on them. By an attentive peruſal of the charges, and by comparing them with attendant circumſtances, it will appear that they are all either falſe, frivolous, or exaggerated. Yet, when they were read in parliament, ſo great was the influence of Lancaſter, ſo prevalent the dread of his power, that

that of thoſe Peers and Prelates whom Richard had diſtinguiſhed by marks of his favour and bounty, one only had ſufficient courage and gratitude to utter a ſyllable in his defence, viz. *Thomas Merks*, Biſhop of Carliſle. That learned Prelate, with a ſpirit that reflects the higheſt honour on his memory, and renders him an illuſtrious ornament to the page of hiſtory, expoſed the iniquity and danger of the preſent proceedings; and vindicated the character of his unhappy Sovereign, aſcribing the errors into which he had fallen, rather to inexperience and evil counſel than to the ſuggeſtions of a malicious mind. This loyal attempt, which from men of honour and honeſty muſt have extorted applauſe, was rewarded by an order, from the rebellious tyrant who now aſpired to the crown, to the Earl Mareſchal, to take the virtuous Prelate into cuſtody, and ſend him priſoner to the abbey of St. Alban's—an act of violence infinitely more arbitrary and unconſtitutional than any that had been committed during the reign of Richard. As the exertion of force had thus ſuperſeded the neceſſity of argument, no farther debate enſued; the accuſations were all received as valid by the obſequious parliament; the depoſition of Richard was ſolemnly pronounced, and a committee appointed to intimate the ſentence to that degraded Monarch.

The throne of England being thus declared vacant, Henry, Duke of Lancaſter, (though Edmund, ſon of Roger Mortimer, who had been declared preſumptive heir of the crown, as lineal deſcendant from Lionel Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of the late Duke of Lancaſter, was living) roſe from his ſeat, and having croſſed himſelf with much ſeeming devotion, and invoked the name of Chriſt, claimed the crown in the following ſingular words—

" *In the name of Fadher, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, I,*
" *Henry of Lancaſter, challenge this rewme of Ynglonde,*
" *and the croune, with all the membres, and the apur-*
" *tenances, als I that am deſcendit be ryght lyne of*
" *the blode, cumyng fra the gude Lorde King Henry*
" *Therde, and throghe that ryht that God of his grace,*
" *hath ſent me, with helpe of my Kyn, and of my*
" *frendes to recover it, the whiche rewme was in poynt*
" *to be ondone by default of governance, and undoying*
" *of the gude lawes.*"

This ambiguous ſpeech, which hinted at the two different titles of deſcent and conqueſt, without daring openly to lay claim to either, from a conſciouſneſs that neither would bear the teſt of inveſtigation, was received by the parliament with great applauſe; and Henry's ridiculous pretenſion was unanimouſly declared to be juſt and valid. The Primate then advanced, and taking the perjured Henry by the hand, led him to that throne which he had obtained by treaſon and rebellion, to the prejudice of it's lawful poſſeſſor, and the excluſion of his legitimate heir. But as, in his curious claim above quoted, he had hinted ſomething about the right of conqueſt, which he thought might prove offenſive to the Nobles, and render him unpopular with his ſubjects, he deemed it prudent to make a ſubſequent declaration, that he did not thereby intend to deprive any one of his franchiſes or liberties, as ſecured by the laws.—The only circumſtance attending theſe ſingular tranſactions that was perfectly intelligible, and reconcileable to reaſon and common ſenſe.

This abandoned parliament, having thus accompliſhed the chief object of it's meeting, was diſſolved on the thirtieth of September 1399; and Henry, whoſe violent conduct betrayed an intention of being guided by no other dictates than thoſe of his own inclination, without any new election, ſummoned the ſame members to aſſemble, in ſix days from the time of the diſſolution; and this aſſembly he denominated a New Parliament. All the acts of the laſt parliament of Richard, which had been confirmed by their oaths, and by a papal bull, were now abrogated; and all thoſe which had been paſſed during the prevalence of the Glouceſterian faction, and afterwards aboliſhed, were confirmed; the anſwers of Treſilian, and the three Judges, which one parliament had annulled, but which another had approved, here received a ſecond condemnation. The Peers who had accuſed Glouceſter, Arundel, and Warwick, and who had been rewarded with honours and titles on that account, were all of them degraded from their new dignities: even the practice of proſecuting appeals in parliament ſuffered a compleat abolition, and trials were reſtored to the courſe of common law. Such conduct muſt have had a pernicious effect on the minds of the people, by impreſſing them with unfavourable ideas of the inſtability of government; and leading them to ſuſpect the wiſdom and juſtice of parliament, whoſe rapid and perpetual changes evinced either an inability to diſtinguiſh right from wrong, or a want of integrity to enforce the diſtinction.

On a motion of the Earl of Northumberland, it was unanimouſly determined by the parliament, that the injured Monarch, whom they had juſt robbed of his rights, ſhould be impriſoned under a ſecret guard, and denied all commerce with his friends and relations. The purport of this reſolution, which formed a worthy concluſion to their proceedings, may be eaſily conjectured. In a very ſhort time Richard was murdered; though the manner in which the murder was perpetrated is variouſly repreſented by different authors: the moſt probable account is, that he was ſtarved to death, at the caſtle of Pontefract, in Yorkſhire, about the year 1400. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-firſt of his reign; and left no poſterity, either legitimate or illegitimate.

Were we to pay implicit credit to the writers who have tranſmitted to us the hiſtory of Richard the Second, we ſhould believe him to have been the worſt Monarch that had ever filled the throne of England. But, as theſe writers all lived during the reigns of the Lancaſtrian Princes, equity requires a partial rejection of their teſtimony, as they may juſtly be ſuppoſed to have written under the influence of prejudices too ſtrong to be reſiſted. It muſt be owned, however, that Richard, with a great portion of perſonal courage, and no defect of natural underſtanding, was wholly unfit for the ſtation he was born to inherit. This inability to diſcharge the arduous duties

duties of government, appears chiefly to have ariſen from a want of reſolution to impoſe a proper reſtraint on ſuch of his paſſions as it was impolitic and dangerous to gratify. Of this claſs were—the violence of his temper; the love of expence, pomp, and oſtentation; his extravagant devotion to favourites; and his thirſt after pleaſure: all of them paſſions which no Prince can indulge without evident danger to the ſtate; and the gratification of which, to all but a deſpotic tyrant, muſt be attended with great riſk of perſonal ſafety. To theſe add the extreme diſadvantage of having received his education, (through the intereſted views of his treacherous uncles) from a ſet of abandoned profligates, and the errors of his reign, though they ſupply great ſubject of regret, will not afford matter of aſtoniſhment. When we conſider that a perpetual ſtruggle had been for ſome time maintained between the Sovereign and principal nobility of the kingdom—both equally regardleſs of the rights of the people—we may conclude that, had Richard poſſeſſed either art enough to ſoothe, or a ſufficient portion of mental vigour to overawe, the factious Barons, he might probably have ſecured himſelf both from cenſure and misfortune. His domeſtic virtues inconteſtably prove that he was not born to be a tyrant—as a huſband, he was mild and affectionate; as a maſter, liberal and indulgent; as a friend, ſteady and ſincere.

It cannot be ſuppoſed that, during a reign of turbulence and diſorder, a very ſtrict and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice could be preſerved. The laws, deſpiſed by thoſe who ſhould have been moſt ſtudious to enforce an obſervance of them, muſt naturally have fallen into general contempt. A juſt idea of the ſtate of the kingdom at this period may be formed from the following preamble to a ſtatute againſt *Maintenance*, which was enacted by Parliament in the year 1377. "Whereas divers "perſons of ſmall revenue of land, rent, or other "poſſeſſions, do make great retinue of people, as "well of Eſquires as of others, in many parts of "the realm; giving to them hats and other liveries "of one ſuit by year, taking from them the value "of the ſame livery, or percaſe the double value, "by ſuch covenant and aſſurance, that every of "them ſhall maintain other in all quarrels, be "they reaſonable or unreaſonable, to the great miſ-"chief of the people," &c. Confederacies formed on this principle could not fail to prove continual ſources of public commotions and of civil wars. The chief Nobles of the realm were at the head of different parties, actuated by ſeparate intereſts, and never united but for illegal and deſtructive purpoſes, and always ſacrificing public good to private advantage. Hence the grand incitement to virtuous actions—a regard for the public opinion—was totally deſtroyed; and, as each Baron aſſumed an arbitrary ſway over his own party, it was abſolutely requiſite that the Sovereign ſhould be entruſted with arbitrary powers, in order to prevent a total annihilation of order and government.

During this reign, the conſtitution, ſubmitted to the crucible of Faction, appears to have undergone a regular analyſis. By the ſeparation of it's component parts, in an early period of this reign a *democracy* (though fortunately of a very ſhort duration) was viſible; at another time, a perfect *ariſtocracy* prevailed; and, in the interval, a *monarchy*, nearly approaching to abſolute, predominated.

The hereditary revenues of the crown were now become inadequate to the expences of government, particularly in time of war; which obliged Richard, whoſe perſonal expences conſiderably increaſed the *deficit*, to make frequent applications to Parliament for ſupplies. Among other taxes impoſed for the diſcharge of theſe continual demands, there was one which, from it's ſingularity, merits particular attention. This was a capitation tax, proportioned to the different ranks and degrees which men held in ſociety. The eſtabliſhed proportions were as follow—

A Duke, ten marks; an Earl, four pounds; a Counteſs Dowager, four pounds; a Baron, Banneret, or Knight, of equal eſtate with a Baron, two pounds; every Bachelor or Eſquire, who by eſtate ought to be made a Knight, twenty ſhillings; widows of ſuch Bachelors and Eſquires, twenty ſhillings; Eſquires of leſs eſtate, four ſhillings and ſeven-pence; widows of ſuch Eſquires, ſix ſhillings and eight-pence; Eſquires without lands, but who bear arms, three ſhillings and three-pence; Chief Prior of the Hoſpital of St. John, forty ſhillings; every Commander of the order, twenty ſhillings; every Knight of the order, thirteen ſhillings and four-pence; every Brother of the order, three ſhillings and four-pence; Judges of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, each one hundred ſhillings; every Serjeant and Great Apprentice of the Law, forty ſhillings; other Apprentices of the Law, twenty ſhillings; Attornies, *ſix and eight-pence*; the Mayor of London, four pounds; Aldermen of London, forty ſhillings; Mayors of great towns, forty ſhillings; Mayors of ſmaller towns, from twenty ſhillings to ſix and eight-pence; Jurats of towns, and capital Merchants, twenty ſhillings; ſufficient Merchants, eight ſhillings and four-pence; inferior Merchants, Artificers, and Huſbandmen, according to the value of their eſtates, four ſhillings and eight-pence, three and four-pence, two ſhillings, or one and ſix-pence; every Serjeant and Freeman of the country, ſix ſhillings and eight-pence, or forty pence; the Farmers of manors, parſonages, and granges, Dealers in cattle, and other tradeſmen, according to the value of their eſtates, ſix ſhillings and eight-pence, forty pence, two ſhillings, or one ſhilling; Advocates, Notaries, and Proctors, who are married, to pay as Serjeants of the Law; Apparitors that are married, according to their eſtates, three ſhillings and four-pence, two ſhillings, or one ſhilling; Innkeepers, according to their eſtates, forty pence, two ſhillings, or one ſhilling; every married man, above the age of ſixteen, for himſelf and wife, four-pence; every unmarried

man or woman, above ſixteen, four-pence; and every foreign merchant, according to his abilities.

Notwithſtanding the partial diſtribution of juſtice, ſome wiſe and ſalutary laws for the encouragement of navigation, trade, and commerce, were paſſed during this reign. By one of theſe it was enacted, that the merchants of England ſhould neither export nor import merchandize of any denomination in foreign veſſels. This act, therefore, may be conſidered as our firſt navigation act.

In the times we have been now delineating, the Arts and Sciences continued to advance; but their progreſs was ſo ſlow and gradual, that little remains to be ſaid in addition to thoſe remarks which we made at the concluſion of our laſt Book. We have already noticed, at the end of the different reigns, the chief men of learning who flouriſhed during this period; by which it may be ſeen that Science, though frequently perverted to vain and trivial purpoſes, experienced ſuch encouragement as afforded a ſolid baſis for future improvement, and tended to promote the acquiſition of uſeful knowledge. Among the principal incitements to ſtudy may be reckoned the conſiderable additions that were made to the two Univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the foundation of numerous ſchools in different parts of the kingdom. In Oxford, from the year 1249 to 1386, no leſs than ſeven colleges were founded and endowed; viz. Univerſity, Baliol, Merton, Exeter, Oriel, Queen's, and New College: and in Cambridge, nine halls and colleges were founded in the ſame period; viz. Peter Houſe, Michael College, (now Trinity) Univerſity Hall, (which was burnt down ſoon after it's foundation) King's Hall, (united to Trinity College by Henry the Eighth) Clare Hall, Pembroke Hall, Corpus Chriſti, (now Bennet College) Trinity Hall, and Gonvil Hall.

Though the Arts were by no means neglected in the period we are now examining, yet there were many circumſtances which prevented them from making a rapid progreſs towards perfection. The ſituation of the country was peculiarly unfavourable to the improvement of the neceſſary arts. Agriculture was ſo little encouraged, that the preference which Edward the Second evinced to it over martial exerciſes, expoſed him to the reproach and contempt of his ſubjects. The attention of the people, too, and eſpecially of the Nobility, was almoſt conſtantly diverted from the cultivation of their lands by foreign wars and domeſtic commotions; and, as they could not find time to beſtow on agriculture, that primary ſource of ſubſiſtence, it is not to be expected that arts of inferior conſequence could be promoted with any degree of aſſiduity. The great Barons and Prelates, who were the chief proprietors of the ſoil, kept a vaſt quantity of land in their own poſſeſſion, which was cultivated, partly by their ſlaves or villains, and partly by their tenants; who, whenever they were called upon, were under the neceſſity of neglecting the cultivation of their own land to attend to that of their Lords: and, as theſe ſlaves and tenants could have no intereſt in the produce of their labours, it is natural to ſuppoſe that they would perform them with negligence and inattention.

Some idea of the immenſe tracts of land which the Barons and Prelates retained in their own poſſeſſion may be formed from the following account of the ſtock upon the lands belonging to the See of Wincheſter, delivered to Biſhop Wykeham, in the year 1367, by the executors of his predeceſſors, viz. One hundred and twenty-ſeven draught-horſes; fifteen hundred and fifty-ſix head of black cattle; three thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-ſix weathers; four thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſeven ewes; and three thouſand five hundred and forty-one lambs; beſides the ſum of one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-two pounds ten ſhillings—equivalent to twenty thouſand pounds of our preſent money—which they paid for a deficiency in the ſtock.

It is a circumſtance not leſs curious than ſingular, that not only treatiſes compoſed at this time for the inſtruction of farmers and their ſervants, down to the very ſwine-herd, were written in Latin; but even the accounts of the profits and expences of farms and dairies were kept in that language. The Latin employed for theſe purpoſes was not, indeed, ſtrictly claſſical, as will appear from the following ſpecimen, which we have extracted from Kennet's Parochial Antiquities—"Et pro uno *ſeedcod* empto "iiid. Et pro uno *cartſadel* uno *colero* cum uno "pari tractuum emptis xivd. Et pro fracturâ de "*drawgere* iiid. Et pro uno *dongecart* empto "xivd. Et pro ſarratione et dolatione unius *cart-*"*body* vid."

The uſeful art of Clock-making was introduced into England during this period, though to whom we are indebted for that ingenious invention is not known with any degree of certainty. The firſt clock we hear of in England was placed in the old Clock-Tower, oppoſite to the gate of Weſtminſter Hall; and was purchaſed, as we are told by Selden, in his Preface to Hengham, with part of a fine of eight hundred marks, impoſed on Randolf de Hengham, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, in the year 1288. In the year 1292, another clock, which coſt thirty pounds—equivalent to four hundred pounds of our preſent money—was placed in the cathedral of Canterbury. But theſe clocks were moſt probably either imported into England, or made by ſome foreign artiſt: for we find that, about ſeventy years after this time, Edward the Third invited three clock-makers of Delft—John Uninam, William Uninam, and John Lutuyt—to come over to England; and he granted them his royal protection to exerciſe their trade in part of his dominions without moleſtation. The deſign of this invitation was evidently to augment the number of theſe mechanics in England, that their works might be obtained with greater facility and leſs expence. His intent, too, ſeems to have been fully anſwered; as, before the concluſion of this period, the Engliſh had certainly attained to a conſiderable

degree

degree of perfection in the art of clock-making. Leland gives an account of a very curious clock, made by Richard de Wallingford, Abbot of St. Alban's, in the reign of Richard the Second, which he deſcribes as repreſenting the revolutions of the ſun and moon, the fixed ſtars, and the ebbing and flowing of the ſea. The Abbot, he ſays, compoſed a book of directions for the management of this curious piece of mechaniſm, to prevent it's being ſpoiled by the ignorance of the monks.

It is not poſſible to fix, with any degree of preciſion, the time when the uſe of Gunpowder and Fire-arms was firſt introduced into England, though we know that it was during this period. We have already remarked, that the invention of gunpowder has been attributed to the celebrated Roger Bacon: that he knew it's compoſition and effects is very certain, as appears from his Epiſtle "De ſecretis Operibus Artis et Naturæ." But, as that worthy philoſopher was endued with thoſe true principles of humanity which effectually prevent the perverſion of knowledge to deſtructive purpoſes, he dreaded to communicate his dangerous diſcovery to the world; and, therefore, by an artful tranſpoſition of the letters contained in the Latin words, which ſignify charcoal, rendered the paſſage obſcure, and conſequently uſeleſs. The paſſage is this—"Sed tamen ſalis petræ, *luru mope can vbre* "(carbonum pulvere) et ſulphuris; et ſic facies "tonitrum et coruſcationem, ſi ſcias artificium." By this means, though he rendered the diſcovery of the ſecret from a peruſal of his works extremely difficult, he ſecured to himſelf the honour of the invention, ſhould it be afterwards diſcovered by any other means: a precaution which proved neceſſary; as, towards the commencement of the fourteenth century, it was accidentally diſcovered by Barthold Schwartz, a German monk and chymiſt, as he was pounding ſaltpetre, ſulphur, and charcoal, in a mortar, for ſome other purpoſe.

Though Fire-arms were frequently uſed in theſe times, their invention did not immediately produce that important change in the art of war which has ſince taken place, and which might naturally have been expected to reſult from it. This may be aſcribed to a variety of cauſes; but principally to the difficulty of procuring gunpowder, the art of making which was but imperfectly known, and even that knowledge confined to a few. The Engliſh, too, at this time, were in poſſeſſion of many deſtructive inſtruments of war, the fatal effects of which they had continually witneſſed; and which, therefore, they were unwilling to change for others with which they were in a manner unacquainted. Of theſe inſtruments the chief were, the croſs-bow, and engines for throwing ſtones. The latter are repreſented as acting with prodigious force, throwing ſtones of three hundred weight to a conſiderable diſtance.

The Fine Arts, during the preſent period, experienced much greater encouragement than thoſe which tend to gratify the wants and to ſupply the comforts of life. The ſuperſtitious ſpirit of the age, with the extreme opulence of the Clergy, which is almoſt a neceſſary conſequence of that ſpirit, rendered the cultivation of Sculpture, Painting, or Muſic, a ſtudy of great honour and immenſe profit. The ſculptor and ſtatuary ſupplied the external embelliſhments of the churches, palaces, and caſtles, of the Nobles; while they joined their ſkill to that of the painter, in order to ſtock the inſide of thoſe buildings with ſuch immoderate numbers of their productions, that they bore a much ſtronger reſemblance to modern exhibition-rooms than to places of public worſhip, or private reſidence.

The love of Poetry, too, ſtill prevailed; though the barbariſm of the language in which the poets of that age wrote has prevented their works from being generally known to poſterity, except thoſe of Chaucer, and his ſucceſſor, John Gower, whoſe poetical talents are thus deſcribed by that learned and ingenious critic, Mr. Warton—"Enough hath "been ſaid to prove that, in elevation and ele- "gance, in harmony and perſpicuity of verſifica- "tion, Chaucer ſurpaſſes his predeceſſors in an "infinite proportion; that his genius was univerſal, "and adapted to themes of unbounded variety; "that his merit was not leſs in painting familiar "manners with humour and propriety than in "moving the paſſions, and in repreſenting the "beautiful or the grand objects of nature with "grace and ſublimity. In a word, that he ap- "peared with all the luſtre and dignity of a true "poet, in an age which compelled him to ſtruggle "with a barbarous language, and a national want "of taſte; and when, to write verſes at all, was con- "ſidered as a ſingular qualification.

"If Chaucer had not exiſted, the compoſitions "of John Gower, the next poet in ſucceſſion, "would alone have been ſufficient to reſcue the "reigns of Edward the Third, and Richard the "Second, from the imputation of barbariſm. His "education was liberal and uncircumſcribed; his "courſe of reading extenſive; and he tempered "his ſeverer ſtudies with a knowledge of life. By "a critical cultivation of his native language, he "endeavoured to reform it's irregularities, and to "eſtabliſh an Engliſh ſtyle."

In regard to Muſic, independent of the minſtrels, who ſtill continued to flouriſh, Sacred Muſic was cultivated with great ardour by the Clergy. The church, indeed, by a gradual departure from the primitive ſimplicity of the Chriſtian religion, and the conſequent introduction of organs into places of worſhip, to the ſound of which many of the offices were ſung, had rendered the ſtudy of muſic eſſentially neceſſary to all who were to partake of the celebration. Muſic was accordingly taught and ſtudied in all colleges, cathedrals, convents, and capital churches; and we are told by that laborious inveſtigator, Sir John Hawkins, in his Hiſtory of Muſic, "That the Clergy, in the thirteenth cen- "tury, were by much the moſt able proficients, as "well in inſtrumental as vocal muſic."

The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of this period chiefly conſiſts of the diſputes between the crown of England and the Popes; who, after the reſignation of John, ever treated this country as a tributary province,

vince, which they had a right to impoverish at their pleasure. The extortions of the Sovereign Pontiff during the reign of the third Henry, with the wonderful increase of Italian Clergy in England, we have already noticed in our life of that Monarch; whose Barons, by a spirited exertion of their power, procured a temporary relief from an evil which their sovereign had not the resolution to eradicate. But, unfortunately for the nation, the imbecility of Henry continued to encourage the papal encroachments, which all the efforts of the English Prelates were inadequate to repress.

The strongest opposition made to the Pope, was by Robert Greathead, Bishop of Lincoln, a Prelate of extensive learning and exemplary piety; who, having received a bull from Innocent the Fourth, containing a clause of *non obstante*, (so justly reprobated in that age) and commanding him to bestow a considerable living in his gift on his nephew, who was then an infant; instead of complying with it's contents, sent the Pope a letter, in which he exposed the injustice and impiety of his commands with the greatest freedom and severity. Speaking of the clause of *non obstante*, he says—" It brings in a " deluge of mischief upon Christendom, and gives " occasion to a great deal of inconstancy and breach " of faith; it even shakes the very foundations of " trust and security amongst mankind, and makes " language and letters almost insignificant." Then proceeding to the request of bestowing a benefice upon an infant, he says—" Next to the sins of Lu- " cifer and Antichrist, there cannot be a greater " defection, or one which carries a more direct op- " position to the doctrine of our Saviour and his " apostles, than that which destroys people's souls, " by depriving them of the benefits of the pas- " toral office; and yet those persons are guilty of this " sin, who undertake the sacerdotal function, and " receive the profits without discharging the duty " annexed to it. From hence it is evident, that " those who bring such unqualified persons into " the church, and debauch the hierarchy, are much " to blame; and that their crimes rise in proportion " to the height of their station."

The Sovereign Pontiff, little accustomed, and less willing, to hear the language of truth, burst into the most passionate exclamations on the perusal of this spirited epistle. He swore by his favourite saints, Peter and Paul, that he would utterly confound " that old, impertinent, deaf, doating fel- " low," and render him a topic of conversation, a subject of astonishment, and a striking example to the whole world " What!" exclaimed this insolent Priest, " is not the King of England his " master, our vassal, or rather our slave? and will " he not, at the smallest sign from us, cast him in- " to prison?" But when his Holiness had somewhat recovered his senses, the Cardinals ventured to remonstrate; they observed to him " that the " world began to discover the truth of many things " in the Bishop's letter; and that, if he perse- " cuted a Prelate so justly renowned for piety, learn- " ing, and sanctity of life, it might prove the means " of raising up many enemies to the court of Rome."

This prudent observation had the desired effect; the Pope, listened to their advice, and took no farther notice of the letter. Had the virtuous Bishop of Lincoln been properly supported by his brethren, and countenanced by his Sovereign, a salutary restraint might certainly have been imposed on papal exactions: but Henry, at variance with his subjects, either found, or thought it, to be his interest, to maintain an unnatural alliance with the Pope; from whence his subjects experienced the most cruel oppressions, and were burthened with the most onerous imposts. But, in the reign of his successor Edward the First, the Roman yoke had become so intolerable, that the English began to concert measures for their redemption from the state of abject servitude to which they were reduced. The exemption from civil jurisdiction, which had been claimed by the Clergy during the preceding reign, was in a great measure abolished by one of the statutes of Westminster; while the celebrated statute of Mortmain set some bounds to their rapacious avarice, which would, in time, have led them to monopolize all the landed estates in the kingdom. But, though ecclesiastical encroachments were considerably repressed under the government of that politic Prince, the progress of superstition was by no means impeded. In a council held at Lambeth, by John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1281, a singular canon was promulgated, relative to the administration of the Eucharist; by which it was decreed that the bells should ring at the elevation of the host; and all that heard them, even out of the church, should fall down on their knees. It also contains directions to the Priests, as to the instructions they should give to the people; one of which is so remarkable as to merit particular notice—" Let Priests also be careful, when they " give the holy communion at Easter, or any other " time, to the simple, diligently to instruct them, " that the body and blood of our Lord is given " them at once under the species of bread; nay, " the very living and true Christ, who is en- " tirely under this species in the sacrament. And " let them also instruct them, that what is at " the same time given them to drink, is not the " sacrament, but mere wine, to be drunk for " the more easy swallowing of the sacrament which " they have taken."

Thus it appears that the famous doctrine of Transubstantiation was raised on such a sandy foundation, that one half of it was already demolished. As they had dared to deprive the water of it's miraculous properties, it is a pity that they had not ventured one step farther, and reduced the bread likewise to it's primitive state. But, unfortunately, a very different motive to that of reformation influenced the conduct of the Council in this particular; these sapient instructions being merely intended to prepare the minds of the unsanctified Laics for a regulation afterwards adopted, by which they were totally deprived of the cup when they received the sacrament, and compelled to swallow the bread with such moisture only as their own mouths could afford.

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The Primate, who preſided at this council, having been elected by the Pope, was ever ſtrenuous in ſupporting the eccleſiaſtical in oppoſition to the regal power; but Edward was a Prince whom neither his arguments could convince, nor his threats intimidate: he was therefore compelled to turn the force both of his eloquence and anger on ſome object who was leſs capable of reſiſting them. In the year 1286, he had an opportunity of diſplaying his talents, in the condemnation of various propoſitions maintained and promulgated by one Richard Knapwell, a Dominican Friar, the only heretic that appeared in England during the thirteenth century. As theſe propoſitions ſhew what were the chief ſubjects of controverſy and diſquiſition among the Divines and Philoſophers of this period, they may juſtly be deemed curious: we ſhall therefore give them, as ſpecified by Wykes, Knyghton, and Spelman—

1. " That the body of Jeſus Chriſt, when dead, " had not the ſame ſubſtantial form as it had when " living.

2. " That if the Euchariſtical Bread had been " conſecrated with theſe words, *This is my Body*, " during the three days that Jeſus Chriſt lay in his " grave, the bread would have been tranſubſtanti- " ated into the new form which the body of Chriſt " aſſumed at it's ſeparation from the ſoul.

3. " That, after the Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, " the Euchariſtical Bread is tranſubſtantiated, by " virtue of theſe words, *This is my Body*, into the " whole living body of Chriſt; that is, the matter " of the bread is converted into the matter of his " body, and the ſubſtantial form of the bread into " the ſubſtantial form of his body; that is to ſay, " into his intellectual ſoul, ſo far as it conſtitutes " the form of his body.

4. " That in man there is only one form, namely, " his rational ſoul, without any other ſubſtantial " form.

5. " That in articles of Faith, a man is not " bound to reſt on the authority of the Pope, or " of any Prieſt or Doctor; but that the Holy Scrip- " tures, and right Reaſon, are the only foundations " of our aſſent."

It is almoſt inconceivable, that the ſame head which engendered the unintelligible nonſenſe of the four firſt propoſitions could give birth to that important truth which is contained in the laſt! Had not that truth, however, been uttered, the Friar might have paſſed uncenſured, nor have incurred the imputation of hereſy.

Robert Winchelſey, who in the year 1294 ſucceeded Peckham in the Primacy, had little reaſon to be contented with his ſtation; for the demands of Edward upon the church—ariſing from the expenſive wars in which he was almoſt continually engaged—were ſo frequent, that the King and Clergy were conſtantly at variance. In the firſt year of the Primate's promotion, Edward, having ſummoned an aſſembly of the Clergy to meet at Weſtminſter, in the month of September, demanded from them one-half of their revenues, both ſpiritual and temporal. This demand was productive of great diſſenſion; the particulars of which we have fully detailed in the reign of that Monarch.

Some new regulations in the doctrines and diſcipline of the church took place in the courſe of the thirteenth century. The chief of theſe were the alteration which we have noticed in the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; a more ſtrict injunction of Auricular Confeſſion; and the introduction of general Excommunications. By theſe laſt, all who were guilty of certain vices and crimes, though known only to God and their own conſciences, were declared to be excommunicated. Excommunications of this kind were at firſt confined to ſuch as injured the Clergy by detaining their tythes, defrauding them of their dues, or ſtealing any thing which belonged to the church. They were ordered to be publiſhed by the Prieſt in every pariſh with the utmoſt ſolemnity, before the whole congregation, in the mother tongue, on Chriſtmas, Eaſter, Pentecoſt, and All-Hallows day; and, to render them more impreſſive and terrible to weak minds, they were made to contain the moſt horrid maledictions which prieſtly depravity could deviſe. The following ſpecimen, taken from Wanly's Catalogue, will ſuffice to ſhew, that the heart which could dictate, and the tongue which could utter them, were equal ſtrangers to the ſpirit and doctrine of Chriſtianity— " Let them be accurſed, eating and drinking, walk- " ing and ſitting, ſpeaking and holding their peace, " waking and ſleeping, rowing and tiding, laugh- " ing and weeping, in houſe and in field, on water " and on land, in all places. Curſed by their head " and their thoughts, their eyes and their ears, their " tongues and their lips, their teeth and their " throats, their ſhoulders and their breaſts, their " feet and their legs, their thighs and their in- " wards. Let them remain accurſed from the " bottom of the foot to the crown of the head, " unleſs they bethink themſelves, and come to ſa- " tisfaction; and, juſt as this candle is deprived of " it's preſent light, ſo let them be deprived of their " ſouls in hell!"

During this time, the ambition of the Popes, which could only be equalled by their avarice, had ariſen to ſuch an extraordinary height, as to induce them to claim a ſuperiority, as well in temporal as ſpiritual matters, over the whole Chriſtian world; and to regard, not only the Kings of England, but all the Monarchs of Europe, as their vaſſals. The bull addreſſed to Philip the Fair, King of France, by Pope Boniface the Eighth, dated the fifth of December 1301, affords a ſtrong inſtance of Papal *humility*. It runs thus—" Boniface the Biſhop, " a Servant of the Servants of God, to Philip, " King of France. Fear God, and keep his com- " mandments. We will you to know, that you " are ſubject to us, both in ſpirituals and temporals. " You have no right to beſtow benefices and pre- " bends, &c. We declare them heretics who be- " lieve the contrary."

Several new orders of Monks and Nuns were inſtituted, in different parts of Europe, during the thirteenth century; and from thence tranſplanted into England. The chief of theſe were the Fran-

ciſcans and Dominicans: the former was founded, towards the commencement of this century, by St. Francis of Aſſiſe, who gave his name to the order. They were firſt introduced into England in the year 1210, and ſoon became celebrated for great pretenſions to ſanctity and for extreme wealth. The Dominican order—that parent of the Inquiſition, and promoter of more effuſion of blood than all the deſtructive armies of Xerxes, or of Alexander—was founded in the year 1215, by Dominick de Guſman, one of thoſe ſanguinary enthuſiaſts who preached in favour of the Cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, by which ſo many thouſands were deſtroyed for daring to uſe the light of reaſon in an age of darkneſs, by a ſteady rejection of the tyranny and ſuperſtitious idolatry of the Church of Rome. The Dominicans were firſt eſtabliſhed at Thouloufe, which was the centre of thoſe unhappy objects of their perſecution, and it's inhabitants have ever retained the ſame unchriſtian ſpirit which diſtinguiſhed the founders of this deteſted ſect. From thence, their tenets being well adapted to the age, they were ſpeedily diffuſed over all Europe. They ſettled in England about two years after the foundation of their order.

The commencement of the fourteenth century was diſtinguiſhed by general complaints againſt the rapacity of the Popes, which ſtill continued to increaſe, and to thrive as it were by oppoſition. At a Parliament held at Carliſle, in the year 1307, ſome laws were enacted to reſtrain their oppreſſive proceedings in England; but, being ill executed, they were not productive of any good conſequence.

Immediately after the acceſſion of Edward the Second, Robert Winchelſey, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was recalled from exile; but, refuſing to diſpenſe with the canons againſt pluralities and non-reſidences in favour of the Royal Chaplains and Court Clergy, he ſoon incurred the diſpleaſure of his youthful Sovereign.

The diſputes between the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Courts, which had been productive of ſo many civil commotions, were at this time renewed with added virulence, every attempt to regulate the boundaries of the different juriſdictions having proved abortive. Many complaints on this ſubject had been laid by the Clergy before the King; who, purſuing the advice of his miniſters, neglected to give any ſatisfactory anſwers, notwithſtanding the interference of the Pope, who iſſued a bull, commanding him to redreſs, without delay, the grievances complained of, in order to ſave himſelf and his kingdom from total deſtruction. The chief ſubject of complaint, in this curious bull, appears to be—"That Clerks, inveſted with the ſacerdotal "character, and ſhining with the ſplendour of pon-"tifical dignity, were tried by Laymen, condemned "and hanged, when found guilty of *murder* or "*robbery*, to the great provocation of the Supreme "King, who hath forbidden the ſecular power to "touch his anointed." Never, ſurely, were the Scriptures more groſsly perverted, or applied to the ſupport of a doctrine more replete with infamy and danger!

The Primate having died on the eleventh of May, in the year 1313, the Monks of Canterbury elected Thomas Cobbeham, Dean of Saliſbury—who was diſtinguiſhed by the honourable appellation of *The Good Prieſt*—to be his ſucceſſor. But, this choice not meeting the approbation of the King, the Pope, at the requeſt of Edward, annulled the election; and, in the plenitude of his apoſtolic power, promoted Walter Reynolds, Biſhop of Worceſter, to the Primacy, who took poſſeſſion of his See on the firſt of October.

This Prelate appears to have been highly favoured by the Sovereign Pontiff, Clement the Fifth, ſince he granted him very unuſual and extraordinary powers. By one bull, he authorized him to viſit the ſeveral dioceſes in his province by proxy; by another he empowered him to abſolve one hundred perſons who lay under the ſentences of excommunication and interdict; and, by others, he enabled him to grant a remiſſion of one hundred days penance to all thoſe who heard him preach or ſay maſs; to beſtow holy orders on one hundred illegitimate children; to allow twelve clerks, under age, to enjoy benefices with cure of ſouls; and to diſpenſe with the canons of the church againſt pluralities in favour of forty Clergymen. The privilege claimed by the Pope, in this inſtance, of not only exerciſing the power of diſpenſation himſelf, but of delegating it to another, affords a ſufficient proof that his authority was moſt dangerouſly extenſive.

In the year 1316, a ſingular ſtatute, commonly called *Articulus Cleri*, was made, for terminating the diſputes between the Spiritual and Temporal Courts. As this law was procured by the Clergy, at a time when their aſſiſtance was much wanted, it was highly favourable to their exorbitant claims of exemption from civil authority. By the laſt chapter it is enacted, "That when clerks confeſs before temporal Judges their heinous offences, ſuch as theft and murder, they cannot be judged nor condemned by thoſe Judges upon their own confeſſion, without violating the privilege of the church; and the privilege of the church, being demanded in due form by the ordinary, ſhall not be denied." One of the Prelates, who had contributed to the obtaining this ſtatute, had ſoon occaſion to plead it as a protection from that puniſhment which was due to his crimes. This was Adam de Orleton, Biſhop of Hereford, a martial and factious Prelate, who had joined the rebellious Barons, and ſhared in their defeat at Borough Bridge, in the year 1321. Being accuſed of high-treaſon before the Houſe of Peers, he pleaded his privilege as a Clerk, to prevent his trial by Laymen; and his plea, being ſupported by the other Biſhops, was deemed valid. The King, ſome time after, attempted to bring him to trial for the ſame crime, in the Court of King's Bench; but the three Archbiſhops of Canterbury, York, and Dublin, came into the Court with their croſſes carried before them, and bore him from the bar in triumph.

Walter Reynolds, the Primate, died on the fifteenth of November, in the year 1327; and was

ſucceeded

ſucceeded in that important ſtation by Simon Mepham, who maintained a long and ſharp conteſt with the Monks of Canterbury, to whom the Pope had granted an exemption from his authority. The Primacy of Mepham was not diſtinguiſhed by any remarkable tranſaction. His diſpute with the Monks is ſaid to have ſhortened his life, which terminated at Magfield, in October 1333; when John Stratford, Biſhop of Wincheſter, was, by the intereſt of Edward the Third at the Court of Rome, tranſlated to the See of Canterbury. The particulars of the obſtinate conteſt between this Prelate and his Sovereign we have already related in the reign of that Monarch; and, after his reconciliation, he was careful to conduct himſelf in a manner conſiſtent with the character which he had to ſupport. In the year 1342, he publiſhed, at Lambeth, certain Statutes and Conſtitutions for regulating the proceedings in the Archbiſhop's Court, commonly called *The Court of Arches*, from the place in which it was held. In the ſame year, he alſo held two Provincial Councils at London, in which ſeveral canons were enacted; but they contain nothing that is worthy to be recorded in hiſtory.

During the Primacy of Stratford, the Pope continued his encroachments on the rights of the crown, particularly in the articles of *reſervations* and *proviſions*; by the former of which he reſerved to himſelf the next preſentation to any benefice he choſe to fix on; and, by the latter, he ſecured the reverſion of a living to whomſoever he pleaſed to nominate. Theſe abuſes induced Edward to ſend a very pointed remonſtrance to his Holineſs; in which he obſerved, "That, by theſe proviſions "and reſervations, all incitements to religious ex- "ertion were beſtowed on unqualified and mer- "cenary foreigners, who neither reſided in the "country, nor underſtood it's language; by which "means the ends of the prieſthood were fruſtrated; "his own ſubjects were diſcouraged from the pro- "ſecution of their ſtudies; the treaſures of the "kingdom were carried off by ſtrangers; the juriſ- "diction of it's courts rendered uſeleſs by conſtant "appeals to a foreign power; and both the crown "and private patrons were deprived of their moſt "unqueſtionable rights. Theſe miſchiefs," added the King, "are now become intolerable; and our "ſubjects in Parliament have requeſted us to "put a ſtop to them by ſome ſpeedy and effectual "remedy." This juſt and ſpirited remonſtrance, however, had no effect on his Holineſs, whom the dictates of Intereſt rendered deaf to the demands of Equity; and Edward was too buſily occupied in the proſecution of his continental wars to pay any great attention to the religious ſtate of his dominions.

On the death of Stratford, in Auguſt 1348, the ſame diſpute, which had frequently occurred on a vacancy, was now renewed between the canons of Chriſt-Church, Canterbury, and the Biſhops of the Province. One of the worſt conſequences which reſulted from theſe ſpiritual diſſenſions, was an augmentation of the power of the court of Rome, occaſioned by the appeals made to the Pope by the contending parties. On the preſent vacancy, the canons having elected Thomas Bradwardin; the King, who deſtined the primacy to another, made immediate application to the Pope, and thereby counteracted his own efforts, by giving ſtrength and plauſibility to thoſe claims which he had before evinced an anxiety to invalidate. He now requeſted his Holineſs would promote John Ufford, Dean of Lincoln, to the See of Canterbury; and the Pope was too well pleaſed with the application not to comply with his requeſt; Ufford was accordingly nominated, but died before his conſecration, on the ſeventh of June 1349.

About this time a moſt dreadful peſtilence raged in England, which proved ſo particularly deſtructive to the Clergy, that in many churches, not a Prieſt could be found to officiate. "Before this plague, "(ſays Knyghton) you might have hired a Curate "for four or five marks a year, or for two marks "and his board; but after it, you could ſcarcely "find a Clergyman who would accept a vicarage of "twenty marks, or twenty pounds a year."

The King, having withdrawn his oppoſition to the promotion of his confeſſor, Thomas Bradwardin was choſen Primate by the canons of Chriſt-Church, immediately after the deceaſe of Ufford, and was conſecrated at Avignon, where the Pope then reſided. But he did not live to enjoy his elevation, as he died at Lambeth, on the twenty ſixth of Auguſt 1349, only ſeven days after his return to England.

Simon Iſlep, Keeper of the Privy Seal, ſucceeded Bradwardin, and proved a moſt rigid diſciplinarian in all ſpiritual matters. During his primacy, the ſecond ſtatute of Proviſors was paſſed as an additional check to papal encroachments; by which it was enacted "That if any perſon ſhall procure "reſervations or proviſions from the Pope in diſ- "turbance of free elections, or of the Preſentees or "the King, or other patrons; that the ſaid proviſors, their procurators, and notaries, ſhall be ap- "prehended and brought to anſwer; and, in caſe "they are convicted, they ſhall be kept in priſon "till they have made fine and ranſom to the King, "at his will, and have ſatisfied the party aggrieved, "by paying his damages."

But this was not the only ſubject of complaint which the Engliſh had, at this time, againſt the court of Rome: the frequency of appeals to that court, was, if poſſible, a grievance of a more alarming nature, and attended with greater vexation and expence. As a remedy for this evil, the ſtatute of Premunire was formed; by which it was enacted, "That all people of the King's legiance, who ſhall "draw any out of the realm in a plea, whereof the "cognizance pertains to the King's court, ſhall have "two months warning given them to appear in the "King's courts, to anſwer the contempt; and if, "they do not appear in their proper perſons to be "at the law within the time appointed, they, their "procurators, &c. ſhall, from that day forth, be "put out of the King's protection; and their lands, "goods, and chattels, ſhall be forfeited to the "King; and their bodies impriſoned, and ranſom- "ed at the King's will."

But

But theſe ſtatutes proved inadequate to remedy the evils they were intended to reſtrain; which continued to increaſe, till the connection between England and the court of Rome was happily diſſolved.

A ſecond peſtilence, which raged in the kingdom in the year 1360, proved as deſtructive to the Clergy as the former one; and in that year no leſs than ſeven Biſhopricks became vacant, which, notwithſtanding the ſtatute of proviſors, were all filled by papal proviſions. No other tranſaction of importance occurred during the primacy of Iſlep, who died on the ſixteenth of April 1366. At his death, the Pope, as if determined to ſhew his contempt of thoſe laws which had been made to reſtrain the illegal and arbitrary exertion of his power, reſolved to appoint his ſucceſſor; and, though the chapter of Canterbury had elected William Edyndon, Biſhop of Wincheſter, he granted a proviſion to the primacy to Simon Langham, Biſhop of Ely, and Chancellor of England, who was received without the ſmalleſt oppoſition. But Langham did not derive much comfort from his promotion; for, having been imprudent enough to accept, without the King's permiſſion, the dignity of a Cardinal, conferred on him by the Pope, Edward, incenſed at his preſumption, ſeized the temporalities of his ſee, which affected him ſo deeply, that he reſigned his Archbiſhoprick, and retired to Avignon.

William Wittleſey, Biſhop of London, was next tranſlated to the See of Canterbury, by a papal proviſion. About this time, almoſt all the great places in the kingdom, either of honour or employment, being poſſeſſed by the Clergy; a petition was preſented by the parliament, in the year 1371, ſetting forth—"That the government of the kingdom "had for a long time been managed by men of the "church, whereby many miſchiefs and damages had "happened in time heretofore, to the diſheriſon of "the crown, and to the great prejudice of the king-"dom:" for which reaſon they prayed, "That it "would therefore pleaſe the King, that laymen, "and no others, might, for the future, be made "Chancellor, Treaſurer, Clerk of the Privy-Seal, "Barons of the Exchequer, Comptroller, or other "great officers and governors of the kingdom." But the King deeming this an improper interference with his royal prerogative, returned for anſwer—"He would do in this point what ſeemed beſt to "him by advice of the council."

The Pope ſtill continued to exerciſe his uſurped right of appointing foreigners to the beſt livings in the kingdom. The King, in order to aſcertain the extent of a grievance which occaſioned ſuch juſt and general complaint, iſſued writs to all the Biſhops, in the year 1374, requiring them to return certificates into Chancery of all the benefices in their reſpective dioceſes which were in the poſſeſſion of foreigners.

During this inveſtigation the Primate died, and was ſucceeded by Simon Sudbury; who, at the requeſt of Edward to the Pope, was, like his predeceſſor, tranſlated from the See of London to that of Canterbury.

In 1376, the Commons, in conſequence of the information they had received from the Biſhops, preſented a remonſtrance to the King againſt the intolerable extortions of the Court of Rome; in which they affirmed—though the aſſertion almoſt exceeds credibility—"That the taxes paid to the "Pope yearly, out of England, amounted to five "times as much as the taxes paid to the King."

The univerſal diſguſt created by theſe tyrannical proceedings gave riſe to a bold and ſpirited attack, not only on the authority of the court, but on the doctrines of the Church of Rome. This attack was conducted by John Wickliffe, a ſecular Prieſt, who was equally renowned for his piety and learning. His numerous good qualities having recommended him to the notice of Archbiſhop Iſlep, he was appointed, in the year 1365, to be Warden of Canterbury College, Oxford. During his reſidence in that univerſity, the lectures which he read on divinity attracted univerſal admiration, though they contained ſome ſevere cenſures on the Clergy in general, and particularly on the Mendicant Friars. A diſcourſe which he publiſhed againſt the Pope's demand of homage and tribute from Edward the Third, procured him the favour of that Monarch, who not only conferred on him ſeveral valuable livings, but employed him in various embaſſies; in one of which—to Rome, in the year 1374—he diſcovered ſo many of the corruptions of that Court, and of the errors of the Romiſh Church, that, convinced by ocular demonſtration of the juſtice of his opinions, his ſtrictures became more ſevere, and were delivered with leſs reſerve.

It is difficult to ſay what were the real ſentiments of this ſpirited Reformer, as the fear of martyrdom ſeems to have forced him to partial recantations, and as many tenets were aſcribed to him by his enemies which he certainly never ſupported: but his doctrines, being chiefly derived from the Scriptures, and from a ſtudious attention to the practice of the primitive Chriſtians, appear to have been nearly the ſame with thoſe which were more ſucceſsfully propagated by the Reformers of the ſixteenth century. The auſterity of his manners, and purity of his life, obtained him many diſciples of all ranks and ſtations, who were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Wickliffites*, or *Lollards*; but his denial of the Pope's ſupremacy, and expoſure of his tyrannical conduct, excited the indignation of his Holineſs, who iſſued a bull for taking Wickliffe into cuſtody, and examining into the ſcope of his opinions, which he termed *damnable hereſies*. Wickliffe, however, had by this time acquired protectors of ſufficient conſequence to ſcreen him from the effects of eccleſiaſtical perſecution. The Duke of Lancaſter, who then governed the kingdom, not only favoured his principles, but did not heſitate, when he went before the Primate, and Courteney, Biſhop of London, who had been appointed by the Pope to be his judges, to appear openly in court with him, accompanied by Lord Percy, Mareſchal of England, in order to countenance him on his trial. The Duke even inſiſted that Wickliffe ſhould be ſeated in the preſence of his judges; but, this being oppoſed

oppoſed by Courteney, an altercation aroſe, which excited ſo violent a tumult in the court, that it broke up without proceeding to buſineſs. Wickliffe again appeared before the Papal Commiſſioners at Lambeth; but he was attended by ſuch a concourſe of the citizens of London, that his judges were afraid to pronounce any ſentence againſt him; and their commiſſion ſoon after terminated by the death of the Pope, which happened in March 1378.

The proſecution againſt Wickliffe was now ſuſpended for ſome time, by the ſchiſm in the Papacy which ſucceeded the death of Gregory the Eleventh, and by the inſurrection of the Commons in England, which involved the kingdom in confuſion. But no ſooner had theſe commotions—during which Sudbury had fallen a victim to the rage of the populace, and Courteney, Biſhop of London, had been tranſlated to the See of Canterbury—ſubſided, than the new Primate applied himſelf with great zeal to ſuppreſs the *heretical* opinions of Wickliffe. For this purpoſe he aſſembled an Eccleſiaſtical Council, in the Priory of the Preaching Friars at London, on the ſeventeenth of May 1382, to which he ſubmitted four and twenty opinions, extracted from the writings of Wickliffe, for their conſideration; when ten of theſe opinions were unanimouſly pronounced to be *heretical*, and fourteen of them founded in error. Several of Wickliffe's moſt conſpicuous diſciples were then ſummoned to appear before the Council, and commanded to declare their opinion of his doctrines; and, their anſwers appearing evaſive and unſatisfactory, they were declared to ſtand convicted of hereſy.

To give additional weight to the decrees of this Council, the Clergy prevailed upon the King to publiſh a proclamation, on the twelfth of July, authorizing and commanding the Biſhops to ſeize and impriſon all perſons who were ſuſpected of favouring any of thoſe doctrines which they had recently condemned. But where authority is made to ſupply the place of argument, and force is employed where reaſon alone ſhould be exerted, the conſciouſneſs of a bad cauſe is evidently betrayed; and it's ſucceſs, in general, proves adequate to it's deſerts. Thus it was with Wickliffe; whoſe followers, acquiring freſh ſtrength from oppoſition, daily increaſed in numbers and conſequence: while the virtuous Reformer himſelf retired from the ſcene of action to his living of Lutterworth, in Leiceſterſhire, where he paſſed the two laſt years of his life in tranſlating the Bible, and in other works of piety. On the twenty-eighth of December 1384, he was ſeized with a paralytic affection, which deprived him of his ſpeech, and on the laſt day of that year brought him to his grave.

As the Clergy had perſecuted Wickliffe during his life with the moſt inveterate malice, they now diſplayed the moſt indecent and unchriſtian-like joy at his death, which they attributed to the immediate vengeance of Heaven. "On the day of "St. Thomas the Martyr, Archbiſhop of Canter-"bury," ſays Walſingham, a contemporary hiſtorian, "that limb of the devil, enemy of the "church, deceiver of the people, idol of heretics, "mirror of hypocrites, author of ſchiſm, ſower "of hatred, and inventor of lies, John Wickliffe, "was, by the immediate judgment of God, ſud-"denly ſtricken with a palſy, which ſeized all the "members of his body, when he was ready, as "they ſay, to vomit forth his blaſphemies againſt "the bleſſed St. Thomas, in a ſermon which he "had prepared to preach that day."

The merits of a man, whoſe conduct could extort ſuch virulent abuſe from a ſtrenuous ſupporter of the ſuperſtitious doctrines and oppreſſive extortions of the Church of Rome, muſt have been great indeed; and, in a liberal age, muſt doubtleſs have experienced the commendation that it ſo eminently deſerved.

But the joy occaſioned by the death of Wickliffe was not of long duration; for the Clergy ſoon found that his doctrines had outlived their founder, and continued, after his deceaſe, to be propagated with great zeal and ſucceſs. Knyghton, a contemporary hiſtorian, affirms that the New Doctrines, as they were called, were received with ſuch avidity, that "more than one half of the people of England, "in a few years, became Lollards." The ſame writer, who was himſelf an Eccleſiaſtic, and conſequently an inveterate enemy to the Reformers, acknowledges that Wickliffe excelled the moſt learned men of the age in religious diſputation; and that ſome of his diſciples, in a ſhort time, acquired great reputation for the ſame powers, and for their eloquence in preaching, which he wiſely aſcribes to the aſſiſtance of the Devil; who, he ſays, took poſſeſſion of them as ſoon as they became Lollards.

This rapid ſucceſs rouzed the indignation of the Clergy, who had once more recourſe to perſecution. They had ſufficient art and influence ſurreptitiouſly to obtain a ſtatute, which had the formality of an enrolment, without the previous conſent of the Commons—though this glaring defect has not cauſed it to be expunged from our Statute-Book, where it ſtill remains—by which the Sheriffs were ſummoned to ſeize and impriſon all preachers of hereſy, and their abettors. They alſo prevailed on the King, in the year 1387, to grant a commiſſion to certain perſons to ſeize all the books and manuſcripts of Wickliffe, and other writers whom they called *heretical*; and to impriſon all who tranſcribed, ſold, bought, or concealed, ſuch books or manuſcripts. But Knyghton obſerves, with infinite regret, "that theſe laws and edicts were but ſlowly "and faintly executed, becauſe the time of cor-"rection was not yet come."

Meanwhile, the Engliſh Parliament continued to check the Clergy, and the Court of Rome, by expedients more ſuitable to their wiſdom and conſequence. When a Clerk had been inducted to a living by the Biſhop of the dioceſe, in conſequence of a ſentence in his favour by the King's Court, it was uſual for the Pope, when appealed to by the party who conceived himſelf prejudiced by the ſentence, to excommunicate the Biſhop; and, when an Engliſh Prelate had by any means incurred the diſpleaſure of his Holineſs, he frequently tranſlated

him to a foreign See, by way of puniſhment, without his own conſent, or even that of the King. To prevent a repetition of theſe flagrant abuſes, in a Parliament held at Wincheſter, in the year 1392, a law was enacted, which inflicted a very ſevere puniſhment on ſuch perſons as ſhould ſolicit or bring into the kingdom any Papal bulls of excommunication, tranſlation, or, in ſhort, any bulls or other inſtruments which ſhould tend to detract from the rights and dignities of the crown. In the following year, too, the Commons prayed "that re-"medy might be had againſt ſuch religious perſons "as cauſe their villains to marry free women in-"heritable, whereby the eſtate comes to thoſe re-"ligious hands by colluſion." This petition was deſigned to prevent the conſequences of a new device invented by the Clergy for the purpoſe of eluding the Statute of Mortmain.

Theſe conteſts between the Commons and Clergy encouraged the Lollards to act with more boldneſs than they had hitherto ventured to aſſume, by making a direct attack on the Eſtabliſhed Church. During the King's abſence in Ireland, in the year 1394, they preſented to a Parliament, aſſembled by the Duke of York at Weſtminſter, a remonſtrance, containing twelve articles of complaint againſt the Church and Clergy, praying for redreſs and reformation. The chief ſubjects of complaint were: The exorbitant power, exceſſive wealth, and profligate lives, of the Clergy, which laſt they aſcribed chiefly to their vows of celibacy; Tranſubſtantiation, and the ſuperſtitious practices which the belief of that abſurd doctrine gave riſe to; Prayers for the dead; The worſhip of images; Pilgrimages; Auricular confeſſion, which, they affirmed, furniſhed the Prieſts with opportunities to debauch the morals and perſons of their penitents; Female celibacy, which was productive of infamous connections, abortion, and murder; and ſeveral other particulars, ſome of which were the ſame that conſtitute the principal difference between the preſent Proteſtant Church and that of Rome. We are not informed what kind of reception this remonſtrance experienced from the Parliament; but the Clergy were ſo much alarmed at this ſpirited attack, that they diſpatched the Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhop of London, and ſome other Commiſſioners, to the King, to requeſt he would immediately return to England, and adopt ſome effectual mode of affording protection to the Church, which, they affirmed, was in danger of deſtruction. "As ſoon," ſays Walſingham, "as the King heard "the repreſentation of the Commiſſioners, being "inſpired with the divine Spirit, he haſtened into "England, thinking it more neceſſary to defend "the Church than to conquer kingdoms." On his arrival, he cited ſeveral Noblemen who favoured the Lollards to appear before him; and, by threatening them with inſtant death if they gave any farther encouragement to heretical preachers, induced them to withdraw their protection. Diſcouraged by this defection of their patrons, ſeveral of the chief preachers recanted their principles, and returned into the boſom of the Church. Thomas Arundel, Archbiſhop of York, one of their moſt inveterate perſecutors, obliged the Lollards of his dioceſe to take the following curious oath: "I ——, "before you, worſhipful Fadher and Lord Arch-"biſhop, and your Clergy, with my free will and "full avyſed, ſwere to God, and to all his Seyntes, "upon this holy Goſpel, that fro this day forth-"word I ſhall worſhip images, with praying and "offering unto them, in the worſhip of the Seyntes "that they may be made after; and, alſo, I ſhall "never more deſpiſe pylgremage, ne ſtates of holy "chyrche, in no degre. And alſo, I ſhall be buxum "to the laws of holy chyrche, and to yhowe, as to "myn Archbiſhop, and myn other ordinaries and "curates, and keep the laws up with my power, "and meyntein them. And alſo, I ſhall never "meyntein, ne techen, ne defenden, errors, con-"cluſions, ne techeng, of the Lollards, ne ſwych "concluſions and techengs that men clopeth Lol-"lards doctrine; ne ſhall her books, ne ſwych "books, ne hem or any ſuſpect or diffamed of "Lollardary, receyve or company with all, wil-"lingly, or defend in tho matters; and if I know "any ſwych, I ſhall, with all the haſt that I may, "do yhowe, or elſe your nex officers, to wyten and "of ther bokes," &c.

The Prelate who framed this curious oath now ſucceeded to the Primacy, on the deceaſe of Courteney, who died on the ſixteenth of July, in the year 1396; but the troubles in which he was ſoon involved, prevented him from extending his perſecutions againſt the Lollards ſo far as he propoſed. His attachment to that factious party which had effected the virtual depoſition of the King in 1386, proved the cauſe of his diſgrace. Having been found guilty of high-treaſon, in the manner we have already related in the reign of Richard, he was deprived of his See, and baniſhed the kingdom, about a twelvemonth after his promotion. Roger Walden, Treaſurer of England, was appointed to ſucceed him: but he did not long enjoy his ſtation; for thoſe troubles which occaſioned the murder of the King, effected the depoſition of the Primate, and produced the recal of Arundel, who took poſſeſſion of his Archbiſhoprick towards the commencement of the year 1399.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE



THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK V.

1399 TO 1485. .

Henry the Fourth—An Inſurrection in Wales—Battle of Shrewſbury—Death of Henry—Acceſſion of Henry the Fifth—The Lollards—Execution of Lord Cobham—Invaſion of France—Battle of Azincour—Treaty of Troye—Marriage of the King—Death of Henry the Fifth—Acceſſion of Henry the Sixth—Government during the King's Minority—Battle of Verneüil—Siege of Orleans—The Maid of Orleans—Death of the Duke of Bedford—Truce with France—Henry's Marriage with Margaret of Anjou—Murder of the Duke of Glouceſter—War with France—Expulſion of the Engliſh from France—Claim of the Duke of York to the Crown—Popular Inſurrections—The Parties of York and Lancaſter—Firſt Battle of St. Alban's—Death of the Duke of York—Second Battle of St. Alban's—Edward the Fourth aſſumes the Crown—Battle of Touton—Henry taken Priſoner—Edward's Marriage with Lady Elizabeth Gray—Warwick diſguſted—Inſurrection—Baniſhment of Warwick and Clarence—Their Return—Expulſion of Edward—Reſtoration of Henry the Sixth—Edward's Return—Death of Warwick—Death of Henry the Sixth—Invaſion of France—Peace of Pequigni—Death of Edward the Fourth—Edward the Fifth—Duke of Glouceſter Protector—Glouceſter aſſumes the Crown—Murder of Edward the Fifth, and of the Duke of York—Richard the Third—The Earl of Richmond invades England—Battle of Boſworth Field—Death of Richard the Third.



HENRY THE FOURTH.

HENRY the Third, having adjourned that Parliament which had countenanced the depoſition of their lawful Sovereign, and ſanctioned the acceſſion of a perjured uſurper, to the thirteenth of October 1399, appointed his coronation for that day; when he was accordingly crowned, at Weſtminſter, by Arundel, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Not content with thoſe ſolemnities which had been obſerved at the coronation of his predeceſſors, he added ſome new formalities, which he probably conceived would give greater conſequence to his perſon in the eyes of a ſuperſtitious people. The ſame ſword which he had worn when he landed at Ravenſpur he commanded to be carried naked before him, having dignified it with the appellation of *The Sword of Lancaſter*; and he cauſed himſelf to be anointed with a precious oil—contained in a veſſel of ſtone, with a cover of gold embelliſhed with diamonds—affirmed to have been given to Thomas à Becket by the Virgin Mary, who kindly brought it from heaven as a preſent to her favourite ſaint; and declared, that the Monarchs who ſhould be anointed with it would prove happy and victorious, and become zealous champions of the church. As ſoon as this eſſential ceremony was performed, Henry iſſued a proclamation, ſignifying that his claim to the throne was founded on the right of conqueſt, the reſignation of Richard in his favour, and on his being next male-heir of the late King. Though not one of theſe claims could bear the ſmalleſt examination, he was probably induced to prefer them to the more plauſive title acquired by the conſent of the people, from an idea that the throne which is obtained by election might be vacated by the will of the electors, and muſt likewiſe be ſubject to ſuch limitations as thoſe electors ſhould chuſe to impoſe. This declaration, therefore, in which he arrogated to himſelf the united rights of blood and conqueſt, was calculated to reject every kind of reſtriction, and to lay the foundation of an arbitrary and deſpotic reign. On the ſame day that this proclamation was publiſhed, he created Henry, his eldeſt ſon, who was then in the thirteenth year of his age, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Cheſter; and, on the ſubſequent day, the Parliament proceeded to buſineſs.

But, though Henry had ſecured peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne, his ſituation appeared extremely precarious, and was productive of infinite perplexity. He was conſcious of the abſurdity of his claims: his reſumption of that right of conqueſt, which he had before diſavowed, was too dangerous to maintain; and his claim of hereditary right was ſo truly ridiculous, that not one of his ſubjects could poſſibly be duped by it. He had, indeed, a preſent advantage over his competitor. Edmund, the young Earl of March, and heir to the Houſe of Mortimer, who had been declared in Parliament heir to the crown, was only in the ſeventh year of his age; and his friends, conſcious of the danger that would inevitably reſult from the bare mention of his claims, were wholly ſilent on that head. He was detained, together with his younger brother, by Henry, in honourable cuſtody at Windſor Caſtle: but the King had juſt grounds for dreading that, as he advanced in years, his ſituation might excite the compaſſion of the people, and make them reflect with indignation on the fraud, violence, and injuſtice, which had been exerted to promote his excluſion from the throne of his anceſtors. Many favourable circumſtances would neceſſarily occur to excite theſe ſentiments. Mortimer was a native of England, poſſeſſed an extenſive intereſt from the greatneſs of his family, and their powerful connections. The ſuppoſed criminality

criminality of the depoſed Monarch could not poſſibly affect the innocence of his youthful heir; whoſe religion being the ſame with that of the people, and who having contracted from education a ſimilarity of manners, could not be governed by any ſeparate intereſt. Theſe views combined could not fail to ſtrengthen his claim; and, though the talents of the uſurper might for the preſent avert the danger of a revolution, it was greatly to be apprehended that they would prove inadequate to ſecure ſtability to his government.

Independent, too, of this ground of apprehenſion, the King had other ſubjects of uneaſineſs. Richard, Earl of Cambridge, one of the ſons of Edmund Duke of York, who had married Ann, ſiſter to Edmund Earl of March, conceived himſelf to be injured by the uſurpation of Henry. Charles the Sixth, King of France, was alſo extremely incenſed againſt the uſurper, for having effected the depoſition of his ſon-in-law; and the Scots were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to profit by thoſe commotions which they imagined muſt ſpeedily take place in England. The obligations, moreover, which Henry had received from the potent Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, were of a nature moſt likely to produce diſcontent on the one ſide, and ingratitude on the other; ſo that he found it not leſs difficult to ſecure the adherence of his friends, by the gratification of their deſires, than to guard againſt the deſigns of his enemies.

Henry, in the very firſt Parliament he aſſembled, had an opportunity of beholding the dangers to which his ambition had expoſed him, and to ſee the obſtacles which would ever be oppoſed to his government by an unruly ariſtocracy, continually divided by faction, and averſe to reſtraint. The Nobles, on their meeting, gave a looſe to thoſe animoſities which the recent convulſions in the ſtate had occaſioned, and openly diſplayed the violence of their reſentment againſt each other. The Lord Fitz-Walter challenged Aumerle as a traitor to his lawful Sovereign; and Lord Morley taxed the Earl of Saliſbury with treachery both to Richard and Henry. The cauſe of theſe diſputants being eſpouſed by other Noblemen, forty gauntlets were thrown on the floor as pledges of battle. *Liar* and *Traitor* reſounded from all quarters; and the Houſe of Peers rather reſembled a lawleſs band of licentious ruffians than a choſen aſſembly of Britiſh ſenators. The authority of the King, indeed, ſufficed to prevent the effuſion of blood; but it was not adequate to allay the dangerous heats of party, or to promote that cordial reconciliation between theſe revengeful champions which was ſo eſſential to the tranquillity of his reign.

The conſequence of theſe animoſities ſoon appeared. The Earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon, and Lord Spencer, who had been degraded by the Parliament from the reſpective titles of Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter, and Glouceſter, conferred on them by Richard as a reward for their attachment and fidelity, entered into a conſpiracy, together with the Earl of Saliſbury and Lord Lumley, for the purpoſe of exciting an inſurrection, and ſeizing the King's perſon at Windſor. But Henry, being apprized of his danger through the treachery of Rutland, ſuddenly withdrew to London; and the conſpirators, who came to Windſor, on the fourth of January 1400, with a body of four hundred horſe, found that they had miſſed the blow on which all the ſucceſs of their enterprize depended. On a report that Henry was advancing towards them with an army of twenty thouſand men, they immediately diſperſed: the Earls of Kent and Saliſbury, with their followers, directed their route to Cirenceſter, where the two Earls were attacked in the night by the inhabitants, who took them priſoners, and beheaded them the next morning; for which act of violence and barbarity Henry rewarded them by a grant of all the ſpoils they had taken from the deceaſed. Glouceſter and Lumley experienced a ſimilar treatment from the inhabitants of Briſtol: and the Earl of Huntingdon, being apprehended in Eſſex, was ſent to the Tower on the tenth of January; and, five days after, was beheaded, without any previous trial, and with circumſtances of peculiar cruelty. Sir Benedict Shelley, Sir Bernard Brokes, with nine and twenty other Knights and Gentlemen, ſuffered death on the gibbet, by orders from Henry; and, when the quarters of theſe unhappy victims were brought to London, no leſs than eighteen Biſhops and thirty-two mitred Abbots went to meet them on the road, and joined in the indecent exultations of a barbarous populace. To cloſe this ſcene of infamy and blood, an object appeared that muſt have rouzed the indignation of every mind, not wholly callous to the dictates of Honour and the feelings of Humanity. This was that arch-traitor Rutland, bearing on a pole the head of his brother-in-law, Lord Spencer, which he preſented in triumph to Henry, as a token of his loyalty.[9] This abandoned wretch, who by the death of his father ſoon after attained to the title of Duke of York, and became the Firſt Prince of the Blood, had been inſtrumental in the murder of his uncle, the Duke of Glouceſter: he had baſely deſerted Richard, whoſe confidence he had acquired; had formed a conſpiracy againſt the life of Henry, to whom he had ſworn allegiance; had betrayed his aſſociates, whom he had ſeduced into this enterprize; and now dared openly to diſplay, with marks of triumph and exultation, the badges of his complicated infamy. Theſe ſcenes of barbarous violence formed a worthy prelude to thoſe cruel and ſanguinary conteſts between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter, which originated in the tyranny and injuſtice of the Fourth Henry.

Henry had no ſooner quelled this dangerous inſurrection than a ſtorm appeared to be preparing on the continent, which threatened him with the deprivation of his foreign dominions. The Gaſcons, affectionate to the memory of Richard, who was born among them, refuſed to ſwear allegiance to a Prince who had dethroned and murdered him. The citizens of Bourdeaux, in particular, ſo highly reſented the depoſition of their lawful Sovereign,

that they positively declared they would rather submit to the King of France than obey the usurper of his throne. But, fortunately for Henry, the factions which prevailed among the French prevented Charles from profiting by the present favourable opportunity, and afforded him time to effect a change in the sentiments of the people. An English army, under the command of Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, was sent over to support the friends of government; and, these being joined by the Archbishop of Bourdeaux—who in the Papal schism had adopted a different party to that which was espoused by the King of France, and was therefore averse to the domination of that Monarch—tranquillity was soon restored, and Henry acknowledged as the Sovereign of Guienne.

Henry's next alarm proceeded from the Scots, who were tempted, by the apparent instability of his government, to make incursions into England. The King, desirous of exacting vengeance, and yet fearful of rendering his administration unpopular by a requisition of considerable supplies from his subjects, summoned a Council of Peers only, to meet at Westminster, and laid before them the state of his affairs. The military part of the feudal constitution was at this time considerably weakened, though it's pernicious effects on the civil rights and properties of men still retained their primitive force. At this assembly, no demand of personal attendance was made on the Barons; but the King exposed to them his situation, and they *voluntarily* undertook to attend him in an expedition to Scotland, with a certain number of their retainers. Having conducted his army to Edinburgh, of which he easily made himself master, he there summoned Robert the Third to do homage for his crown: but, finding that the Scottish Prince would neither pay the required submission, nor afford him an opportunity of establishing his claim by force of arms, he returned in three weeks, without having effected any thing but the exposure of his own weakness.

The King's hasty retreat has been ascribed, with great plausibility, to the intelligence which he had received of an insurrection in Wales. This revolt was excited by the celebrated Owen ap Griffith Vaughan, Lord of Glendoudwy, commonly called *Owen Glendour*, a gentleman of high spirit and intrepid courage, who was descended from Llewellyn ap Griffith, the last Prince of Wales. Glendour had received his education, as a Lawyer, in the Inns of Court; and afterwards served Richard the Second as one of his Body Esquires. On the usurpation of Henry—to whom he was obnoxious for his attachment to Richard—he had retired to his paternal estate; and Reginald Lord Gray, of Ruthyn, who was intimately connected with the King, and who possessed a considerable property in the Marches of Wales, thought the opportunity favourable for oppressing his neighbour, and taking possession of his estate. Glendour, provoked at the injustice of this attempt, recovered possession by the sword; and Henry, having espoused the cause of Gray, issued a proclamation from Northampton, on the nineteenth of September 1400, inviting all able-bodied men, in the counties of Warwick, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Worcester, Salop, Stafford, Gloucester, Hereford, and Northampton, to repair immediately to his standard, in order to march against Glendour, whom he pronounced a rebel. Thus, by the unconstitutional and unjust interference of the King, was a private quarrel converted into a national war; which the valour and activity of Glendour, aided by the natural strength of the country, sustained for several years. When Henry had collected his army, he marched into Wales; but, as Glendour had taken refuge in the mountains, he was soon obliged to return. The remainder of the year was passed in negotiations with the Court of France on the subject of a truce, which was eagerly wished for by Henry; who was also anxious to obtain Isabella, widow to Richard the Second, in marriage for his son. But Charles the Sixth insisting that the Princess should be restored, together with her marriage-portion, Henry was at length obliged to accede to his terms; in consequence of which a truce of thirty years was concluded between the two Monarchs. Though the King's attempt to form an advantageous alliance for his son had proved ineffectual, he had more success in a similar negotiation for his daughter, the Princess Blanche, whom he married, in the spring of the following year, to Lewis of Bavaria, eldest son of the Emperor of Germany.

Owen Glendour had by this time prevailed on his countrymen to espouse his cause; and not only to renounce their dependence on England, but to acknowledge him for their Sovereign, as the legitimate descendant of their ancient Princes. By these means he was enabled to collect a powerful army, with which he made incursions into England, laying waste the country, and plundering the inhabitants. Early in the spring of 1402, this formidable insurgent, having taken the field, was opposed by Lord Gray, whom he defeated and took prisoner. The next enemy he had to encounter was Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to the young Earl of Marche; who, having collected all the friends and vassals of his family, advanced to meet Glendour, at the head of twelve thousand men. An action accordingly took place on the twenty-second of June, near Knighton, in Radnorshire, in which the Welshman again proved victorious, killing eleven hundred of his enemies, and taking their leader prisoner. Though Henry was highly pleased at the captivity of Mortimer, he was alarmed at the progress of Glendour; and therefore entered Wales, in the month of August, with a numerous army, which he divided into three bodies; one of which he reserved for himself, and the others he entrusted to the conduct of Henry, Prince of Wales, and the Earl of Arundel: but, as the Welsh retired, as usual, to their mountains, and were studious to avoid an engagement, he was soon reduced to distress for want of provisions, and obliged to forego his enterprize.

During this time, a report had been circulated throughout the kingdom with great industry, and chiefly by the Monks of the order of St. Francis, purporting,

purporting, that Richard the Second was ſtill alive; and, having effected his eſcape into Scotland, was there raiſing an army, with which he would ſpeedily march into England, to deprive the uſurper of his throne. Henry appears to have been greatly alarmed at theſe rumours, from the repeated proclamations which he publiſhed, declaring them to be falſe, and threatening all thoſe who ſhould dare to diffuſe them with immediate death: nor did he fail to put thoſe threats in execution on ſeveral perſons who diſobeyed his commands; and particularly on Sir Roger Clarendon, whom he cauſed to be hanged, together with his eſquire and valet, and eleven prieſts and friars. The effect of theſe reports, however, ſoon appeared in an incurſion of the Scots, who entered England in the month of July 1402, to the amount of twelve thouſand men, under the command of Sir Archibald Douglas. Theſe formidable invaders, having carried their ravages as far as Newcaſtle, were returning with their booty; when they were met, at Homildon Hill, near Wooller, by the Earl of Northumberland, with a body of forces which he had collected in the north. A bloody conflict enſued, in which the Scots ſuſtained a total defeat. Douglas was taken priſoner, together with the Earls of Fife, Murray, Angus, and Orkney; the Lords Montgomery, Erkſkine, and Innernethy; and about eighty Knights: while Lord Gordon, Sir John Swinton, with eighty Knights and Gentlemen, and a conſiderable number of common ſoldiers, were left dead on the field.

When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he ſent orders to the Earl of Northumberland, and to the other Noblemen who fought under his banner, not to ranſom their priſoners; which, by the laws of war univerſally eſtabliſhed in that age, they had an indiſputable right to do. The King's motive for this prohibition was, that he might, by detaining the captives, be enabled to make an advantageous peace with Scotland: but a command, iſſued in ſuch peremptory terms, could not fail to excite diſguſt in the minds of thoſe to whom it was addreſſed. The Earl of Northumberland, in particular, and his gallant ſon, Henry Percy, better known by the appellation of *Hotſpur*, who had been the chief inſtrument of obtaining this ſignal victory over the Scots, and even of raiſing the Duke of Lancaſter to the throne, experienced the deepeſt reſentment at the preſumption of Henry. Nor were theſe the only grounds for diſcontent which they had received from the King. Sir Edmund Mortimer was nearly allied to the family of Percy; yet, though the Earl of Northumberland had made frequent applications to Henry for permiſſion to treat with Glendour for his ranſom, he never could obtain his conſent. Thomas Percy, Earl of Worceſter, brother to Northumberland, though he had been employed by the King, ſtill retained a ſecret indignation againſt him for the depoſition and murder of Richard, to whom he had been firmly attached. This concurrence of ſentiment was ſoon productive of a reſolution to exert their utmoſt power and influence to dethrone the tyrant who now wore the crown, and to place that crown on the head of it's lawful proprietor, the young Earl of Marche. This deſign they communicated to Douglas, and offered him his liberty, on condition that he would join them with his followers: a propoſal to which that gallant chieftain willingly acceded. They alſo invited Sir Edmund Mortimer and Owen Glendour to join the confederacy, who promiſed to ſtrengthen their army by the addition of ten thouſand Welſhmen, as ſoon as they ſhould arrive on the confines of Wales.

Had this plan been as ſucceſsfully executed as it was wiſely projected, Henry would ſpeedily have met with the reward that was due to his crimes: but the impatience of Hotſpur, and the timidity of his father, diſconcerted all their meaſures. Douglas having joined his forces to thoſe of young Percy, about the commencement of July, they marched forward to meet their Welſh confederates; while Northumberland, with a large body of troops, remained behind, having promiſed to follow them with the utmoſt expedition. The Earl of Worceſter, with his followers, having met them at Stafford, they advanced towards Shrewſbury with the deſign of laying ſiege to that place; but, on their arrival there, were extremely ſurprized to find Henry ready to receive them. The King having a ſmall army on foot, with which he had intended to act againſt the Scots, and knowing the importance of celerity in all civil wars, had haſtened to give them battle before they could join their forces to thoſe of Glendour.

On the twentieth of July, when the two armies lay in ſight of each other, Percy ſent a manifeſto to Henry, in which he renounced his allegiance; and ſpecified, in the names of his uncle and father, as well as his own, the reaſons which induced him to make that renunciation. He upbraided Henry with the perjury of which he had been guilty, when, on landing at Ravenſpur, he had taken a ſolemn oath upon the Goſpels, in the preſence of the Earl of Northumberland, that his ſole intention was to recover the Dutchy of Lancaſter; and that he would ever preſerve his fidelity, as a ſubject, to King Richard, his legitimate Sovereign. He expatiated, with great energy, on his guilt in firſt dethroning, then murdering, that Prince; and in uſurping on the title of the Houſe of Mortimer, to whom, both by lineal ſucceſſion and by a formal declaration of Parliament, the throne, when vacant by Richard's demiſe, did of right belong. He charged him again with perjury, in loading the nation with onerous impoſts, after having ſworn that, without the utmoſt neceſſity, he never would cauſe any taxes to be levied: and he reproached him with employing arts in corrupting the electors to procure a return of members who were favourable to his intereſt; arts which he himſelf had before imputed as a crime to Richard, and which he had made one chief reaſon of that Prince's arraignment and depoſition.

This manifeſto, replete with incontrovertible truths, was calculated to inflame the animoſity of both parties; and the two armies being equal in number,

number, each amounting to about fourteen thouſand men, a deſperate engagement might naturally be expected.

On the morning of the twenty-firſt of July 1403, both armies appeared ready for battle, on the plains of Hartlefield, near Shrewſbury. The action commenced by an impetuous attack of the Scots, headed by the gallant Douglas, on the van of the royal army, which was ſoon thrown into diſorder, having loſt it's leader, the young Earl of Stafford. The King then advancing with the main body of his army to ſupport the fugitives, and give them time to rally, the battle became general, and raged with uncommon fury. The leaders of either party, inflamed with the moſt violent animoſity, and ſenſible that every thing they held dear in life depended on the fate of that eventful day, diſplayed the moſt ſignal courage and activity. Henry expoſed his perſon in the thickeſt of the fight; and his gallant ſon, who now laid the foundation of his military fame, purſued the footſteps of his father; and, though wounded in the face with an arrow, continued to encourage his followers, as well by example as exhortation. Percy ſuſtained with ſpirit that high reputation for valour which he had juſtly acquired in many a bloody conflict; while the brave Douglas, erſt his enemy, but now his friend, continued to emulate his glorious actions: they long fought, ſide by ſide, with an impetuoſity that bore down all reſiſtance; and, had their followers been inſpired with the ſame enthuſiaſm which warmed the boſoms of theſe gallant chieftains, the fortune of the day muſt have been ſpeedily decided. Douglas ſeemed determined that the King of England ſhould that day fall by his arm; he ſought him in every part of the field, and loudly dared him to combat: and as Henry, from a conſciouſneſs that his perſon would be eagerly ſought after, had, in order to elude the attacks that might be made on it, cauſed ſeveral of his officers to be accoutred in the royal garb, the ſword of Douglas rendered this honour fatal to many. But in the midſt of this furious contention, while Victory, with expanded wings, alternately hovered over either army, the death of Percy, by an unknown hand, determined the conteſt in favour of the royaliſts. Near two thouſand three hundred Gentlemen on both ſides are ſaid to have periſhed on the field. The King loſt, among others, the Earl of Stafford, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir John Clifton, Sir Nicholas Gauſel, Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir John Cockaine, Sir John Maſſey, and Sir John Calverly, with about ſixteen hundred men; beſides three thouſand that were grievouſly wounded. The loſs of Percy's army is ſaid to have been more conſiderable. The Earl of Worceſter, the Baron of Kinderton, and Sir Richard Vernon, were taken priſoners, and beheaded at Shrewſbury two days after the battle. Douglas was likewiſe taken; but Henry thought it prudent to diſmiſs him even without exacting a ranſom, probably from the hope that he might be induced from thence to perſuade the Scots to liſten to reaſonable terms of accommodation.

The Earl of Northumberland, recovered from an indiſpoſition either real or pretended, was advancing with a body of troops to join the confederates, when he received the melancholy news of their defeat, of the death of his ſon, and the execution of his brother. Diſpirited by this ſevere check, he diſbanded his troops, and retired to his Caſtle of Warkworth, in Northumberland; where he remained, until ſummoned by the King to appear before him at York, whither he had repaired after the battle. The Earl obeyed the citation, having previouſly received an aſſurance of pardon from Henry; who, nevertheleſs, treated him with great coolneſs and indifference, and exacted a ſecurity for his appearance at the enſuing Parliament. He probably would have experienced more rigorous treatment, had not his poſſeſſion of Berwick, Alnwick, and Warkworth, beſides the command of thoſe fortreſſes which were occupied by ſuch of his friends and vaſſals as had eſcaped from the battle of Shrewſbury, made the King deem it impolitic to drive him to deſpair.

Though Henry had been peculiarly fortunate in the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of this dangerous rebellion, his ſituation was ſtill perilous, and his enemies numerous. Two powerful armies were raiſing in France, from motives of hoſtility to his perſon and government: the firſt, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, was deſtined to beſiege Calais; and the ſecond, led by the Duke of Orleans, was intended for the invaſion of Guienne. A body of French troops, too, had actually made a deſcent on the Iſle of Wight; and an army of Bretons had firſt pillaged Plymouth, and then reduced it to aſhes. The Scots were watching for an opportunity to make an incurſion on the northern counties; Owen Glendour was at the head of a reſolute army in Wales; the embers of diſcontent glowed in the boſoms of a large portion of the Engliſh; and the royal treaſury was ſo much exhauſted, that the King was obliged, even at this perilous conjuncture, to diſband his army for want of money. But Fortune, which had hitherto ſmiled on all the undertakings of Henry, ſtill continued to be propitious: the diſcord and imprudence of his enemies diſpelled the clouds that loured over his head, and threatened him with deſtruction. All the projects of France were marred by the violent animoſity which ſubſiſted between the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans; the efforts of Owen Glendour were confined to the eſtabliſhment of his authority in Wales, and to the formation of an alliance with France; the Scots ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed with ſpecious negotiations; and the murmurs of the Engliſh terminated in the projection of plots ill-planned, and worſe executed: while Henry repleniſhed his coffers by obtaining conſiderable ſupplies from two Parliaments, which he ſummoned to aſſemble in 1404; the firſt at Weſtminſter, in the month of January; and the laſt at Coventry, in October.

When the time in which Henry might have been attacked to the greateſt advantage had elapſed, an inſurrection took place which, from it's violence and extent, promiſed to be more ſerious than any which he had hitherto experienced. At the head of

of this rebellion were Richard Scrope, Archbiſhop of York, brother to the Earl of Wiltſhire, whom Henry, when Duke of Lancaſter, had beheaded at Briſtol; the Earl of Northumberland, who, though he had been pardoned, was conſcious that he muſt ever be an object of jealouſy and ſuſpicion to the King; Thomas Mowbray, Earl Mareſchal; and Thomas Lord Bardolph. When theſe Noblemen conceived their plot to be ripe for execution, the Archbiſhop of York publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he accuſed Henry of perjury, murder, uſurpation, and tyranny; declared him to be excommunicated; promiſed the pardon of their ſins, and a ſeat in heaven, to all thoſe who ſhould aſſiſt in effecting his depoſition; and denounced damnation on ſuch as ſhould dare to ſupport him. This manifeſto is ſaid to have produced ſuch an effect, that when the Archbiſhop erected his ſtandard at York, the people crouded to it ſo faſt, that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of an army of fifteen thouſand men; with which he encamped on Shipton Moor, on the ninth of May 1405, where he expected to be ſpeedily joined by Northumberland and Bardolph, with their followers.

Henry, who was at London when he was informed of this formidable inſurrection, immediately levied a body of forces, and advanced with the utmoſt expedition into the north: while his ſecond ſon, Thomas of Lancaſter, and Ralph Nevil, Earl of Weſtmoreland, collected a ſmall army, with which they approached the inſurgents; but the Earl, not daring to riſk an action, from the ſuperiority of their numbers, had recourſe to a ſtratagem which nothing but the greateſt folly and ſimplicity on their part could have rendered ſucceſsful. He ſent a meſſenger to demand the reaſon of their appearance in arms, and to deſire to know what they wiſhed to obtain, that, if poſſible, the effuſion of blood might be prevented. The Archbiſhop and the Earl Mareſchal accordingly returned him a ſchedule of their demands; on the receipt of which, Weſtmoreland deſired a conference with them between the two armies. The Earl, ſuſpecting the concealment of ſome treachery beneath this amicable propoſal, diſcovered a reluctance to comply with his requeſt; but, ſuffering himſelf to be perſuaded by the Archbiſhop, the conference took place. Weſtmoreland here ſuſtained his part with ſuch conſummate hypocriſy, that the ſuſpicions of the confederates were entirely deſtroyed. He expreſſed his firmeſt approbation of the various articles contained in their ſchedule, which he immediately confirmed, and took a ſolemn oath that he would get them ratified by the King. When this important negotiation was concluded, Weſtmoreland called for wine, and propoſed that the chiefs of the oppoſite parties ſhould mutually embrace, and drink together, in ſight of both armies, to convince their followers that a perfect reconciliation had taken place. During the performance of this ceremony, he ſuggeſted to the Archbiſhop, who was equally credulous and ſincere, that, as the accommodation was now compleated, there was no farther occaſion for the troops; and that each of them ſhould therefore ſend a meſſenger to his followers, to inform them that a peace was concluded, and that they might return to their reſpective homes. The Prelate complied, and ſent the meſſage, which was inſtantly obeyed: but Weſtmoreland, who had ſecretly iſſued contrary orders to his army, as ſoon as the inſurgents were diſpelled, ſeized the two leaders, with all their principal friends.

The Noblemen, who by this infamous exertion of treachery had been deprived of their liberty, were conducted firſt to Pomfret, where the King arrived with his army on the third of June; and then to York, where Sir William Fulthorp, who was conſtituted Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench for that purpoſe, pronounced ſentence of death on the Archbiſhop for high-treaſon, on the eighth of June; and he was beheaded the ſame day, with many circumſtances of unmanly inſult and inhuman cruelty, which he bore with exemplary fortitude, patience, and reſignation. The execution of this Prelate was followed by that of the Earl Mareſchal, and all the other priſoners.

Henry, having puniſhed the inhabitants of York for their attachment to their late Archbiſhop, by depriving their city of all it's privileges, marched with an army of thirty-ſeven thouſand men in purſuit of the remaining inſurgents of the north. At Durham, he commanded the Lords Haſtings and Fauconbridge, with Sir John Colvile and Sir John Griffith, to be beheaded, for the ſhare they had taken in the late inſurrection.

In the mean time, the Earl of Northumberland fled into Scotland, together with Lord Bardolph; and the King, without oppoſition, reduced all the caſtles and fortreſſes belonging to theſe Noblemen. He then turned his arms againſt Glendour, over whom his ſon, the Prince of Wales, had obtained ſome advantages; but the Welſh chieftain, wiſely neglecting to come to a deciſive engagement, found means, by retiring to his mountains, of ſetting the whole force of England at defiance. At a ſubſequent period—the commencement of the year 1408—the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph, impatient of their exile, entered the north, in hopes of exciting the people to take up arms; but all their attempts were unſucceſsful. Sir Thomas Rokeſby, Sheriff of Yorkſhire, having levied ſome forces, attacked the invaders at Bramham Moor, near Haſelwood, on the nineteenth of February, in which Northumberland was ſlain, and Bardolph taken priſoner. After the death of theſe Noblemen, their bodies were quartered, and expoſed in London and other places.

The news of this fortunate event reached Henry as he was on his march to the north. Having advanced to Pomfret, he there eſtabliſhed his reſidence for a month, which he paſſed in the trial and puniſhment of ſome of thoſe inſurgents who had been taken at Bramham; and in collecting money, by compounding with others for their delinquency. The King's ſucceſs in ſuppreſſing ſo many rebellions at length broke the ſpirit of his enemies, and induced them to ſubmit quietly to a yoke they were unable to reſiſt. Glendour, indeed, was ſtill unſubdued;

ſubdued; but he was ſo much weakened by the deſtruction of his confederates, and the defection of his followers, that he was no longer formidable. In the ſummer of the year 1409, that ſpirited chieftain made a laſt effort, by ſending the greateſt part of his followers, under the conduct of two of his braveſt partizans, Rhees ap Du and Philpot Scudambre, to ravage Shropſhire. This they executed with great alacrity and effect; but, being at laſt defeated and taken, they were conducted to London, and there executed as rebels. The Welſh now reſigned all hopes of eſtabliſhing their independence, and quietly ſubmitted to the Engliſh government: while Glendour ſkulked about the country in diſguiſe for ſeveral years; and at length died, at his daughter's houſe, at Monington, in Herefordſhire, on the twentieth of September 1415.

While Henry was thus eſtabliſhing his authority, he was indebted to Fortune for an advantage over that neighbour who, from his ſituation, was beſt able to interrupt the tranquillity of his government. Robert the Third, King of Scotland, was a Prince of ſuch weak intellects, and endued with ſo little reſolution, that he had already ſuffered the Duke of Albany, his brother, to aſſume the reins of government, and to acquire ſuch an aſcendancy over his mind, that he no longer dared avow his ſentiments even on thoſe ſubjects which moſt nearly affected his own intereſt. The Duke, on pretence of ſome irregularities, had extorted an order from Robert to confine his eldeſt ſon David, Prince of Scotland, in the Caſtle of Falkland, where he was ſtarved to death. The father, apprized of his fate; and afraid to inflict vengeance on his murderer, determined to remove his other ſon, James, from the power of Albany, and embarked him on board a veſſel, with the view of ſending him to France for his education. Unfortunately, the ſhip was taken by the Engliſh. The Prince, then about nine years of age, was carried to London; and, though a truce at that time ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms, Henry refuſed to reſtore him to liberty. Robert, worn out with cares and infirmities, was unable to bear the ſhock of his ſon's captivity; and died ſoon after, leaving the government in the hands of the Duke of Albany. Henry now perceived the importance of the acquiſition which he had made: while he retained ſuch a pledge, he was ſure of keeping the Duke of Albany in dependence; or, if offended, he could eaſily, by reſtoring the true heir, take ample vengeance upon the uſurper.

The King had now leiſure to turn his attention to the defence of his foreign dominions, which had frequently been attacked by the French; though, fortunately for Henry, the domeſtick diſſenſions which had prevailed in France had prevented them from profiting by the commotions in England to that extent which they otherwiſe might have done. Theſe diſſenſions originated in a quarrel between the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, two Princes of the Blood; which at length aroſe to ſuch a height, that Orleans was aſſaſſinated by the emiſſaries of Burgundy, who openly dared to avow the murder, though the deceaſed was own brother to the King. The rage of party acquired new force from this occurrence, which gave riſe to a civil war between the Duke of Burgundy and the young Duke of Orleans, ſupported by his father-in-law, the Count d'Armagnac, whoſe partizans were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Armagnacs*. Though a truce ſubſiſted at this time between England and France, the aſſiſtance of Henry was earneſtly ſolicited by either party: himſelf an aſſaſſin, he was induced to eſpouſe the cauſe of the murderer; and therefore ſent the Earl of Arundel, with eight hundred men at arms, and one thouſand archers, to join the Duke of Burgundy, who by their aid obtained poſſeſſion of the capital, in the year 1411. The Armagnacs, dreading the effects of this connection between their enemies and Henry, entered into a negotiation with that Monarch; and tempted him, by reſtoring all the places which had been taken from him in Guienne, to forego his alliance with Burgundy. He accordingly concluded a treaty with the Duke of Orleans, on the eighteenth of May 1412, and engaged to aſſiſt him with one thouſand men at arms, and three thouſand archers. Thomas of Lancaſter, now created Duke of Clarence, was appointed to the command of theſe forces. In the mean time, Charles the Sixth, having recovered from one of thoſe melancholy fits of frenzy with which he was afflicted during the greateſt part of his reign, was ſo incenſed againſt the Armagnacs for their deſign of introducing ſuch a formidable army of Engliſh into his dominions, that he joined the murderer of his brother, and beſieged the Duke of Berry, one of the Armagnac chiefs, in the town of Bourges. The ſiege was puſhed with great vigour; but the beſieged, in daily hopes of receiving ſuccours from England, repelled the aſſailants in every attack. The obſtinacy of this ſiege inſpiring both parties with a wiſh for peace, an accommodation was ſpeedily concluded, and a treaty ſigned, wherein each of them renounced all alliance or connection with England.

The treaty was no ſooner compleated than the Duke of Clarence arrived with his army at La Hogue, in Normandy. Some days elapſed before the Engliſh were apprized of the pacification of Bourges; but, when they heard of it, they ſpread deſolation over the whole country, and continued their ravages, till induced to deſiſt by an offer from the Duke of Orleans, who promiſed, on their retiring into Guienne, to pay them the ſum of three hundred and twenty thouſand crowns; and he delivered his brother, and ſome other Noblemen, as hoſtages for the performance of his promiſe.

This was the laſt tranſaction of importance which occurred during the boiſterous reign of Henry the Fourth. The health of that Monarch had long been extremely precarious, from the frequency of fits to which he had been ſubject, and which deprived him of all ſenſation. He was attacked by one of theſe while he was at prayers in St. Edward's Chapel at Weſtminſter; and, being carried into the Abbot's apartments, he there expired, on the twenty-ſixth of March, in the year 1413, which

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was the forty-ſixth of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

The character of Henry the Fourth may be given in a few words. Conſtitutionally brave, and habitually prudent, he deemed courage and caution adequate ſubſtitutes for honour and virtue. The throne which he had obtained by treaſon and murder, he ſupported by tyranny and cruelty. Wholly regardleſs of the moſt ſacred ties which religion can impoſe, he became a bigot through policy, and perſecuted thoſe of a different perſuaſion to himſelf, from an ardent thirſt for revenge. With a diſpoſition thus vicious, he naturally became an object of general deteſtation; and the remorſe which he is ſaid to have experienced, was but a trifling puniſhment for his numerous crimes; as, ſince it was incapable of promoting his reformation, it cannot be ſuppoſed to have been very ſevere.

Henry was twice married. By his firſt wife, Mary de Bohun, one of the co-heireſſes of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, he had four ſons, viz. Henry, who ſucceeded him in the throne; Thomas, Duke of Clarence; John, Duke of Bedford; and Humphrey, Duke of Glouceſter: and two daughters—Blanche, married to the Duke of Bavaria; and Philippa, wife to the King of Denmark. His ſecond wife, Jane, whom he married after his acceſſion to the throne, and who was daughter of the King of Navarre, brought him no iſſue.

The Parliamentary Tranſactions of this reign are more worthy of hiſtorical notice than the military operations; as the former in ſome meaſure tended to the eſtabliſhment of national freedom, whereas the latter were only productive of cruelty and murder. The Commons, profiting by the inſtability of Henry's government, began to aſſume powers almoſt totally unknown to their predeceſſors. In the firſt year of his reign, they obtained a law, which enacted, that no Judge ſhould be allowed to plead the orders of the King as an extenuation for his concurrence in any iniquitous meaſure, even though his obedience to thoſe orders might have been attended with danger to his life. In the next ſeſſions, they inſiſted on maintaining the practice of not granting any ſupply before they received an anſwer to their petitions; which evidently implied, that a compliance with the prayers of their petitions was to be conſidered as the price of ſupplies. In the fifth year, they deſired the removal of ſeveral officers from the King's houſhold; and, among others, of the King's Confeſſor; a requeſt to which the precarious ſituation of Henry forced him to accede. In the eighth year, the Commons propoſed thirty important articles for the regulation of the government and houſhold, which were all agreed to; and they even compelled all the members of the council, judges, and officers of the houſhold, to ſwear to the obſervance of them. But the authority of the Commons during this period was only a temporary advantage, ariſing from the peculiar ſituation of the King. In a ſubſequent Parliament, when the Speaker made his uſual application to the throne for liberty of ſpeech, the King, having ſurmounted all his domeſtic difficulties, plainly anſwered, that he would not ſuffer the introduction of novelties to interfere with the enjoyment of his prerogatives. On the whole, however, the limitations of the government appear to have been more ſenſibly felt, and more carefully maintained, through neceſſity, by Henry, than by any of his predeceſſors.

Henry procured from Parliament a ſettlement of the crown on himſelf and his heirs-male, to the tacit excluſion of the females; thereby transferring the Salic Law into the Engliſh government. But, during the long conteſt with France, that law had been ſo much exclaimed againſt by the nation, that a contrary principle had become deeply implanted in the minds of the Engliſh. The ſame Houſe of Commons, therefore, which had made that ſettlement, in a ſubſequent ſeſſion, being apprehenſive that they had overturned the foundations of the Engliſh government, and opened a door to civil commotions, forced Henry to conſent to a new ſettlement of the crown, and to agree to the ſucceſſion of the Princeſſes of his family: a certain proof that Henry's title to the crown was conſidered as precarious by his ſubjects, who were at a loſs on what principle to reſt it.

The Commons were not leſs anxious to reſtrain the deſpotic power of the Clergy than to limit the authority of the crown. Being required by the King, in the ſixth year of his reign, to grant him ſupplies, they made him a direct propoſal to ſeize all the temporalities of the church, and employ them as a perpetual fund to anſwer the exigencies of the ſtate. They inſiſted that the Clergy poſſeſſed a third of all the lands in the kingdom; that they contributed nothing to the ſupport of the national expences; and that their riches only tended to diſqualify them from diſcharging their miniſterial functions with due zeal and attention. When the addreſs was preſented, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who then attended the King, fell on his knees before him, and conjured him not to violate his coronation-oath, by which he bound himſelf to afford the moſt effectual protection to the Church in all her privileges and immunities. The King, therefore, diſcouraged the application of the Commons; and, the Peers adopting the ſame party, the bill which had been framed for ſtripping the Clergy of their ſuperfluous wealth was rejected.

But the Commons were not diſcouraged by this repulſe. In the eleventh of Henry, they returned to the charge with more ſpirit than before: they made a calculation of all the eccleſiaſtical revenues, which by their account amounted to four hundred and eighty-five thouſand marks per annum, and contained eighteen thouſand four hundred ploughs of land. They propoſed to divide this property among fifteen new Earls, fifteen hundred Knights, ſix thouſand Eſquires, and a hundred Hoſpitals; beſides twenty thouſand pounds a year which the King might take for his own uſe: and they inſiſted that the clerical functions would be better performed by fifteen thouſand pariſh Prieſts, paid at the rate of

of ſeven marks each of yearly ſtipend. This application was accompanied with an addreſs for a mitigation of the ſtatutes enacted againſt the Lollards, to which ſect a majority of the Commons is ſaid to have inclined. The King made a very ſevere reply; and, farther to ſatisfy the Church, and diſplay his own ſpirit of perſecution, he ordered a Lollard to be burned before the diſſolution of the Parliament.

By an act of the fifth of this reign, it was made felony to cut out any perſon's tongue, or put out his eyes; crimes which, the act ſays, were then very frequent.

Though the continued turbulence and confuſion of Henry's reign prevented that notice being paid to the protection of commerce in general which it's importance required, it appears that the Parliament did not ſuffer their attention to be wholly diverted from the encouragement of the grand ſtaple commodity of the kingdom, ſince no leſs than twelve acts of Parliament were paſſed for the regulation of the woollen manufacture; by which the exportation of wool, and the importation of cloth, were prohibited, and all frauds in it's fabrication effectually guarded againſt.

It appears that the expence of Henry's houſhold amounted to the yearly ſum of nineteen thouſand five hundred pounds—money of that age.

HENRY



Published as the Act directs by Harrison & Co. July 18 1789

HENRY THE FIFTH.

THE death of a Monarch ſo juſtly unpopular as was Henry the Fourth, cannot be ſuppoſed to have excited the ſmalleſt ſenſations of regret in the boſoms of his ſubjects. The joy, however, which they experienced on the acceſſion of his ſucceſſor, was ſomewhat checked by reflections on the paſt conduct of that Prince, whoſe youth had been ſpent in riot and debauchery. Deprived by the jealous and ſuſpicious temper of his father of thoſe occupations which were beſt ſuited to his rank and dignity; reſtrained from the exertion of thoſe military talents which he had ſo nobly ſignalized at the battle of Shrewſbury; and forbidden to interfere in political concerns, for the management of which he had evinced an apt and ardent diſpoſition; the native activity of his youthful mind was directed into an improper channel; and that ſource, from whence honour and magnanimity ſhould alone have flowed, became productive of infamy and diſgrace. His choſen companions were men of the moſt diſſolute morals; men who gloried in vice, and made virtue the ſubject of ridicule: in them, the abſence of every quality which could embelliſh, humanize, or dignify the mind, was deemed more than repaid by the poſſeſſion of wit, humour, and other convivial endowments. In the ſociety of theſe abandoned aſſociates did the *Prince of Wales*, the *heir apparent to the throne*, ſhamefully degrade himſelf, by participating in every kind of extravagance which the deepeſt depravity could ſuggeſt, or the moſt abandoned profligacy practiſe. They are even ſaid to have formed a gang of nocturnal depredators, who paraded the ſtreets of the metropolis, to the great terror of the inhabitants and detriment of the paſſengers, whom they frequently deſpoiled of their money and effects. Amid theſe ſcenes, however, of riot and diſorder, an incident occurred which inſpired the public with ſome favourable ideas of the Prince's generoſity, and raiſed a hope that his conduct was more the reſult of habit than inclination, imputable chiefly to the influence of evil communication—the greateſt curſe that can befal a Prince—and to the unreaſonable ſuſpicions and impolitic ſeverity of his father. One of Henry's diſſolute companions, having been indicted for ſome illegal act of violence before Sir William Gaſcoigne, Chief Juſtice of England, the Prince was not aſhamed to appear at the bar with the culprit, in order to give him countenance and protection, and to intimidate the Judge. Finding that his preſence did not produce the deſired effect, and that the Chief Juſtice proceeded to the faithful diſcharge of his duty, he groſsly inſulted that magiſtrate on his tribunal: but Gaſcoigne, impreſſed with a juſt ſenſe of his own dignity in the important ſtation which he then filled, ordered the Prince to be immediately conveyed to priſon, for a contempt of thoſe laws which it was his duty to protect. When the ſpectators ſaw the heir of the crown quietly ſubmit to this ſentence, and repair his error by an immediate acknowledgment, thereby checking his impetuous temper in the midſt of it's career, their expectations were moſt agreeably diſappointed.

The ideas excited by this occurrence were fortunately confirmed on the Prince's acceſſion to the throne: for, immediately after his coronation, which was performed at Weſtminſter, on the ninth of April, in the year 1413, he called together his former companions; acquainted them with his fixed determination to reform; exhorted them to imitate his example; and, having ſtrictly forbidden them to appear in his preſence till they ſhould have convinced him that their reformation was ſincere, diſmiſſed them with liberal preſents. In imitation of the Firſt Richard, he retained all thoſe Miniſters

of his father who had displayed their zeal for virtue, by seeking to impose restraints on his own licentious conduct, and distinguished them by marks of his favour and confidence. The Chief Justice himself met with the highest commendation for his past behaviour; and was exhorted to persevere in the same rigid and impartial administration of justice.

But Henry appeared anxious, not only to repair his own errors, but to make amends, in some measure, for the iniquities of his father. In remembrance of the kindness which he had experienced from the unhappy Richard, in whose court he had received his education, he caused the body of that Prince to be removed from Langley, where it had been deposited, to Westminster; where it was interred with that pomp and solemnity which are due to the remains of a King. Despising the pitiful policy of his father, which sought to maintain by force what it might have secured by favour, he liberated the young Earl of March from the confinement to which he had been perpetually subjected during the preceding reign; and received him with such cordiality and frankness, that he entirely gained his esteem and attachment, and effectually prevented him from affording the smallest molestation to his government. From a principle of compassion to the illustrious family of Percy, probably combined with sentiments of gratitude—for he could not but recollect that to them his father owed the possession of that crown which then graced his own brows—he procured the deliverance of young Percy from his captivity in Scotland, and restored him to the honours and estates of his ancestors. By these just and popular proceedings, the prejudices inspired by his past conduct were wholly dispelled, and the most solid foundations were laid for a happy and auspicious reign.

It is singular, that a mind impressed with such noble sentiments as reigned in that of Henry, should ever be subject to the baleful influence of Superstition: but all the Princes of Europe appear at this period to have been infected with that malignant spirit of persecution which distinguished the intolerant principles of the Romish Church. The Lollards, though constantly harrassed and oppressed, had still continued to increase, till their numbers became so formidable as to threaten the power and opulence of the Clergy with annihilation. Rouzed to exertion by this additional motive of resistance, the Primate determined to crush a sect which he had such strong reasons to fear and detest, by the enforcement of those vindictive laws which had been enacted to impede the progress of their doctrines. Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, a nobleman highly distinguished for his valour and virtue, was now at the head of the Lollards; and, as his character marked him as a proper object of ecclesiastical rancour, the Archbishop obtained permission from the King to prosecute him for heresy. The action was accordingly instituted: the victim was apprehended and tried; and (the Primate being both accuser and judge) was—to use the words of the record—*sweetly and modestly* condemned to be burnt alive; and was accordingly delivered to the secular arm, that his sentence might be duly inflicted. Cobham, however, was fortunate enough to effect his escape from the Tower, the day before that fixed for his execution; from whence he fled into Wales, where he concealed himself for the space of four years.

That the indignation of this Nobleman against the Clergy, for having doomed him to an ignominious death; and against the King, for returning the services he had received from him with such flagrant ingratitude, was powerfully excited, can scarcely admit of a doubt; but that the schemes which were imputed to him by the former, and believed by the latter, should ever have been projected by him, is highly improbable: for the man, whose sentiments of religion were so strongly impressed on his mind, could scarcely have been guilty of so gross a deviation from the precepts it tends to inculcate. The purport of these schemes is said to have been an intent to surprize the King at Eltham, where he held the festival of Christmas, and to put him to death; together with his three brothers, and all the principal Clergy in the kingdom. The only circumstances which are properly authenticated, are these: That, on the night of the sixth of January, in the year 1414, a considerable number of Lollards were assembled in St. Giles's Fields, and there surprized by Henry, who had been apprized of their meeting; that some of them were taken and executed; and that a proclamation was issued, on the ninth of the same month, offering a reward of one thousand marks for the apprehension of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham. In that proclamation, the collection of the mob in St. Giles's Fields, and the intention of killing the King, are certainly imputed to Cobham: but on the justice of that imputation we are incompetent to decide; though the known rancour of the Primate against a sect he abhorred, and the disposition of the King to listen to his malevolent suggestions, induce us to believe that the accusation was merely formed to effect the destruction of that Nobleman—the virtuous chief of the Lollards—by a discovery of his retreat. Whether Cobham was present in the assembly of the people, or not, is not known: if he was there, he found means to escape, as he was not apprehended till four years after; when he was first hanged as a traitor, and afterwards burnt as a heretic.

The kingdom of France was at this period involved in the most dreadful confusion. Distracted by the contending factions of the Burgundians and Armagnacs, riot and disorder were universally prevalent: each province had become the theatre of a separate war between the Nobles of either party; towns and villages were pillaged and reduced to ashes; the open country was ravaged and laid waste; and one half of the kingdom seemed resolved to exterminate the other; while the King remained in a state of imbecility that rendered him a mere cypher in the state.

The advantage to be reaped from these confusions was easily perceived in England; and, in compliance with that unjust species of policy which engages

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one Prince to profit by the misfortunes of another, and which is unhappily too generally prevalent among nations, Henry resolved to embrace so favourable an opportunity. His views were not confined, like those of his father, to increasing the internal dissensions of the French; his projects were calculated to render those dissensions more highly serviceable to his own designs, which aimed at the total subjection of that kingdom. The claim which Henry had to advance to the sovereignty of France was, it must be confessed, as frivolous and absurd as that of his predecessors to the crown of Scotland. Whether we try it's validity by the French or by the English doctrine of succession, it must prove equally fallacious. By the former, which excluded all females from the crown, and denied their power of transmitting a title to their male posterity, Henry could not claim even a shadow of right; by the latter, as advanced by the Third Edward, which admitted the exclusion of females, but established their right of transmitting a title to their male posterity, his pretensions were not less absurd, because any right to be derived from thence was evidently vested in the Earl of Marche, transmitted from Queen Isabella to her son, Edward the Third, and from him to that Nobleman by Philippa, only child of Lionel Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John Duke of Lancaster, from whom all the pretended rights of Henry were derived. It was not, however, an age in which Princes were to be restrained from pursuing the projects of ambition by the dictates of Reason and Justice. Henry determined to enforce his pretensions, such as they were, though he artfully concealed his designs till they were ripe for execution. With this view he sent over Ambassadors to Paris, to demand the Princess Catharine, youngest daughter of the King of France, in marriage; offering, in return, a perpetual peace and alliance: but the portion he required with her was so exorbitant as to preclude the possibility of compliance; and he was careful to frustrate the negotiations entirely, by rising in his demands as the French advanced in their concessions. In the mean time, he was busily occupied in making the most formidable preparations for his intended expedition. To enable him to do this, the Parliament made him a grant of two-tenths and two-fifteenths, besides the lands of all the alien priories in the kingdom, which amounted in number to one hundred and ten. So intent was he on raising money sufficient for the purpose, that he borrowed of whoever would lend him, and even pawned his crown to increase the sum. Having assembled a great fleet and powerful army, he repaired to Southampton, in order to embark for the continent; but, before he had got his troops on board, he discovered a dangerous conspiracy which had been formed to deprive him of the crown. The conspirators were Richard Earl of Cambridge, son to the Duke of York, who, having espoused the sister of the Earl of Marche, had zealously embraced the interests of that family; Henry Lord Scrope, of Masham, Treasurer to the King; and Sir Thomas Grey, of Heton, in Northumberland. Their design, as confessed by the Earl of Cambridge, was to convey the Earl of Marche into Wales, and there proclaim him King, in the hope that the Welsh would flock to his standard and support his cause. The conspirators were no sooner apprehended than tried, and that in a very summary manner, without much respect to the forms of law, or to the more essential requisite of satisfactory proof. Execution soon followed condemnation. The Earl of Marche was accused of having given his approbation to the conspiracy; but, as he received a general pardon from the King, it is extremely probable that he was either innocent of the crime imputed to him, or had made reparation by an early repentance and discovery.

Henry, having appointed his brother, John Duke of Bedford, Regent of the kingdom, sailed from Southampton, on the thirteenth of August 1415, with a powerful army, consisting of six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand archers; and landed safe on the coast of Normandy, within nine miles of Harfleur. He immediately invested that city; which, after a vigorous defence of five weeks, was compelled to surrender on the twenty-second of September; when Henry expelled all the French inhabitants, with the design of peopling it entirely with English. But, though the acquisition of Harfleur was an object of importance to Henry, the great loss which he sustained before the place rendered it a dear conquest. This loss proceeded not so much from the fatigues of the siege as from an epidemic disorder which prevailed in the army—supposed to originate in the extreme heat of the weather—and which reduced it so far as to render it incapable of any enterprize of consequence. In this dilemma, he was obliged to think of returning to England; but the mode of accomplishing this, in a manner that could satisfy his own feelings, appearing a matter of difficulty, he summoned a council to deliberate on the subject. The Duke of Clarence, Henry's eldest brother, gave his opinion in favour of an immediate embarkation at Harfleur; but Henry rashly refused to adopt it—though it was the only measure which prudence could justify in his present situation—as wearing the appearance of an ignominious flight; and declared, that he would rather make his way by land to Calais. The latter mode was accordingly adopted, and every thing prepared for this impolitic and dangerous expedition.

In order to rescue Henry from the charge of imprudence in this particular, Mr. Hume has inconsiderately asserted that, having dismissed his transports, "he lay under a *necessity* of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of safety." This assertion carries a palpable absurdity on the face of it: for, admitting that the transports had actually departed, it certainly would have been more adviseable, in point of expedition, to send over to England for transports—the distance by sea not exceeding thirty leagues—and wait their arrival, than to have attempted a passage through a tract of country near two hundred miles in extent, unprovided with guides, unsupplied with provisions, and pursued

purſued and harraſſed by an army which moſt hiſtorians make amount to ten times the number of his own. It will not be urged that there was no veſſel in the port to ſend over to England; as, ſubſequent to the adoption of Henry's propoſal, the Duke of Clarence, with the Earl of Marche, and many other Noblemen, who had ſuffered extremely from the diſorder which had proved ſo fatal to the Engliſh troops, embarked at Harfleur for England, where they went for the recovery of their health. Nor will it ſcarcely be contended, that Harfleur could not be deemed a *place of ſafety*, ſince, with an inferior army, it had ſuſtained a long and vigorous ſiege; and, after it's capture, Henry had been careful to repair all the damages which the fortifications had ſuſtained by the different attacks. This perilous enterprize, therefore, was not the reſult of neceſſity, but the conſequence of enthuſiaſtic ambition and obſtinate temerity.

An army of French had by this time aſſembled in Normandy, under the command of the Conſtable D'Albret, the number of which is variouſly repreſented by different writers; ſome of whom compute it at ſixty thouſand, while others make it amount to one hundred and forty thouſand men. Whatever the number might be, it was certainly ſufficiently great to enable D'Albret, if he had acted with common prudence, to have annihilated the Engliſh army. But Henry, who was neither to be reſtrained by the dictates of prudence, nor to be intimidated by the proſpect of danger, departed from Harfleur, and advanced by ſlow and deliberate marches, that he might not diſcourage his troops by the appearance of a flight, to the banks of the Somme, which he intended to croſs at the ford of Blanchetaque, the ſame place where Edward, in a ſimilar ſituation, before the battle of Creçy, had eſcaped from Philip de Valois: but the French, as might naturally be expected, had ſtrongly guarded every paſs on the river, and had broken down every bridge; ſo that he was obliged to march along it's banks, continually harraſſed by the enemy, and expoſed to the dangers of famine. In this ſituation, he muſt inevitably have been reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering himſelf, but for an incident which he had no right to expect. The French General having received a conſiderable reinforcement from his Sovereign, who had advanced to Rouen, a council of war was held, at which all the Princes and chief Nobles of the kingdom, except the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy, were preſent; when it was unanimouſly reſolved to ſuffer the Engliſh to paſs the Somme, and give them battle between that river and Calais. Henry, therefore, finding the paſſage clear, croſſed the Somme, near Bethencourt, on the nineteenth of October; and, purſuing his march, arrived at the village of Azincour on the twenty-fourth, where he was ſurprized to find the French army drawn out in order of battle on the neighbouring plains. Having from an eminence taken an attentive ſurvey of the enemy, and convinced himſelf that it would be equally impoſſible to continue his route to Calais, or to effect his retreat to Harfleur, without riſking an engagement, he wiſely reſolved to make a virtue of neceſſity, and to prepare for battle with alacrity and confidence.

The ſituation of Henry was exactly ſimilar to that of the Black Prince before the battle of Poitiers; and ſome of the French hiſtorians pretend that, being ſenſible of his danger, he made to D'Albret the ſame kind of offer which had been made by Edward to John, and which was rejected with the ſame diſdain; but this circumſtance, though highly probable, is not ſufficiently authenticated to enforce belief. The night before the battle, the Engliſh took up their quarters in the village of Azincour and the neighbouring hamlets; when the brightneſs of the moon gave Henry an opportunity of examining the ground with care and attention, and of fixing on a ſpot for the enſuing engagement, which poſſeſſed thoſe local advantages ſo neceſſary to enable a handful of men to reſiſt the attacks of a numerous and powerful army. This was a gentle declivity, on the ſummit of which ſtood the village of Azincour, and which was flanked on either ſide by a wood. Having taken theſe precautions, he retired to reſt with that calmneſs and compoſure which, in the hour of danger, beſpeak a mind incapable of fear.

While Henry thus diſcharged the duties of a ſkilful commander, the French officers paſſed their time in riot and rejoicing. When they conſidered the extreme diſproportion of numbers, they regarded the victory as certain, and are even ſaid to have formed ſchemes for the diſpoſal of their priſoners. Walſingham aſſerts, indeed, that they reſolved to put all their captives to the ſword, except the King and chief Nobility, who were to be ſpared for the ſake of their ranſoms.

On the morning of Friday the twenty-fifth of October, in the year 1415, both armies appeared in order of battle, each drawn up in three lines, with cavalry on the wings. The Conſtable D'Albret, who commanded the French, was guilty of an error which nothing could juſtify or palliate, by occupying the ground choſen for him by Henry, which effectually prevented him from profiting by that advantage which the ſuperiority of his numbers afforded him. In the narrow plain, flanked by the woods, he could neither extend his front ſo as to encircle the enemy, nor employ his cavalry, which were very numerous. The firſt line of the French army was commanded by D'Albret; and, under him, by the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon; the Counts of Eu, Vendome, and Richemont; with the famous Mareſchal de Boucicaut, and ſome other officers of diſtinction: the ſecond line was entruſted to the conduct of the Duke D'Alençon, aſſiſted by the Duke of Bar, the Counts of Vaudemont, Nevers, &c. and the Counts of Marle, Damartin, and Fauconberg, headed the third.

The firſt line of the Engliſh, which was commanded by the Duke of York, aided by the Lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Stanhope, conſiſted wholly of archers, four deep; each of whom, beſides his bow and arrows, had a battle-axe, a ſword, and a ſtake pointed with iron at both ends, which he fixed before him in the ground, with the point inclining outwards, to protect him from the charge of

of the cavalry. The King himſelf led on the ſecond line, accompanied by his youngeſt brother, Humphrey Duke of Glouceſter, the Earl Mareſchal, with the Earls of Oxford and Suffolk. The third line was commanded by the Duke of Exeter, uncle to Henry.

The King rode along the lines, mounted on a ſtately white courſer, and arrayed in ſplendid armour, with a golden crown by way of creſt affixed to his helmet. Four royal banners were diſplayed before him: he was followed by ſeveral led horſes richly capariſoned, and ſurrounded by the chief officers of his court and army. This conduct of Henry was very different to that of his father, at the battle of Shrewſbury, whoſe cautious prudence led him to adopt ſuch meaſures as would moſt effectually conceal his perſon from the knowledge of the enemy. The ſon's deportment was certainly more gallant, and not leſs politic. The King ſtrove to encourage his troops by inflaming their reſentment, and by animating their love of glory. To promote the former, he told them, according to Thomas de Elmham, that the French had determined to cut off three fingers of the right-hand of every priſoner they ſhould make; and, to effect the latter, he declared that every ſoldier in his army, who ſhould conduct himſelf on that day with ſpirit and gallantry, ſhould thenceforth be deemed a gentleman, and entitled to wear coat-armour.

Before the battle began, the two armies ſtood gazing at each other, in mutual ſuſpence, for a conſiderable time; but Henry, fearing that the French might diſcover the danger of their ſituation, and from thence be induced to alter their plan of operations, gave the ſignal for attack, about ten in the morning. The action commenced by the Engliſh archers, who let fly a ſhower of arrows among the crouded ranks of the enemy, which did infinite execution; and the French cavalry being hemmed in by their own troops, and farther incommoded by the clay ſoil, moiſtened by recent ſhowers, were unable to exert their force. A ſecond flight of arrows threw the firſt line of the French into ſome confuſion, which was conſiderably increaſed by a diſcharge from the bows of two hundred archers, whom Henry, before the battle, had placed in ambuſh in their flank. The battle now became general; and, when the archers had expended their arrows, they flung their bows, and ruſhing onward, attacked the enemy with their ſwords and battle-axes. Though the firſt line of the French conſiſted of their beſt troops, animated by the preſence and example of ſo many Noblemen, it was unable to ſuſtain this impetuous attack; and, being once thrown into diſorder, it's numbers facilitated it's defeat: almoſt all the ſoldiers were put to the ſword; and moſt of the officers, with D'Albret himſelf, were either ſlain or taken. The ſecond line, commanded by the Duke D'Alençon, who had made a vow either to conquer the King or periſh in the attempt, now advanced with great eagerneſs to the charge, and were received by the ſecond line of the Engliſh, led on by Henry himſelf; the archers which compoſed the firſt line having retired to the rear, in order to recover their breath. The battle raged with additional fury; the conflict was long and obſtinate. Henry, willing to offer a glorious example to his troops, diſplayed the moſt intrepid courage. While he was fighting with equal intrepidity and ſucceſs, eighteen French Knights, who had entered into a ſolemn compact to take him either dead or alive, forced their way through the ranks, and approached his perſon; when one of them made a furious blow at his head with a battle-axe; which, though it did not pierce his helmet, for a while deprived him of his ſenſes. In this ſituation, he muſt probably have fallen a ſacrifice to the determined reſolution of theſe daring aſſociates, but for the generous ſpirit of David Gam, a Welſh Captain, and two other officers of the ſame nation; who, ruſhing between him and his aſſailants, ſacrificed their lives to the ſafety of their Sovereign. When the King recovered from the effects of the blow, perceiving the three gallant ſoldiers, to whom he was indebted for his preſervation, expiring at his feet, he knighted them as they lay on the field of battle. The French Knights were all killed; and the King, acquiring freſh courage from the danger he had juſt eſcaped, ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy with redoubled impetuoſity, attended by his brother Glouceſter, who fought by his ſide; and they continued advancing with ſuch rapidity, that they were ſoon ſeparated from their troops. In this perilous ſituation, the Duke of Glouceſter was felled to the ground by the ſtroke of a mace; and Henry, covering him with his ſhield, ſuſtained the ſhock of a whole hoſt of foes, until the Duke of York arrived to his relief. Glouceſter being conveyed from the field, the King renewed the attack; and his troops, animated by the example of their Sovereign to a degree of enthuſiaſtic courage, ruſhed forward with ſuch impetuous ardour, that they bore down all before them. The Duke D'Alençon, ſeeing his diviſion on the point of being totally routed, determined to fulfil the vow he had taken: he cut his way through the crowd which ſurrounded the King; and, advancing towards Henry, called out to let him know that he was the Duke D'Alençon. At the ſame inſtant he aimed a blow at his head, which cleft the crown on his helmet: but, before he could repeat it, Henry returned the ſalutation ſo effectually, that the Duke fell at his feet; and, though the King interpoſed to ſave his life, the rage of the Engliſh troops rendered his interpoſition abortive. Diſcouraged by the loſs of their leader, the ſecond line made no farther reſiſtance; and the third was ſeized with ſuch a panic, that they fled without ſtriking a blow.

At the moment when Henry thought the fatigues of the day were over, he heard an alarm from behind, which proceeded from ſome gentlemen of Picardy; who, with a body of peaſants, had attacked the baggage which had been left in the village of Azinçour, and were killing the few guards who had been left to defend it. Henry, imagining this attack to be more formidable than it really was, began to entertain apprehenſions from his priſoners, who were extremely numerous; and therefore iſſued

an order to put them all to the ſword, except thoſe of high rank: but, on diſcovering his error, he countermanded his order, and put a ſtop to the dreadful carnage it had occaſioned. The conflict, after having been maintained with unabating fury for the ſpace of three hours, at length terminated in favour of the Engliſh, who obtained a moſt compleat and deciſive victory.

The French never loſt, in any battle, ſo many perſons of diſtinction as in that of Azincour. There were killed—the Conſtable D'Albret; the Duke of Alençon, a Prince of the Blood; the Archbiſhop of Sens; the Count of Nevers, and the Duke of Brabant, brothers to the Duke of Burgundy; the Count of Vaudemont, brother to the Duke of Lorraine; the Duke of Bar; the Count of Marle; ninety-two Barons; fifteen hundred Knights; a much greater number of Gentlemen of inferior note; and ten thouſand common ſoldiers. Among the priſoners, who amounted to fourteen thouſand, were the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon; the Mareſchal of Boucicaut; the Counts D'Eu, Vendome, Richemont, and Harcourt; beſides ſeven thouſand Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen.

The loſs of the Engliſh was inconſiderable; and the only perſons of rank who fell on their ſide were, the Earl of Suffolk, and the Duke of York; the latter of whom met with a death more honourable than the infamy of his life ſhould have taught him to expect. The valour diſplayed by the Duke of York in this action muſt, indeed, afford a convincive proof that Courage, ſo frequently miſnamed a Virtue, does not in the leaſt depend on magnanimity of ſoul, but is merely conſtitutional; for never, perhaps, was man more courageous, and certainly never was one more vicious, than that nobleman.

The wonderful ſucceſs of Henry in the battle of Azincour can by no means juſtify, or even palliate, the imprudence of his conduct. He had raſhly advanced into an enemy's country, with an army trifling in numbers, and enfeebled by diſeaſe, without neceſſity, without any object in view, and even without a poſſibility of eſcaping from deſtruction, but by the extreme folly, or rather madneſs, of the foe. The leader who thus ſeeks to expoſe himſelf and his troops to unneceſſary danger, may indeed acquire the character of an intrepid Warrior, but muſt not pretend to the more reſpectable reputation of an able General. Immediately previous to the action, it muſt be owned that the conduct of Henry diſplayed great profeſſional knowledge: his ground was choſen with judgment; his diſpoſition was maſterly; he neglected nothing which could in any reſpect tend to ſupply his defect of numbers; and he evinced a degree of confidence well calculated to animate his troops to the moſt courageous exertions. But, in the midſt of action, when coolneſs in a commander is moſt eſſentially requiſite, and the abſence of it moſt fatal, he again ſuffered his impetuoſity to ſubdue his reaſon; and, inconſiderately ruſhing into the midſt of the enemy, unſupported by his troops, unneceſſarily expoſed to the moſt imminent danger that life on the preſervation of which depended the fate of the day.

The want of a ſufficient number of troops, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, prevented Henry from reaping any immediate advantage from his victory, except that of being enabled to purſue, without farther moleſtation, his march to Calais; whither he conducted his ſpoils and priſoners. Having there remained a ſufficient time for the refreſhment of his troops, he embarked for England, on the ſixteenth of November, and arrived at Dover the ſame evening, where he was received by the people with the loudeſt acclamations of joy. At his triumphal entry into London, on the twenty-third, the ſhows and pageants exhibited by the citizens were ſo numerous, that, Walſingham tells us, it would require a volume to deſcribe them. The moſt ſatisfactory proof of their zeal, however, in the opinion of Henry, was, probably, a preſent which they made him of one thouſand pounds, in two gold baſons.

The Parliament, ſoon after Henry's return, dazzled by the ſplendour of his late victory, granted him an entire fifteenth of moveables; and alſo conferred on him, *for life*, the duties of tonnage and poundage, and the ſubſidies derived from the exportation on wool and leather. This grant was more conſiderable than that which had been made to Richard the Second by his laſt Parliament, and which afterwards was adduced againſt him as one of the leading articles to effect his depoſition.

The defeat of Azincour had been productive of the moſt ſerious calamities to France, by increaſing thoſe internal feuds which had long diſtracted that devoted kingdom. The Duke of Burgundy, having been excluded by the prevailing faction of the Armagnacs from all participation in the government, had entered into ſecret negotiations with the Court of England; and the late misfortune, joined to the death of his ſon-in-law the Dauphin, and, above all, the ſubſequent exaltation of his inveterate enemy, the Count D'Armagnac, to the office of Conſtable, tended to accelerate the negotiations, which were brought to a ſpeedy termination by a treaty of alliance; in which the Duke acknowledged the right of Henry to the throne of France, and engaged to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt in obtaining poſſeſſion of it. This connection was of the utmoſt importance to Henry, and gave him a fair proſpect of ſucceſs in that enterprize which had originated in the raſhneſs of inconſiderate ambition. He accordingly determined to make the moſt formidable preparations for a ſecond expedition to France; but, as he found it would be ſome time before his plans could be ripe for execution, he conſented to a truce from the ninth of October 1416 to the ſecond of February in the following year.

The miſconduct of the Count D'Armagnac, who now virtually enjoyed the ſupreme authority in France, daily added to the probability of Henry's ſucceſs. That Nobleman, whoſe ruling paſſion was hatred to the oppoſite party, purſued the Burgundians with the moſt unrelenting cruelty; and thereby

thereby increaſed the fury of that faction, which was preying on the vitals of his country. Having excluded the Queen from any ſhare in the adminiſtration of public affairs, that Princeſs retired to Vincennes, where ſhe revelled in luxury and licentiouſneſs; and thereby afforded an opportunity to the Conſtable of ſeizing the immenſe treaſures ſhe had amaſſed, and of inflaming the jealouſy of the King to ſuch a pitch, that he ſent her into confinement at Tours; and ordered Louis Bourbon—with whom ſhe was ſuſpected, not without reaſon, of maintaining a criminal intercourſe—to be encloſed in a ſack, and thrown into the Seine. This conduct, which Doctor Henry very gravely calls *cruel* and *injurious*, to Iſabella, inſpired that Princeſs with the moſt implacable reſentment againſt the Count of Armagnac and his party; not excepting her own ſon Charles, who, by the death of his two elder brothers, had now become Dauphin, and whoſe deſtruction ſhe ſought with the moſt unnatural ardour. She formed an alliance with the Duke of Burgundy; who, entering the kingdom with a powerful army, reduced Amiens, Abbeville, Dourlens, Montreüil, and ſome other places in Picardy: while Senlis, Rheims, Chalons, Troyes, and Auxerre, declared themſelves of his party. He got poſſeſſion of Beaumont, Pontoiſe, Meulan, Vernon, and Monthleri, moſt of them in the vicinity of Paris; and, extending his progreſs to the weſt, he ſeized Etampes, Chartres, and other fortreſſes; and was, at laſt, able to effect the liberation of the Queen, who fled to Troye, and openly declared againſt thoſe miniſters who, ſhe ſaid, detained her huſband in captivity.

While ſuch was the melancholy ſtate of France, Henry the Fifth landed on the firſt of Auguſt, in the year 1417, near Touques, in Normandy, with an army of twenty-five thouſand men. After the publication of ſome excellent rules for the preſervation of military diſcipline, and protection of the natives, he continued his route towards the capital of Normandy, reducing every place he approached without the ſmalleſt oppoſition. In the courſe of the campaign, the greateſt part of Lower Normandy ſubmitted to his arms. Having received, during the winter, a reinforcement of fifteen thouſand men from England, he formed his army into three diviſions; the firſt of which was commanded by himſelf, and the other two by his brothers, the Dukes of Glouceſter and Clarence. The principal towns, being ill fortified, ſupplied with ſlender garriſons, and in no expectation of relief, were under the neceſſity of yielding; ſo that, before the expiration of the enſuing ſummer, Henry found himſelf maſter of all Normandy, except the cities of Rouen and Cherbourg. The latter, being inveſted by the Duke of Glouceſter, reſiſted every effort to ſubdue it for more than two months; when it ſurrendered, on the twenty-ninth of September. The King himſelf laid ſiege to Rouen; but his utmoſt endeavours to reduce it were ineffectual, till the proviſions of the garriſon being totally exhauſted, they were compelled to capitulate, on the thirteenth of January 1419.

During this time, the Burgundians had raiſed a commotion in Paris, whoſe inhabitants were always favourable to that faction. L'Iſle-Adam, one of the Duke's Captains, was received into the city in the night-time, and headed the inſurrection of the people, which in a moment became ſo impetuous, that nothing could oppoſe it. The perſon of the King was ſeized; the Dauphin with difficulty eſcaped; every perſon who was obnoxious to the party, or to any of it's members, were termed Armagnacs, and butchered without mercy; the Count himſelf, with many perſons of note, was thrown into priſon; and the outrage continued till the city was thinned of it's inhabitants, and a great part of it deſtroyed. The Queen and Duke of Burgundy, who were then at Troyes, being informed of the ſucceſs of their plans, ſent a meſſage to their confidential friends, intimating that the total annihilation of the party would be the only effectual method of eſtabliſhing their own authority. On the receipt of this intimation, they were careful to inflame the populace by reports artfully framed, and induſtriouſly circulated; and, when their minds were irritated to a proper degree of violence, the dreadful ſcene began: the doors of the priſons were forced open, and guards and captives butchered without diſtinction. In the firſt three days, beſides the Count D'Armagnac himſelf, who was the firſt victim of their ferocity, the Chancellor of the kingdom, and ſix Prelates, three thouſand five hundred perſons were inhumanly murdered. Amidſt this ſcene of deſolation, the Queen and Duke made a triumphal entry into the metropolis; and, not yet ſatiated with the torrents of blood they had cauſed to flow, ordered a renewal of the maſſacre, when about fourteen thouſand perſons—of which five thouſand were women—were ſacrificed to their infernal rage.

While Henry was employed in the ſiege of Rouen, he had made offers of peace to both parties: to the Queen and Duke of Burgundy on the one hand, who, having poſſeſſion of the King's perſon, appeared to enjoy the ſovereign authority; and to the Dauphin on the other, who, being the undoubted heir of the monarchy, was adhered to by every true friend of his country. But his demands appeared ſo exorbitant, that they not only prevented the concluſion of a treaty with either, but tended to promote a reconciliation between them. The terms of this alliance were, that the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy ſhould ſhare the royal authority during the life of Charles, and unite their armies for the expulſion of all foreign enemies.

Henry, thus duped by the Duke of Burgundy, now found himſelf reduced to a ſituation which he had neither had the penetration to foreſee, nor the policy to provide againſt. His chief hopes of ſucceſs had been founded on the enmity of the leaders of the two adverſe parties, which he believed to be implacable, but which experience at length convinced him could be rendered ſubſervient to intereſt. He had only an army of twenty-five thouſand men to preſerve the conqueſts he had made, and to oppoſe to the undivided forces of a powerful kingdom.

kingdom. The Kings of Caſtile and Arragon were arming in favour of the Dauphin; and the Scots had likewiſe embraced the ſame party. Henry's treaſury, and even his credit, were exhauſted; his ſubjects had begun to murmur at the expence of the war; and to ſuſpect, what a moment's reflection might have convinced them to be true, that the conqueſt of France muſt finally prove the ruin of England.

But the danger of his ſituation appears not to have deterred him from the purſuit of his favourite project. Surrounded with difficulties, he reſolved to encounter them with the ſpirit of a man determined to obtain the object of his ambition, or to periſh in the attempt. It is not, indeed, improbable, he might conclude that the coalition between the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy was too unnatural to be ſincere, too ſudden to be laſting. Be that as it may, an event ſoon occurred which opened a fairer proſpect to his view than he had hitherto been flattered with.

Subſequent to the treaty of alliance between the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy, it was deemed neceſſary by thoſe Princes to have a perſonal interview, in order to ſettle the meaſures to be adopted for the expulſion of the Engliſh: but the inveteracy of their enmity, and the avowed principles of the Duke, had inſpired them with a mutual diffidence, that made them deem ſome extraordinary precautions neceſſary for their mutual ſecurity. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, the two Princes repaired to Montereaux, on the tenth of September 1419; when the Duke eſtabliſhed his quarters in the caſtle, and the Dauphin in the town, with the River Yonne between them. The bridge over the river was the ſpot appointed by theſe ſuſpicious allies for their friendly interview: two lofty rails were fixed acroſs the bridge, the gates leading to which were guarded on one ſide by the troops of the Dauphin, on the other by thoſe of the Duke; and in the intermediate ſpace this extraordinary conference was to be held; each party to be accompanied by ten perſons.

The event proved the neceſſity, though not the wiſdom, of theſe precautions. Some of the Dauphin's retainers, the chief of whom was Tannegui de Chatel, having been zealous partizans of the late Duke of Orleans, reſolved to embrace this opportunity of revenging his murder. Accordingly, being appointed to attend the Dauphin at the conference, they no ſooner entered the rails than they drew their ſwords, and ſlew the Duke of Burgundy; whoſe attendants, aſtoniſhed at ſuch an unexpected attack, made not the ſmalleſt reſiſtance, ſo that they were all either ſlain or taken priſoners.

Though the youth of the Dauphin, who was then in his eighteenth year, rendered people unwilling to believe that he was privy to this baſe and cowardly action, the proofs were ſo ſtrong againſt him, that the blame of it was aſcribed—certainly not without reaſon—to him alone. When the news of this incident arrived at Parjs, the inhabitants, who had ever been ſtrongly attached to the Burgundian party, burſt out into the moſt violent exclamations of rage againſt the Dauphin, which were re-echoed by many of the firſt cities in France. The Court of Charles, which then reſided at Troyes, was induced, from motives of intereſt, to adopt the ſame party; and, at the inſtigation of the Queen, who ſtill purſued her ſon with the ſame unnatural and implacable enmity, a declaration of war was denounced againſt the Dauphin. But the perſon who evinced the deepeſt reſentment at the murder of the Duke of Burgundy, was his ſon and ſucceſſor, Philip, Count of Charolois, whoſe mind, ſolely occupied by the blind paſſion of revenge, overlooked every conſideration of intereſt and policy. In this general tranſport of rage, every principle was ſacrificed to the impulſe of the moment; and, as the King of England appeared to be a Prince whoſe power would beſt enable them to gratify their vengeance, they determined to court his alliance by the moſt extravagant conceſſions. A league was immediately concluded, at Arras, between Henry and the Duke of Burgundy, in which the King engaged to aſſiſt him in revenging the murder of his father; and the fundamental principles of the grand treaty were arranged. But the final concluſion of that extraordinary deed, in which the crown of France was transferred to a ſtranger, did not take place till the twenty-firſt of May; when Henry repaired to Troyes with an army of ſixteen thouſand men. The treaty was there duly ſigned and ratified by Henry, on his own part, and by the Queen of France and the Duke of Burgundy on that of Charles the Sixth.

The moſt important articles were theſe—That King Charles ſhould enjoy the title and dignity of King of France, with all the powers and revenues annexed thereto, during his life; and that his Queen Iſabella ſhould in the ſame manner retain all the privileges of her rank: that Henry ſhould eſpouſe the Princeſs Catharine, and be declared heir to the French monarchy, which ſhould paſs to his heirs-general; and that, during the incapacity of Charles, he ſhould be entruſted with the adminiſtration of the government, as Regent of the realm: that France and England ſhould for ever be united under one Sovereign, but ſhould ſtill retain their ſeveral uſages, cuſtoms, and privileges: that all the princes, nobles, communities, and burghers, of France, ſhould ſwear that they would both adhere to the future ſucceſſion of Henry, and pay him preſent obedience as Regent: that Henry ſhould unite his troops to thoſe of Charles and the Duke of Burgundy, in order to ſubdue the adherents of the Dauphin: and that neither of the contracting parties ſhould conclude a peace or truce with that Prince but by common conſent and agreement.

Such was the tenor of this celebrated treaty; which, had it been rigidly enforced, muſt have proved equally detrimental to England and France; as the former muſt inevitably have been reduced to the ſtate of a province, and the ſucceſſion of the latter muſt have been totally disjointed, and every deſcendant of the royal family deſtroyed; as the Houſes of Orleans, Anjou, Alençon, Brittany, Bourbon, and of Burgundy itſelf, whoſe titles were indiſputably preferable to that of the Engliſh Monarchs, would on that account have been expoſed to the perpetual

perpetual jealouſy and perſecution of the reigning Sovereign.

On the thirtieth of May, Henry eſpouſed the Princeſs Catharine; and, being willing to ſubdue the Armagnacs while they were odious to the people, on the third day after his marriage he marched to Sens, which in a few days ſurrendered to his arms. Montereaux was reduced with equal facility; but the ſiege of Melun, which was next formed, coſt him more trouble. Though it was puſhed with uncommon vigour, and the ſoldiers were encouraged by the preſence of three crowned heads, the Kings of England, France, and Scotland, the ſkill and bravery of Barbaſan, the Governor, enabled the garriſon to ſuſtain it till the eighteenth of November; when, being deſtitute of proviſions, and having conſumed every thing that was eatable in the town, they were compelled to ſurrender.

When Henry had obtained poſſeſſion of Melun, he directed his march to Paris; where his authority, as regent and heir to the throne, had been chearfully acknowledged. He was accompanied by the King and Queen of France, the Duke of Burgundy, and many perſons of the firſt rank. The two Monarchs made their public entry into the metropolis on the firſt Sunday in Advent, and the two Queens on the following day; when they were received by the citizens with every poſſible demonſtration of joy. On the tenth of December, an aſſembly of the three eſtates of the kingdom was held, with great ſolemnity, in the grand hall of the palace of St. Paul; in which the treaty of Troyes, vainly denominated *The final and perpetual Peace*, was publicly ratified, and declared to be a ſtanding and irrevocable law of the realm; and an act was paſſed, requiring all the ſubjects of the kingdom to take the oaths ſtipulated by that treaty.

Henry, having now gratified his utmoſt ambition in bringing his foreign affairs to the point he had been anxious to attain, conducted his young conſort to England; where ſhe was crowned, with extraordinary magnificence, on the twenty-ſecond of February 1421.

The detention of the young King of Scots had hitherto proved of ſignal advantage to Henry, by keeping the Regent of Scotland in awe, and thereby preventing him from affording the ſmalleſt obſtruction to the purſuit of his continental wars by making a diverſion on the northern frontier of England. But when the progreſs made by Henry, and the proſpect of his ſucceſſion to the crown of France, became known in Scotland, the nation began to entertain apprehenſions that the deſtruction of their own independence muſt ſpeedily follow. The Regent, too, being impreſſed with the ſame ſentiments, willingly permitted a body of ſeven thouſand Scots, under the command of the Earl of Buchan, his ſecond ſon, to be tranſported into France for the ſervice of the Dauphin. To render this aid ineffectual, Henry had, in his former expedition, carried over the King of Scots, whom he perſuaded to ſend orders to his countrymen to leave the French ſervice; but the Earl of Buchan replied, that he ſhould obey no commands which came from a King in captivity, who could not be ſuppoſed to have a will of his own. Theſe troops, therefore, ſtill continued to act in favour of the Dauphin, by whom they were employed to check the progreſs of the Duke of Clarence in Anjou, where he commanded in the capacity of Henry's Lieutenant. The two armies met on the twenty-ſecond of March, near the caſtle of Baugé; when an action enſued, in which the Engliſh were compleatly routed: the Duke of Clarence was ſlain; and the Earls of Somerſet, Dorſet, and Huntingdon, were taken priſoners. This was the firſt interruption which the Engliſh experienced in their hitherto ſucceſsful progreſs; and the Dauphin, in order to expreſs his gratitude for the ſervice he had received from the Scots, as well as to ſecure their future attachment, promoted the Earl of Buchan to the office of Conſtable of France.

Henry, after the coronation of his Queen, had made a progreſs into the north of England, and was at Beverley when he received the news of his brother's defeat. Reſolved to repair the loſs, and to revenge his death, he haſtened to London, and there applied himſelf with ardour to collect a powerful army, and a ſufficient ſupply of money to defray the expences of a vigorous campaign. To enable him to effect his purpoſe, the Parliament, which aſſembled on the ſecond of May, granted him a fifteenth from the laity, and a tenth from the clergy, which was accompanied with a ratification of the treaty of Troyes.

Every thing being prepared for this expedition, the King appointed his brother, John Duke of Bedford, Regent of the kingdom; and, having embarked at Dover on the tenth of June, landed the next day at Calais, with an army of twenty-four thouſand archers, and four thouſand horſemen. Having advanced with his army into Normandy, and paid his reſpects to the King and Queen of France at Paris, he haſtened to the relief of Chartres, then inveſted by the Dauphin; who, on the news of his approach, raiſed the ſiege with precipitation. Henry, finding that Prince determined to avoid an engagement, employed himſelf in the reduction of thoſe places which eſpouſed his intereſt. Dreux firſt ſurrendered to his arms, on the twentieth of Auguſt: he then inveſted Meaux, at the particular requeſt of the Pariſians, who were greatly incommoded by the garriſon of that place. The ſiege was commenced on the ſixth of October; but the defence was ſo obſtinate, that it continued the whole winter; during which time the Engliſh troops ſuſtained conſiderable loſs, as well from the inclemency of the weather as from the frequent ſallies of the beſieged. The town, one of the ſtrongeſt and beſt fortified in France, was divided into two parts, diſtinguiſhed by the different appellations of *The City* and *The Marché*; the latter of which was deemed impregnable. The Baſtard of Vaurus was the Governor, a man not leſs famed for his bravery than deteſted for the cruelty of his diſpoſition, who hanged every priſoner he made on a neighbouring tree, from thence called *The Oak of Vaurus*. After a ſiege of eight months, however, the garriſon was reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering at diſcre-

tion; when Henry, very properly, ordered the inhuman Governor to be executed on his favourite tree.

While the King was engaged in this enterprize, he received the pleaſing intelligence that his Queen was delivered of a ſon, at Windſor, on the ſixth of December 1421. The young Prince, who was baptized ſoon after his birth by the name of Henry, appears to have been univerſally regarded by the Engliſh and French as heir to both monarchies. The Queen, on her recovery, returned to France, and joined the King in his camp before Meaux; and, after the reduction of that place, they both repaired to Paris, where they celebrated the feſtival of Whitſuntide, at the palace of the Louvre, with great magnificence.

The Dauphin, with the auxiliaries he had received from Scotland and Caſtile, had by this time collected an army of twenty thouſand men, the chief command of which was given to the Earl of Buchan, as Conſtable of France. With theſe troops he obtained poſſeſſion of La Charité; opened the paſſage of the Loire; and then formed the ſiege of Coſne, a town ſituated on that river, the garriſon of which agreed to ſurrender, if not relieved by the Duke of Burgundy before the eighteenth of Auguſt. The Duke, apprized of their ſituation, determined to march to their relief; and ſent a meſſage to the King, to requeſt a reinforcement. Henry replied, that he would attend him in perſon, that he might ſhare in the glory of terminating the war by one deciſive engagement. With this view he left Paris; but, on his arrival at Senlis, was ſeized with a fiſtula, a malady which the ſurgeons of that age had not ſkill enough to cure. He was then put in a litter, and conveyed from Senlis; but the pain increaſing, and the moſt dangerous ſymptoms appearing, he found himſelf unable to proceed, and therefore reſigned the command of his army to his brother, the Duke of Bedford, (who had accompanied the Queen to France) and returned by water to Bois de Vincennes.

When the Engliſh and Burgundians approached the army of the Dauphin, that Prince immediately raiſed the ſiege of Coſne, not daring to riſk a battle, the loſs of which muſt have proved fatal to his intereſt. The Duke of Bedford, therefore, haſtened back to the King, whom he found at the laſt extremity. Senſible of the approach of death, he had prepared to meet it with that courage and intrepidity which had never forſaken him. He now ſent for the Earl of Warwick, and ſome other Noblemen, who had been particularly honoured with his friendſhip; and, with the greateſt tranquillity, delivered his inſtructions as to the future diſpoſal of his kingdom and family. He earneſtly entreated them to continue to his infant ſon thoſe marks of attachment and eſteem which he had ever experienced from them himſelf. He profeſſed his indifference at the approach of his diſſolution; and declared his confidence that they would compleat the war he had ſo happily begun, which he was convinced would terminate in the final acquiſition of France. He deſired they would cultivate, with great earneſtneſs, the friendſhip of the Duke of Burgundy, and make him an offer of the Regency of France; but, if he ſhould reject it, he, in that caſe, appointed his brother, the Duke of Bedford, to that important office; and confirmed the Duke of Glouceſter in the Regency of England, which he then enjoyed. The education and perſon of his ſon he committed to the care of the Earl of Warwick. He ſtrictly enjoined them not to liberate the Duke of Orleans, and the other French Nobles, who had been made priſoners at the battle of Azincour, till his ſon ſhould be able to hold the reins of government himſelf; he recommended his Queen to their care and protection; and, he conjured them, if they ſhould find it impoſſible to place his ſon on the throne of France, never to make peace with that kingdom, without obtaining the abſolute ſovereignty of Normandy.

He next applied himſelf to his devotions; and, having made a confeſſion of his ſins, ordered his chaplain to recite the ſeven Penitential Pſalms. When that paſſage of the fifty-fifth pſalm was read, "*Build thou the walls of Jeruſalem*," he interrupted the chaplain, and declared his ſerious intention, after the full eſtabliſhment of his power, to have conducted a cruſade againſt the Infidels, in order to recover the poſſeſſion of the Holy Land. Exhauſted by this effort, he ſoon after expired, on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, in the year 1422; the thirty-fourth of his age, and the tenth of his reign. His body was conveyed to England, and interred with great pomp, at Weſtminſter, among thoſe of his anceſtors.

The perſon of Henry is thus deſcribed by a contemporary author, who aſſumed the appellation of *Titus Livius*—"In ſtature he was rather above the "middle ſize; his countenance was beautiful; his "neck was long; and he was ſo ſwift, that with two "companions, without either dog or miſſive weapon, he caught a doe, one of the fleeteſt animals." This author farther adds, that he was a lover of muſic, and greatly excelled in all martial and manly exerciſes.

The moſt indiſcriminate and extravagant commendations have been beſtowed on this Prince by many contemporary hiſtorians; who, dazzled by the ſplendour of his victories, and by the more ſpecious qualities of his character, have not only been blind to his errors and vices, but have even paſſed over in ſilence thoſe virtues on which his ſtrongeſt title to praiſe is indiſputably founded. Thus, while they have been ſtudious to detail with affected pomp thoſe martial endowments which led to the acquiſition of military fame, they have neglected to notice his ſtrict and rigid obſervance of all ſocial and domeſtic duties, which reflect infinitely more credit on his memory than his moſt brilliant conqueſts. That Henry was poſſeſſed of a mind undaunted by danger, cool and collected in the moſt perilous ſituations, cannot be denied; but that he wanted both caution and prudence, thoſe diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of an able commander, many of his military operations evidently manifeſt. Far, however, from being ſurprized at theſe defects,

fects, we cannot but admire that vigour of ſelf-taught Genius; which, ſpurning the tardy gifts of Experience, could aſtoniſh all Europe with it's efforts. His political abilities, too, were indiſputably of the firſt rate: but, becauſe we allow him that merit which is due to his talents and ſagacity, ſhall we imitate thoſe hiſtorians who from thence conclude that he was a *great* and *good* King? No: our duty compels us ſtrenuouſly to reſiſt an inference ſo pregnant with danger and abſurdity. No plan which human ſagacity can invent, however artfully managed or ſucceſsfully executed, can ſecure the reſpectable epithets of *great* and *good* to it's projector, unleſs it has the immutable principles of juſtice for it's baſis, and the welfare of mankind for it's object. Whereas the ſchemes of Henry were evidently founded in the moſt flagrant injuſtice, and purſued with an excluſive view to the gratification of his own ambition, to which the lives of thouſands of his fellow-creatures were wantonly ſacrificed. His ſpirit of intolerance, evinced in his ſeverity to thoſe who differed with him in matters of religion, has indeed been deemed the vice of the age, rather than of the man; but, ſurely, *goodneſs* would ſcorn to profit by ſuch pitiful diſtinctions, which might be urged, with equal propriety, in palliation of the moſt groſs enormities. His perſecution of the Lollards, whatever attempts may be made to juſtify or excuſe it, muſt reflect infinite diſgrace on his memory, as there is the ſtrongeſt reaſon to believe that it proceeded, not from any miſtaken zeal for religion, but merely from a deſign to promote his own intereſt, by conciliating the favour of the Clergy.

It would be unjuſt, in delineating the character of this Prince, to omit obſerving, that he made ſome amends both to his ſubjects and to the French for the calamities which he occaſioned by the wars in which he was conſtantly engaged, by enforcing an impartial diſtribution of juſtice in his civil adminiſtration, and maintaining the moſt rigid diſcipline in his armies. On the whole, we may conclude that Henry poſſeſſed thoſe qualities which were better calculated to excite eſteem for the Man than to command reſpect for the Monarch.

Catharine of France, Henry's widow, married, ſoon after his death, Sir Owen Tudor, a Welſh Knight, ſaid to be deſcended from the ancient Princes of Wales. She bore him two ſons, Edmund and Jaſper; the former of whom was created Earl of Richmond, and the latter Earl of Pembroke. From this alliance the family of Tudor was afterwards raiſed to the throne of England.

The military part of the feudal ſyſtem was by this time actually diſſolved: the King, therefore, when on the point of engaging in a war, had recourſe to commiſſions of array, in order to raiſe a ſufficient number of troops; the form of which commiſſion had been ſettled in Parliament in the fifth year of the reign of Henry the Fourth. When Henry the Fifth went to France, in 1415, he empowered certain commiſſioners in each county to take a review of all the freemen able to bear arms; in other words, to muſter in array, or ſet in military order, the inhabitants of every diſtrict. Thus a national ſucceeded to a feudal militia; and, though much might not be gained in point of military order, it was ſtill advancing a ſtep towards the attainment of civil liberty.

Exact accounts of the ordinary revenue of the crown during this reign are ſtill extant. In the account delivered to Henry the Fifth, in the year 1421, by William Kenwolmerſh, Dean of St. Martin's, Treaſurer of England, the ſeveral cuſtoms and duties on merchandize—which, though impoſed by Parliament, were in this period reckoned amongſt the ordinary ſtated revenues of the crown—amounted to forty thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven pounds nineteen ſhillings and nine-pence halfpenny a year—equivalent to four hundred and ſix thouſand eight hundred and eighty pounds of our preſent money. By the ſame account it alſo appears, that the whole ordinary revenue of the crown for that year amounted to no more than fifty-five thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-four pounds ten ſhillings and ten-pence farthing—equivalent to little more than five hundred and fifty-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds. Hence it is evident, that Henry, after paying his guards and garriſons, the expences of his civil government, the ſalaries of collectors and other officers of the cuſtoms, and penſions to Dukes, Earls, Knights, &c. (which were charges on the ordinary revenue) had only three thouſand five hundred and ſeven pounds fourteen ſhillings—equivalent to thirty-five thouſand and ſeventy-ſeven pounds—remaining, to defray the various expences of his houſhold, wardrobe, public works, foreign embaſſies, and many other charges of leſs conſequence: the incompetency of which ſum to the purpoſes it was meant to anſwer is manifeſt from the expences of the King's houſhold, which alone amounted to twenty thouſand pounds—money of that age. To ſupply this deficiency, the King was obliged to have frequent recourſe to parliamentary aids; and was, therefore, even in peaceable times, not wholly independent on his people. But, even theſe proving inadequate to defray the expences of thoſe wars in which he was continually engaged, he was compelled to deviſe other means of raiſing the neceſſary ſums. For this purpoſe he borrowed money of whoever would advance it; and, when every other ſource was exhauſted, he pawned his jewels, and even his crown. Notwithſtanding theſe various expedients, he was often compelled to check his career of victory, and liſten to a truce, when a vigorous purſuit of the war might have brought his projects to a ſucceſsful termination. Nor will this be wondered at, when the high pay which was given to ſoldiers at this period is taken into conſideration. All the extraordinary ſupplies granted to Henry by Parliament, during the courſe of his reign, were only ſeven-tenths and fifteenths, amounting to about two hundred and three thouſand pounds: a ſum which muſt have very ſoon been exhauſted by armies of twenty-four thouſand archers and four thouſand horſe, when each archer had ſix-pence a day, and each horſeman two ſhillings.

Henry, till within a year of his death, owed debts which

which he had contracted before his acceſſion to the throne. It was in vain that the Parliament pretended to reſtrain him from occaſional arbitrary exertions of his prerogatives, when he was thus impelled to it by his numerous neceſſities. Though the right of levying purveyance, for inſtance, had been expreſsly guarded againſt by the Great Charter itſelf, and the Commons had made frequent complaints of attempts to renew it, it's abolition was found to be wholly impracticable; and the Parliament was at length obliged to content themſelves with impoſing limitations, in order to reſtrain it within ſome moderate bounds.

In addition to the common annual expences of the crown, the preſervation of Calais, and it's territories, coſt upwards of nineteen thouſand pounds. Ireland, too, coſt two thouſand pounds a year more than it's own revenue, which muſt have been extremely low.

From the earlieſt times, till the reign of Edward the Third, the denomination of money had never varied: a pound ſterling was ſtill a pound Troy; that is, about three pounds of our preſent money. But, in the twentieth year of the reign of that Prince, twenty-two ſhillings were coined from a pound Troy; and, in the twenty-ſeventh year, twenty-five ſhillings: Henry the Fifth raiſed the denomination ſtill higher, and coined thirty ſhillings from a pound Troy.



R. Smirke del. Audinet sculp.

Published as the Act directs by Harrison & Co. Aug.t 8. 1789

HENRY THE SIXTH.

AT the death of Henry the Fifth, his ſon Henry, who ſucceeded him in the throne, was but nine months old. This infant Prince was proclaimed King on the firſt of October; and a Parliament was ſummoned by the Duke of Glouceſter, who repreſented the perſon of his nephew, to aſſemble at Weſtminſter in the enſuing month.

The reſpect which the people bore to the memory of their deceaſed Sovereign, did not prevent them from exerting thoſe rights which were veſted in them by the laws of civil ſociety. The proſpect of a long minority made them think of placing the government on a firm baſis, and of impoſing ſuch limitations on the perſon who was to be entruſted with the ſupreme power as ſhould ſecure their liberties from the danger of encroachment. With this view they deemed it neceſſary to reject a part of thoſe arrangements which Henry in his laſt moments had expreſſed a deſire to have adopted. The title of *Regent* appearing too authoritative, they appointed the Duke of Bedford *Guardian*, or *Protector*, of the kingdom and church of England, and chief Counſellor of the King. The ſalary which they deſtined to ſupport the dignity of this important office was eight thouſand marks; and the Duke of Glouceſter, whenever his brother ſhould be abſent from the kingdom, was appointed to enjoy the ſame authority and emoluments. In order to limit the power of theſe Princes, and confine it within ſuch bounds as appeared moſt conducive to the public welfare, a council was conſtituted, without whoſe advice and approbation no meaſure of importance could be determined; the Protector, in their deliberations, having no other prerogative than a deciding voice in caſe of an equal diviſion. The perſon and education of the infant King, which Henry had conſigned to his confidential friend the Earl of Warwick, were now committed to Henry Beaufort, Biſhop of Wincheſter, his great-uncle, and the legitimated ſon of John of Gaunt; a Prelate whom they thought, as his family could have no poſſible pretenſions to the crown, might ſafely be entruſted with that charge. The arrangement of this plan of government appeared to betray a miſtruſt of the Dukes of Bedford and Glouceſter; but theſe Noblemen were poſſeſſed of ſufficient integrity and honour to prefer the intereſt of the nation to their own private advantage, and therefore acquieſced in a ſettlement which tended to give ſecurity to the public; and, as the wars in France now formed an object of the firſt importance, they wiſely reſolved not to give riſe to any diſſenſions which could in the ſmalleſt degree impede the proſecution of them.

Charles the Sixth ſurvived his ſon-in-law, the King of England, but fifty days; and his death gave riſe to a revolution in France which was neither foreſeen nor expected. Great numbers of the French, who had from a principle of duty acquieſced in the meaſures of their Sovereign, though greatly diſpleaſed at his connection with the Engliſh, now deemed themſelves releaſed from thoſe ties which had bound them to an obedience repugnant to their ſentiments, and transferred their allegiance to the Dauphin, whom they juſtly regarded as their lawful Sovereign. The Duke of Bedford, aware of this circumſtance, adopted every meaſure which the deepeſt political knowledge could ſuggeſt, in order to avert, if poſſible, the evil conſequences which might naturally be expected to reſult from it. With this view, ſoon after the death of Henry, he cauſed his infant ſon to be proclaimed King of France, and took upon himſelf the office of Regent. He then convened an aſſembly at Paris, conſiſting of the chief Nobles of his party, the Parliament, the Members of the Univerſity, the Clergy,

the Magiſtrates, and principal Burgeſſes, of the city, who all took the oaths of allegiance and fealty to young Henry as King of France; which were likewiſe exacted from the inhabitants of the different towns which adhered to the Engliſh intereſt.

While the Duke of Bedford was taking theſe neceſſary precautions in behalf of his nephew, the Dauphin, who then reſided at the Caſtle of Eſpailly, near Puy, in Auvergne, cauſed his friends to proclaim him King; and the ceremony of his coronation was accordingly performed, a few days after, at Poitiers, with all the ſolemnity which his ſituation and circumſtances would admit of. Thus France had two Monarchs at the ſame time, whoſe reſpective claims were inſiſted on with equal obſtinacy, and which now remained to be decided by the ſword, the only effectual argument in princely diſputes. The ſituation of the two Sovereigns was, however, extremely different; and their ſtrength and power appeared ſo very unequal, that there was but little reaſon to expect the conteſt between them would be of long duration. Every thing, on a ſuperficial view, ſeemed to promiſe the ſpeedy deſtruction of the Dauphin—hereafter to be diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Charles the Seventh—whoſe affairs, on his aſſumption of the regal title, were in the moſt deplorable ſtate. He was now but in his twenty-firſt year, an age when the mind is ever more inclined to pleaſure than buſineſs; and in him this natural bent was greatly ſtrengthened by an indolence of diſpoſition which rendered him better adapted to the voluptuous enjoyments of love than to the proſecution of any perilous enterprize. The charms of Agnes Sorrel had eſtranged his heart from his conſort, Mary of Anjou; and, as this latter was a Princeſs of great beauty and exemplary conduct, his ill treatment of her could not but prove prejudicial to his intereſt. His favourites and miniſters were men neither diſtinguiſhed for their talents nor virtues; his finances were ſo much exhauſted as to be inadequate to ſupply the neceſſary expences of his court; the Duke of Brittany, one of the moſt potent vaſſals of the crown, had declared againſt him; the Duke of Burgundy, whoſe influence and power were extenſive, was his inveterate enemy; moſt of the Princes of the Blood, who were able and willing to afford him aſſiſtance—ſuch as the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Counts of Eu, Angouleſme, and Vendome—had been taken priſoners at the fatal battle of Azincour, and were ſtill retained in captivity at the Engliſh court; the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of the capital, and two-thirds of the kingdom; and no foreign nation, except the Scots, had courted his alliance.

On the other hand, though the King of England was an infant, the adminiſtration had devolved on the Duke of Bedford, the moſt accompliſhed Prince of the age: amply qualified, by his experience, prudence, courage, and generoſity, to diſcharge the duties of his important office with honour to himſelf and advantage to the kingdom; to maintain union among his friends, and to acquire the confidence of his enemies. The whole power of England was at his command: he was at the head of armies inured to conqueſt; and was ſeconded by the moſt able and renowned Generals of the age, the Earls of Somerſet, Saliſbury, Warwick, Suffolk, and Arundel; Sir John Talbot, and Sir John Faſtolfe.

On this view of the ſituation and reſources of the two competitors, not a doubt could have remained of the event of this important diſpute; but the advantage poſſeſſed by Charles—though unknown to himſelf—in the affections and ſecret attachment of the people, rendered the conteſt more equal, and proved more than a balance to the apparent ſuperiority of Bedford. In order to attach the Duke of Brittany more ſtrongly to his intereſt, the Regent appointed an interview at Amiens with that Prince and the Duke of Burgundy; at which Arthur, Count of Richemont, brother to the Duke of Brittany, was alſo preſent. The alliance between theſe Princes was here renewed; and Bedford contracted a marriage with the Princeſs Anne, youngeſt ſiſter of the Duke of Burgundy; and perſuaded the Duke to give his eldeſt ſiſter Margaret, widow of the late Dauphin, to the Count of Richemont. The Duke of Bedford, having thus ſecured thoſe allies who were beſt able to ſecond his efforts, began to make preparations for the commencement of hoſtilities. Though the chief ſeat of Charles's power lay in the provinces ſouth of the Loire, he was in poſſeſſion of ſome few fortreſſes in the northern counties, and even in the vicinity of Paris: the Duke of Bedford, therefore, wiſely determined to drive him from theſe holds, before he ſhould attempt more diſtant conqueſts. The Caſtle of Dorfoy was taken, after a ſiege of ſix weeks; that of Noyelle, and the town of Rue, in Picardy, experienced the ſame fate; Pont-ſur-Seine, Vertus, and Montaigu, were reduced by the Engliſh; and an advantage of greater importance was gained ſoon after by the united forces of England and Burgundy.

James Stuart, Lord Darnley, at the head of the Scottiſh auxiliaries, and the Mareſchal Severac, with a body of French troops, had, in the month of July 1423, formed the ſiege of Crevant, in Burgundy. The Earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk, with the Count of Toulongeon, were ſent to it's relief. A fierce and bloody conflict enſued, in which the Engliſh and Burgundians obtained a compleat victory, killed three thouſand of the enemy, and took two thouſand priſoners; among whom were Lord Darnley, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. This victory led the way to the reduction of Gaillon on the Seine, and La Charité on the Loire; the laſt of which places opened an entrance into the ſouthern provinces, and therefore gave the Duke of Bedford a fair proſpect of bringing the war to a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful termination. To enable Charles to retrieve theſe loſſes, which had given the moſt gloomy aſpect to his affairs, the Duke of Milan ſent him a freſh body of troops; with which, and the remains of his own army, he ſurprized the Burgundian General Toulongeon, whom he took priſoner, with ſix hundred of his men. Before the concluſion

concluſion of the campaign, a ſtrong party of his adherents attacked a body of Engliſh, commanded by Sir John de la Pole, brother to the Earl of Suffolk, at Graville, in Le Maine; and, after an obſtinate conteſt, entirely defeated them, having killed fourteen hundred, and taken their General priſoner. This victory revived the drooping hopes of Charles; and the arrival of five thouſand men, whom the Earl of Buchan at this period brought from Scotland, under the command of Archibald Earl of Douglas, one of the moſt renowned warriors of the age, inſpired him with additional confidence. To evince his gratitude for ſo ſeaſonable an aſſiſtance, Charles granted the Dukedom of Touraine to Douglas, and conferred the Lordſhip of Aubigny on Darnley.

The enſuing campaign commenced with trifling ſkirmiſhes, and ſieges of little importance, which occupied either army till the approach of ſummer. The Earl of Saliſbury was then ſent to inveſt the town of Ivry, in Normandy; which, being well fortified, made an obſtinate defence. The Governor, however, was at length reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating; and agreed to ſurrender the place, if not relieved before the fifteenth of Auguſt. Charles, apprized of theſe conditions, reſolved to make an effort to ſave the town; and, having collected an army of ſeven thouſand Scots, fifteen hundred Italians, and ten thouſand French, he ſent them to Ivry, under the command of the Earl of Buchan, Conſtable of France, who was attended by his countryman the Earl of Douglas, the Duke of Alençon, the Mareſchal de la Fayette, the Count of Aumale, and the Viſcount of Narbonne. But when they arrived within ſight of the Engliſh camp—which the Duke of Bedford had recently entered with a freſh body of troops—they found it ſo well ſituated and ſtrongly defended as to preclude all hopes of a ſucceſsful attack: they were, therefore, compelled to retire; and, turning to the left, advanced to Verneüil, which the inhabitants, in ſpite of the garriſon, delivered up to them. Ivry in the mean time ſurrendered, according to capitulation; and the Regent, having left a ſufficient garriſon to defend it, followed the French to Verneüil; but, finding that place already in their poſſeſſion, he choſe an advantageous poſt, in the hope that the enemy would afford him an opportunity of bringing them to a deciſive engagement. In this emergency, the Earl of Buchan called a council of war, at which the thoughtleſs impetuoſity of the French overcame the habitual prudence of the Scots, who urged that, as there was no abſolute neceſſity for coming to an engagement, it would be madneſs to riſk the loſs of an army which formed the laſt reſource of the King. This ſage advice, however, being rejected by the French Nobility, who deemed it diſhonourable, with a ſuperior force, to turn their backs to the enemy, an action was reſolved on, and conducted with the ſame temerity which dictated the reſolution. Buchan had drawn up his forces under the walls of Verneüil, with a deſign to entice the Engliſh from their advantageous ſituation; but the Viſcount of Narbonne fruſtrated his project, by precipitately advancing towards the enemy, and obliging the whole line to follow him without order or regularity. The Engliſh archers, who had, as uſual, fixed their ſpiked paliſadoes before them, let fly a volley of arrows at the foremoſt ranks of the French army; and, though preſſed by ſuperior numbers, and compelled to retreat, they ſoon rallied behind the baggage, renewed the attack, and continued to do great execution upon the enemy. The conteſt was maintained with conſiderable fury for three hours, at the expiration of which victory declared for the Engliſh. Buchan himſelf was left dead on the field, with the Earl of Douglas and his ſon, and the Counts of Aumale, Tonnerre, and Ventadour, with many other noblemen of diſtinguiſhed rank. The young Duke of Alençon, the Mareſchal de la Fayette, and ſeveral Knights and Barons of inferior note, were taken priſoners. Near five thouſand of the French and Scots were ſlain, and about ſixteen hundred of the Engliſh. The day after the battle, Verneüil ſurrendered by capitulation.

The ſituation of the King of France was now almoſt as deplorable as it poſſibly could be: his finances totally exhauſted; his only army annihilated; his moſt powerful adherents either ſlain or in captivity; his hopes from Scotland deſtroyed, by the liberation of the King of Scots, who had concluded a truce with England for ſeventeen years; and, to render his misfortunes compleat, Charles devoted the greateſt part of his time to luxurious enjoyments, and ſubmitted himſelf to the influence of favourites equally deſtitute of principle and abilities. Yet a ſingle incident, which he had no right to expect, proved ſufficient to counteract this combination of unfavourable circumſtances, and to deprive the Engliſh of ſuch an opportunity to compleat their conqueſts as they never afterwards had it in their power to recal.

Jaqueline, Counteſs of Hainault and Holland, and heireſs to thoſe provinces, as well as to Zealand and Friezland, had eſpouſed John Duke of Brabant, couſin-german to the Duke of Burgundy; but, as ſhe had contracted this alliance more from motives of policy than affection, a great diſproportion of age, and a difference of humour, combined with ſome other cauſes of diſagreement, ſoon produced a diſlike on her part which, being founded in contempt, ſpeedily proceeded to antipathy. A reſolution to diſſolve the marriage was the natural conſequence of this diſpoſition, and there can be little doubt but an application to the Court of Rome for that purpoſe would have been ſucceſsful; but, the impatience of the Counteſs overcoming her prudence, ſhe effected her eſcape into England a ſhort time before the death of Henry the Fifth, where ſhe experienced a moſt hoſpitable reception from that Monarch. During her reſidence at the Engliſh court, the Duke of Glouceſter, ſtricken with her charms, and allured by the proſpect of poſſeſſing her rich inheritance, was tempted to make her an inconſiderate offer of his hand. This Prince, though poſſeſſed of many noble endowments, was unfortunately influenced in his conduct by an impetuoſity of temper unreſtrained by prudence, and by

by paſſions unchecked by reaſon. Finding the Counteſs inclined to accept his offer, he immediately entered into a contract of marriage, without waiting to procure a papal diſpenſation, and without obtaining the conſent of the Duke of Burgundy, whoſe alliance was of ſuch conſequence to the nation. That Prince was extremely irritated at this ſtep; and, though the Duke of Bedford's efforts to calm his reſentment had proved effectual ſo long as Glouceſter made no attempt to ſeize the inheritance of his wife, his brother's imprudent conduct ſoon gave to that reſentment both energy and effect. As his avarice and ambition had greatly contributed to induce Glouceſter to contract this unnatural marriage, he now reſolved to gratify thoſe paſſions; and with that view raiſed an army, in the ſummer of 1424, with which he landed at Calais in October, ſome weeks after the battle of Verneüil, and proceeded to attack the dominions of the Duke of Brabant: but the Duke of Burgundy, apprized of his motions, inſtantly withdrew his forces from the Engliſh army under the command of Bedford; and, ſending them to the aſſiſtance of his kinſman, ſoon put a ſtop to the progreſs of Glouceſter. The utmoſt exertions of the Regent were inadequate to prevent the diſpute between his brother and the Duke of Burgundy from proceeding to extremities; ſo that the Low Countries became the theatre of war, which continued for near two years; when, at length, an opportunity offered for promoting a temporary reconciliation. In the ſummer of the year 1426, the Duke of Glouceſter, finding it neceſſary to return to England, left his conſort in the town of Mons, whoſe inhabitants, ſoon after his departure, gave her up to the Duke of Burgundy, by whom ſhe was ſent to Ghent. Jaqueline, however, made her eſcape from thence in the autumn, and fled to Holland; where ſhe remained for two years, making vain attempts to recover her inheritance. In the mean time, an appeal had been made by the Duke of Burgundy to the Sovereign Pontiff on the validity of her marriage; and a definitive ſentence was at length obtained from Pope Martin the Fifth, by which it was declared that her contract with the Duke of Glouceſter was null, and her firſt marriage valid: and it farther pronounced, that even in caſe of the Duke of Brabant's death, it ſhould never be lawful for her to eſpouſe the Engliſh Prince. Glouceſter, now deſpairing of ſucceſs, relinquiſhed his pretenſions, when too late to remedy the miſchiefs they had occaſioned, and married Eleanora Cobham, who had formerly lived with him as his miſtreſs.

This unfortunate tranſaction had prevented the Duke of Bedford from purſuing the advantage he had obtained by his victory at Verneüil, and loſt him an opportunity, which proved irrecoverable, of reducing the kingdom of France to ſubjection. Another circumſtance had likewiſe occurred to impede the progreſs of his arms. This was a difference among the Engliſh miniſtry, occaſioned by a diſpute between the Duke of Glouceſter and his uncle—a Prelate of great talents, but of an intriguing and dangerous diſpoſition—which had ariſen to ſuch an height as to be on the point of producing a civil war. To avert the evil effects of this variance, the Regent found it neceſſary to come over to England, but, his efforts to promote an accommodation between his brother and uncle proving ineffectual, he had recourſe to Parliament, by whoſe authority the difference was apparently compromiſed.

About the ſame time, Charles had made an endeavour to detach the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne from the intereſt of the Engliſh. He knew that the Count de Richemont was greatly incenſed againſt the Duke of Bedford, who had refuſed to entruſt him with the command of his army. He was alſo well acquainted with the extreme pride and vanity of that Nobleman; and, in order to acquire his ſupport by the gratification of thoſe favourite paſſions, he made him an offer of the high poſt of Conſtable of France, then vacant by the death of the Earl of Buchan. This was too tempting a lure for Richemont to reject; who, though connected by marriage both with Bedford and Burgundy, not only deſerted their cauſe himſelf, but prevailed on his brother, the Duke of Brittany, to violate his oaths, and eſpouſe the intereſt of Charles. The Duke of Burgundy, however, though irritated againſt the Engliſh from the treacherous conduct of Glouceſter, had not yet ſo far forgotten the aſſaſſination of his father as to liſten implicitly to the ſuggeſtions of thoſe who had promoted his murder; but he evinced a more ready diſpoſition to be reconciled to his family than Charles could have poſſibly expected.

In this ſituation did the Duke of Bedford find the affairs of France on his return to the continent, after a year's ſtay in England: the Duke of Burgundy in diſguſt; the Duke of Brittany engaged in hoſtilities againſt him; the French recovered from the conſternation into which they had been thrown by their defeat at Verneüil, and, moreover, in high ſpirits, from an incident which occurred during his abſence. The Earl of Warwick having laid ſiege to Montargis with a ſmall army of three thouſand men, and reduced the place to extremity, the Baſtard of Orleans—who was natural ſon to the Prince aſſaſſinated by the Duke of Burgundy, and was afterwards created Count of Dunois—undertook to relieve it. He accordingly conducted a detachment of ſixteen hundred men, with which he made ſo vigorous and ſucceſsful an attack on the Engliſh trenches, that he compelled Warwick to raiſe the ſiege. This trifling check, however, was ſoon remedied by the preſence and activity of Bedford; who, having ſecretly conducted in ſeparate detachments a formidable army to the frontiers of Brittany, made an unexpected attack on that province, and compelled the Duke to forego his alliance with Charles; engage to ſupport the treaty of Troye; acknowledge the authority of Bedford as Regent of France; and promiſe to do homage to him for his dutchy. Having thus freed himſelf from a dangerous enemy who lay behind him, he reſolved on an enterprize which, if ſucceſsful, would,

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he truſted, prepare the way for the final conqueſt of France.

The city of Orleans was ſo ſituated between the provinces which acknowledged the authority of the Regent and thoſe which held out for Charles, that it afforded an eaſy entrance into either; the Duke of Bedford, therefore, determined to reduce it, in order to facilitate his paſſage into the ſouth. The command of this important expedition was entruſted to the Earl of Saliſbury, a Nobleman who had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the courſe of the war, and who had lately arrived from England with a ſtrong reinforcement of troops. Saliſbury accordingly paſſed the Loire; and, after employing the months of Auguſt and September in the reduction of Mehun, Jenville, Beaugency, and ſeveral other ſmall places which ſurrounded Orleans, he ſat down before that city on the twelfth of October, in the year 1428. By theſe operations, his deſigns were expoſed, and the French King was enabled to adopt ſuch meaſures as appeared moſt expedient for counteracting them. Charles had accordingly deſtroyed the ſuburbs, repaired the fortifications, and provided the town with a ſtrong garriſon, well ſupplied with proviſions, to maintain a long and obſtinate ſiege. The Counts of Dunois, Xaintrailles, La Hire, La Fayette, with many other excellent officers, had thrown themſelves into it, with a determination to defend it to the laſt extremity; and the Lord of Gaucour, a man of approved courage and great experience, was appointed Governor. The ſoldiers, too, were all enured to war; and the inhabitants themſelves, diſciplined by the long continuance of hoſtilities, were well able to contribute to the defence of the place. Theſe circumſtances rendered this ſiege an object of attention to all Europe; and it was generally believed that the iſſue of it would decide the fate of the kingdom.

The Earl of Saliſbury's army, not exceeding ten thouſand men, was inſufficient to form a compleat line of circumvallation round ſo extenſive a city as Orleans, which alſo commanded a bridge over the Loire; he therefore reſolved to make his approaches from the ſouth, and for that purpoſe ſtationed himſelf towards Sologne, leaving the oppoſite ſide towards the Beauſſe ſtill open to the enemy. He then attacked the caſtle of the Tourelles, which commanded the bridge, and carried it at the ſecond aſſault: but the acquiſition of this important fortreſs proved fatal to Saliſbury, who loſt his life by a cannon-ball, as he was ſurveying the town from it's ſummit, on the twenty-fourth of October. The Earl of Suffolk ſucceeded to the command; and that Nobleman, who was aſſiſted by Lord Talbot, Lord Scales, and Sir John Faſtolfe—three of the beſt Captains of the age—being convinced that the reduction of the city would be next to impoſſible, before the garriſon were deprived of all communication with the adjacent country, erected redoubts, at different diſtances, quite around it, which he was enabled to man by a ſtrong reinforcement of Engliſh and Burgundians that had recently joined him.

The erection of theſe forts proved the cauſe of innumerable ſkirmiſhes, from attempts to introduce proviſions into the town; and the beſiegers themſelves, unable to collect a ſufficiency from a country already exhauſted by frequent incurſions, ſtood in almoſt as great want of ſupplies as the beſieged. When the Engliſh had lain four months before the place, the Duke of Bedford, having collected at Paris a conſiderable quantity of proviſions, arms, and ammunition, ſent it to the army in five hundred waggons, under the eſcort of ſixteen hundred men, commanded by Sir John Faſtolfe. This convoy had advanced, without moleſtation, as far as the village of Rouvroy, between Jenville and Orleans; where it was met, on the twelfth of February, by the Counts of Clermont and Dunois, with the Conſtable of Scotland, at the head of four thouſand French and Scottiſh troops. Faſtolfe, apprized of their approach, had prepared to receive them, by ſurrounding his little army with the baggage-waggons, leaving open but two avenues, which were guarded by his beſt archers. In this poſition he ſuſtained the firſt attack of the enemy, which, though impetuous, was ſucceſsfully repelled; and, finding them thrown into ſome confuſion by a reception ſo unexpectedly warm, he ruſhed out before they had time to rally, and purſuing his advantage with vigour, obtained a compleat victory. The Count of Dunois was wounded; and one hundred and twenty officers, with ſix hundred ſoldiers, were ſlain in this action, which was called *The Battle of Herrings*, becauſe the proviſions chiefly conſiſted of herrings, for the uſe of the Engliſh army during the Lent ſeaſon.

This event threw a greater damp on the ſpirits of Charles than any misfortune which he had hitherto experienced; but, in order to try every expedient for the preſervation of Orleans, the reduction of which muſt have rendered his ſituation deſperate, he diſpatched Xaintrailles to the Regent, who was ſtill at Paris, to propoſe that the city ſhould be delivered up to the Duke of Burgundy, and remain in his poſſeſſion till the concluſion of the war. It will eaſily be ſuppoſed that Burgundy ſeconded with great earneſtneſs a propoſal which tended, in a great meaſure, to inveſt him with the power of deciding the conteſt as his intereſt or inclination ſhould dictate; but Bedford wiſely rejected a meaſure from which no good could poſſibly accrue to the Engliſh intereſt, and whence much danger might reaſonably be apprehended. This conduct of the Regent is ſaid to have greatly diſguſted the Duke of Burgundy: and Monſtrelet, and ſome other authors, poſitively aſſert, that he inſtantly recalled his troops from before Orleans; though, as they certainly continued to act with the Engliſh in every ſubſequent enterprize, the truth of the aſſertion may juſtly be doubted. Be that as it may, the ſiege continued to be proſecuted with vigour; the garriſon began to experience a ſcarcity of proviſions; and Charles, in deſpair of relieving them, had actually formed a reſolution to retire, with the ſmall remnant of his forces, into the diſtant provinces of Languedoc and Dauphiny. But from the purſuit of this diſgraceful project he was deterred by his conſort, Mary of Anjou, a Princeſs of great merit and conſum-

mate prudence; who repreſented to him that, by the adoption of ſuch a meaſure, he would effectually diſpirit his friends, and compel them, however reluctantly, to forſake his intereſt. The remonſtrances of Mary were alſo ſtrenuouſly ſeconded by Agnes Sorel, his fair miſtreſs, who lived in ſtrict amity with the Queen: ſhe declared, that if he did not defend his lawful inheritance to the laſt extremity, ſhe would forſwear all farther commerce with him, and ſeek in the court of England a lover of more ſpirit and reſolution. The fear of loſing his miſtreſs acting with greater force on the mind of Charles—whoſe love roſe ſuperior to his ambition—than the apprehenſion of loſing his crown, he determined to reſiſt the efforts of the enemy ſo long as reſiſtance ſhould be found practicable. At this critical conjuncture he received aſſiſtance as ſingular as unexpected, which enabled him to bring about a revolution more ſudden and favourable than his warmeſt partizans could have taught him to hope for.

In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, there lived a country girl, of eighteen—or, according to ſome authors, of twenty-ſeven—years of age, called Joan d'Arc, daughter of James d'Arc, a peaſant of the ſame village. The poverty of her parents rendering it neceſſary for Joan to go to ſervice, ſhe hired herſelf to the miſtreſs of a ſmall inn, where ſhe acted in the capacity of oſtler; and, in the diſcharge of this maſculine duty, uſed frequently to ride the horſes of the gueſts to the watering place without a ſaddle, by which means ſhe acquired a degree of ſkill in horſemanſhip which was afterwards attributed to ſupernatural cauſes. A youth paſſed in ſuch a laborious occupation could not fail to give additional vigour to a habit of body by nature robuſt, and additional ſtrength to a mind naturally intrepid. Joan however, had not, during her reſidence at the inn, been diſtinguiſhed for any ſingular qualifications: her life, indeed, was irreproachable; ſhe diſcharged the duties of her ſtation with diligence and alacrity; and thereby obtained, what hitherto had appeared to be the ſummit of her wiſhes, the character of a good ſervant. As the ſiege of Orleans, and the preſent ſtate of France, had attracted the attention of all Europe, it is natural to ſuppoſe that they had become the general topics of converſation with every claſs of people. Joan had often heard the diſtreſſes of the French, and the unfortunate ſituation of the King, who was in danger of being expelled from the throne of his anceſtors, repreſented in ſtrong colours by the different gueſts who frequented the houſe ſhe inhabited. This had intereſted her feelings, and made her regard the Engliſh as a band of ferocious murderers, whom ſhe could wiſh to extirpate. The character of Charles, too—a youthful Monarch ſtrongly addicted to amorous purſuits, and deeming love the moſt important object of life—was peculiarly calculated to excite the attachment of that ſex, who ſecretly glory in the extenſive influence of their charms, whoſe generous affections are ſeldom repreſſed by the frigid mandates of Prudence, and who are enthuſiaſts in every cauſe which thoſe affections prompt them to eſpouſe. The mind of Joan being thus powerfully affected by the oppoſite ſentiments of hatred and compaſſion, her imagination by degrees became heated; and the ſenſations ſhe experienced from thence ſhe miſtook for the effects of heavenly inſpirations: ſhe fancied ſhe ſaw viſions; converſed with different ſaints; and that, at length, St. Michael, the tutelar angel of France, appeared to her, and commanded her to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and conduct Charles to be crowned at Rheims. No enterprize, entered upon under ſuch auſpices, could appear difficult. Fully convinced that Heaven had choſen her as the inſtrument of Divine vengeance, ſhe repaired to Vaucouleurs, procured admiſſion to Baudricourt, the Governor, made known to him her intentions, and earneſtly requeſted he would ſecond her efforts by introducing her to the King. Baudricourt at firſt thought her frantic, and treated her with contempt; but the frequency of her ſolicitations, which were urged with uncommon ardour, at length made him remark ſomething extraordinary in her manner and looks, and induced him to comply with her requeſt. He accordingly provided her with attendants, and ſent her to Chinon, where Charles then reſided.

The reception ſhe there met with was the ſame that ſhe had at firſt experienced from the Governor of Vaucouleurs: it was even debated for ſome time whether ſhe ſhould be admitted to the preſence of Charles. Curioſity, however, prevailed: ſhe procured admiſſion; and thus addreſſed the King, with an air of confidence which, though it was the natural reſult of thoſe ideas that were ſo ſtrongly impreſſed on her mind, was then regarded as a certain proof that ſhe was inſpired from above—"Gentle "Dauphin, I am called Joan the Maid: the King "of heaven hath ſent me to your aſſiſtance. If "you pleaſe to grant me troops, by the grace of "God, and the force of arms, I will raiſe the ſiege "of Orleans, and conduct you to be crowned at "Rheims, in ſpite of your numerous foes. This "is what the King of heaven hath commanded me "to tell you." The energy with which ſhe expreſſed herſelf made converts of all who heard her; and Charles, who could loſe nothing by the experiment, reſolved to try what effect her preſence would have on the drooping ſpirits of his troops. This reſolution was no ſooner adopted than reports were induſtriouſly circulated—in order to captivate the minds of the people, and remove every doubt of her miſſion—that ſhe had revealed a ſecret to the King which, being known only to himſelf, muſt certainly have been diſcovered to her by heavenly inſpiration; and that ſhe had demanded, as the inſtrument of her future victories, a certain ſword, which was concealed in the tomb of a deceaſed Knight, behind the great altar in the church of St. Catharine de Fierbois, and which, though ſhe had never ſeen it, ſhe accurately deſcribed as adorned with croſſes and fleurs-de lys. To render the tranſaction more ſolemn, and to eſtabliſh the truth of her miſſion, certain formalities were deemed requiſite. The firſt ceremony to which ſhe ſubmitted was a verification

verification of her pretenſions to chaſtity, in the preſence of the King's mother-in-law, by a jury of experienced midwives, who unanimouſly pronounced them to be valid. Her miſſion was then gravely examined by an aſſembly of doctors and theologians, who declared it to be celeſtial. She was, laſtly, ſent to the Parliament; who, being rather more ſcrupulous, deſired ſhe would perform ſome miracle, to convince them of the truth of her inſpiration: when Joan boldly replied, that was not the time for miracles; but, if they would attend her to Orleans, they ſhould be fully ſatisfied. The anſwer was deemed juſt; and the Parliament ſubſcribed to the reality of her miſſion.

Theſe circumſtances were all promulgated with great induſtry; and, as the human mind is ever apt to receive with eagerneſs that which forms the chief object of it's wiſhes, they obtained univerſal belief from the people. Hope's chearful ray now diſpelled the gloom of deſpair which had hitherto reigned among the partizans of Charles; and his troops glowed with impatience to retrieve their honour under the auſpices of this female champion. Joan was certainly endowed with all the courage of an heroine, combined with the enthuſiaſm of a perſon inſpired; and theſe qualities were admirably adapted to the purpoſes ſhe was employed to promote. When the nation was duly prepared for her reception, ſhe aſſumed the habit of a man, was armed cap-a-pee, mounted on a ſtately courſer; and, thus martially equipped, was expoſed to the ſight of the people. When the news of her approach reached the Engliſh camp, the ſoldiers, infected with the general contagion, were ſeized with a ſecret dread and inward horror at the idea of fighting againſt Heaven, which they vainly attempted to conceal by a ſtudied affectation of confidence, and a laboured diſplay of contempt: nor could they derive either courage or conſolation from the perſuaſions of their leaders, who aſſured them that the *Maid*, far from being the vicegerent of Heaven, was a mere engine of the Devil.

Orleans had now been inveſted by the Engliſh ſeven months; and the conſtruction of numerous forts, which cut off the communication with the ſurrounding country, had nearly reduced the ſpeedy capture of that city to an abſolute certainty. At this critical conjuncture Joan was diſpatched to Blois, where a large convoy of arms, ammunition, and proviſions, had been collected for the ſupply of Orleans; and a body of five thouſand men, under the conduct of La Hire and other experienced Captains, aſſembled to eſcort it. On her arrival, ſhe ordered all the ſoldiers to confeſs themſelves before they ſet out on the enterprize; ſhe expelled all the female followers of the camp; and diſplayed in her hands a conſecrated banner, on which the Supreme Being was repreſented graſping the globe, and ſurrounded with fleurs-de-lys. In conſequence of her inſpiration, ſhe aſſumed an authority to direct all the military operations; and therefore ordered the convoy to approach the city from the ſide of Beauſſe: but the Generals, knowing that the Engliſh works were weakeſt on the oppoſite ſide, wiſely countermanded her orders, and reſolved to direct their attack to that quarter. The convoy approached Orleans on the twenty-ninth of April; and, after a faint and ſpiritleſs reſiſtance by the Engliſh, who were unmanned by their ſuperſtitious fears, was conveyed into the city without loſs. The Count of Dunois had been ſent out to ſupport the convoy, and to introduce the heroic Maid, who was received by the garriſon with the wildeſt acclamations of joy, and univerſally hailed by the citizens as the ſaviour of their liberties. That this ardour might not be ſuffered to cool, the French were no longer allowed by their leaders to remain on the defenſive; but, in compliance with the earneſt exhortations of Joan, they made a ſally, and attacked one of the Engliſh forts; which, after an obſtinate reſiſtance for four hours, was carried ſword in hand, and four hundred men out of twelve, which compoſed the garriſon, were put to the ſword. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, their attacks became frequent; and the Engliſh were in a few days deprived of thoſe numerous fortreſſes, the erection of which had coſt ſo much time and labour.

Though the various ſallies were planned by the moſt experienced, and conducted by the moſt courageous Generals, the whole merit of their ſucceſs was wiſely aſcribed to the aſſiſtance of Joan, who always accompanied them with her conſecrated banner, and by her animated exhortations, and intrepidity of conduct, increaſed the enthuſiaſtic ardour of the troops. Suffolk, at length, having loſt ſix thouſand of his beſt ſoldiers, and finding that neither argument nor example could allay that panic with which the minds of his whole army were irreſiſtibly impreſſed, and which probably had in ſome meaſure infected his own, called a council of war, who were unanimous in opinion that the ſiege muſt be raiſed. In compliance with this reſolution, the Engliſh army accordingly decamped from before Orleans, on the eighth of May, and retired to the different fortreſſes, on the banks of the Loire, which they had taken before the commencement of the ſiege.

Thus was the firſt object of Joan's extraordinary miſſion accompliſhed—a miſſion, the divinity of which not the moſt incredulous of the French could now dare to diſpute, and on which the Engliſh themſelves were divided in opinion: ſome coinciding with the ideas of the French; while others, equally credulous, and more abſurd, gravely aſcribed it to a compact with the Devil. A French writer of great wiſdom, in ſpeaking of this ſingular occurrence, intimates that Charles by no means believed in the inſpiration of Joan; but merely ſought, from political motives, to inculcate the belief of it in the minds of his people and ſoldiers. "A "young maiden," ſays the author we allude to, "from a conviction that ſhe is inſpired, preſents "herſelf to her Sovereign; who, aware of the im- "preſſion which her enthuſiaſm may make on the "minds of his troops, reſolves to favour the de- "luſion: without truſting any thing to chance, "the Generals who command appear to obey "her; and, though not the moſt trivial expedition "be

" be committed to her care, ſhe ſeems to fix the " arrangement of every plan. Her courage, which " every art is exerted to maintain, becomes diffuſed " over the whole army; and, by a very natural " conſequence, entirely changes the face of affairs." This is certainly a juſt repreſentation of the matter, as far as it relates to the effects reſulting from the employment of Joan; but we cannot ſubſcribe to the opinion that the wiſdom of Charles was ſufficiently ſtrong to exempt him from the general infection. We are the more inclined to believe that the French Monarch was, equally with his friends and enemies, impreſſed with the conviction that the Maid of Orleans—for by that appellation was Joan d'Arc now diſtinguiſhed—derived her courage and proweſs from ſome ſupernatural inſpiration, as the Duke of Bedford, indiſputably one of the moſt ſenſible men of the age, entertained the ſame ſuperſtitious idea; though he was more willing to believe that they originated in hell than in heaven. The opinion of that Nobleman on the ſubject may be collected from the following letter, written by him to the King and Council of England, which may be ſeen in Rymer's Fœdera—

" Alle things there proſpered for you, til the " tyme of the ſiege of Orleans, taken in hand, " God knoweth by what advis. At the whiche " tyme, after the adventure fallen to the perſon of " my Couſin of Saliſbury, whom God aſſoille, " there felle, by the hand of God, as it ſeemeth, a " greate ſtrook upon your peuple that was aſſembled " there in grete nombre, cauſed in grete parties, " as y trowe, of lakke of ſadde belive, and of un- " levefulle doubte that they hadde of a diſciple and " lyme of the fiende, called the *Pucelle*, (Maid) " that uſed fals enchauntments and ſorcerie. The " whiche ſtrooke and diſcomfiture nought oonly " leſſed in grete partie the nombre of youre peuple " there, but as well withdrowe the courage of the " remenant in merveilous wyſe, and couraiged youre " adverſe partie and enemys."

The French Generals, wiſely reſolving not to ſuffer the ardour of their own troops to cool, nor the conſternation of the Engliſh to ſubſide, immediately inveſted Gergeau, to which place the Duke of Suffolk had retired with a ſmall detachment of the army. After a ſiege of ten days, wherein the Engliſh diſplayed more valour than they had lately ſhewn, the town was taken by aſſault, one half of the garriſon put to the ſword, and the remainder, with Suffolk and his brother, taken priſoners. The Maid of Orleans, at the attack upon Gergeau, had ſignalized her courage as uſual: as ſhe deſcended into the foſſée, a blow on the head from a ſtone felled her to the ground, and for a moment deprived her of her ſenſes; but, ſoon recovering herſelf, ſhe animated the troops to freſh exertions, and by her conduct greatly contributed to the ſucceſs of the day. Mehun and Beaugency were next reduced to the dominion of the French; and the army of Charles, during the ſiege of the latter, having received a ſtrong reinforcement of twelve hundred men at arms, commanded by the Count of Richemont, the leaders called a council of war; in which it was determined, through the ſtrenuous perſuaſions of Joan, to purſue the main body of the Engliſh, and, if poſſible, bring them to action.

The Duke of Bedford, having by this time ſomewhat recovered from the ſurprize into which he had been thrown by the late extraordinary reverſe of fortune, collected a body of four thouſand men, which he ſent, under the conduct of Sir John Faſtolfe, to join the army now commanded by Lord Talbot. The junction of theſe troops had not been long effected before the French appeared to attack them. The two armies met, on the eighteenth of June, at the village of Patay, near Anville. The greateſt part of the Engliſh, diſpirited by their late misfortunes, and ſtill under the influence of that ſuperſtitious panic to which alone thoſe misfortunes could be aſcribed, fled at the firſt onſet. Sir John Faſtolfe himſelf, who had ſignalized his courage in many a well-diſputed conflict, eſcaped not the general infection; he ſet the example of flight to his troops, and the order of the Garter was taken from him, as a puniſhment for this inſtance of cowardice. Lord Talbot, indeed, fought with his uſual bravery; but, being deſerted by his army, was ſoon obliged to ſurrender. In this action eighteen hundred of the Engliſh were ſlain, and about one hundred gentlemen taken priſoners, beſides the Lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford.

The firſt object of Joan's miraculous miſſion being accompliſhed by the preſervation of Orleans, ſhe was now anxious for the completion of the ſecond, viz. the coronation of Charles at Rheims. The ſituation, however, of that city, rendered this a matter of ſuch extreme difficulty, that an attempt to perform it would, but a few weeks before, have been deemed the height of madneſs. Rheims was ſituated in a diſtant quarter of the kingdom; was in poſſeſſion of the enemy; the road that led to it was in a manner lined with hoſtile troops, and defended by a variety of ſtrong fortreſſes; while Charles had but a body of ten thouſand men to overcome this complication of difficulties. But to an army inflated with recent ſucceſs, ſtimulated by a reſiſtleſs ſpirit of ſuperſtition, and led by a mad enthuſiaſt, convinced of her own inſpiration, no obſtacles could appear inſurmountable; the exhortations of Joan were therefore liſtened to with alacrity. Charles, who had been hitherto immerged in pleaſure, and had deemed the ſmiles and careſſes of his miſtreſs an ample compenſation for the diſaſters he had experienced, now quitted his voluptuous enjoyments for the more honourable toils of the field: he placed himſelf at the head of his troops; and, accompanied by his heroic conductreſs, began his march to Rheims. Auxerre, Troyes, and Chalons, opened their gates to him as he approached; and the inhabitants of Rheims ſent a deputation to meet him with the keys of the city. The ceremony of his coronation was here performed with great ſolemnity, on the eighteenth of July 1429; and, as ſoon as it was finiſhed, the Maid of Orleans, who had ſtood by his ſide in compleat armour, with her ſacred banner in her hand, fell at his feet, and embracing his knees, with tears of joy entreated his

his permiſſion to return to her former ſtation. The King, however, being too ſenſible of the advantages which he derived from her preſence to comply with her requeſt, Joan was compelled to remain with the army.

The coronation of Charles proved far from a vain and barren ceremony: it ſeemed to give him a freſh title to the allegiance of his ſubjects; who, confounded by ſuch an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of extraordinary events, could no longer heſitate to aſcribe them to ſome ſupernatural influence. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, they regarded their ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh as an act of oppoſition to the will of Heaven, and became impatient to ſwear fealty to Charles, whom they now eſteemed as their only lawful Sovereign. The inhabitants of Laon, Soiſſons, Creſpy, La Ferté-Milon, Chateau-Thierry, Creil, Coulommiers, Provins, and many other towns and fortreſſes, expelled the Engliſh and Burgundian garriſons, and ſubmitted to him; and the whole nation appeared diſpoſed to give him the moſt unequivocal marks of their duty and attachment.

While Charles was making this rapid progreſs, the Duke of Bedford exerted his utmoſt addreſs to counteract the effects of his victories. Knowing that the French Monarch had made the moſt tempting offers to the Duke of Burgundy in order to detach him from the Engliſh, he acted with ſo much ſkill and prudence in this dangerous criſis, that he prevailed on that Prince to renew his alliance with him. By the alternate employment of careſſes and ſeverity, he retained the Pariſians in obedience, and prevented the defection of many other places which had evinced a diſpoſition to eſpouſe the intereſt of Charles. When he had compleated his treaty with the Duke of Burgundy, he left Paris about the middle of July, and repaired to Normandy, in order to raiſe a body of troops: from thence he proceeded to Calais, where his uncle, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who was now created Cardinal, had landed with an army of five thouſand men, which he was conducting into Bohemia on a cruſade againſt the Huſſites. Having perſuaded his uncle to join theſe troops to thoſe which he had juſt raiſed, he found himſelf at the head of ten thouſand men, with which he purſued the footſteps of Charles. But the Count of Richemont, Conſtable of France, having made an incurſion into Normandy, the Regent was induced to alter his courſe, and direct his march to that province.

Charles, in the mean time, advanced to Paris, and attempted to take that city by aſſault; but, the Maid of Orleans being dangerouſly wounded in the attack, his troops were repulſed, and he was obliged to retire into the ſouthern provinces. About this period Charles expreſſed his gratitude to Joan, by granting a patent of Nobility to herſelf, her father and three brothers, and to all their deſcendants, both male and female; he alſo changed the name of their family from d'Arc to *Du Lys*.

The Regent, having expelled the Count of Richemont from Normandy, returned to Paris; and, from the great effects produced by the coronation of Charles, was induced to believe that, if young Henry were to undergo the ſame ceremony, it might be attended with ſimilar advantages. He therefore ſolicited the Protector and Council of England to ſend him over without delay; but the nation was ſo much exhauſted by the war, that ſix months elapſed before ſufficient money could be procured to defray the expences of his journey; and even then the Protector was obliged to raiſe it by pawning the jewels of the crown, and by extorting numerous loans, ſome of which were ſo trifling as not to exceed five marks. When every thing was ready, the young King, who on the ſixth of November preceding had been crowned at Weſtminſter, ſet out for the continent, and landed at Calais on the twenty-ſeventh of April, in the year 1430, attended by the chief Nobility of England. From thence he repaired to Rouen; where he muſt have reſided about nineteen months, as it appears, from the regiſter of the Parliament of Paris, that the ceremony of his coronation did not take place till the ſeventeenth of December 1431.

Young Henry had not been long at Rouen, before an incident occurred which revived the drooping ſpirits of the Engliſh, and diſſolved that charm which of late had retained them in a ſtate of inactivity. Purſuant to the requeſt of Charles, the Maid of Orleans had continued with the army; and, the Engliſh and Burgundians having laid ſiege to Compiegne, ſhe threw herſelf into the town; when the garriſon, encouraged by her preſence, deemed themſelves invincible. But their joy was not of long duration; for, the day after her arrival, ſhe conducted a ſally againſt the beſiegers, and by a diſplay of her uſual intrepidity, twice drove them from their entrenchments. At length, however, being overpowered by numbers, ſhe was compelled to retreat; when, placing herſelf in the rear of her troops, ſhe frequently faced about and checked the purſuit of the enemy: but, being deſerted by her friends, and ſurrounded by foes, ſhe was at laſt, after the moſt ſingular exertions of valour, reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering herſelf a priſoner to the Baſtard of Vendome, who delivered her up to John of Luxembourg, Count of Ligny, commander in chief of the Burgundian army. It was generally believed that the French officers, envious of the high reputation acquired by Joan, to whom the merit of every victory was aſcribed, had purpoſely expoſed her to this diſaſter.

Had the moſt deciſive victory been obtained by the Engliſh, it could not have excited greater acclamations of joy than reſounded from all quarters on the capture of this unfortunate heroine. The Duke of Bedford, under the ſame influence of ſuperſtition which had ſwayed his troops for ſome time paſt, cauſed the ſervice of *Te Deum* to be publicly celebrated at Paris on the propitious event. He now believed that the chief obſtacle to his ſucceſs was removed; and that the conqueſt of France was ſo greatly facilitated, that another campaign would enable him to recover all that he had loſt. To augment this advantage, he purchaſed Joan from the Count de Ligny for the enormous ſum of ten

thouſand pounds, beſides an annuity of three hundred pounds which he granted to the Baſtard of Vendome, to whom ſhe had ſurrendered; and commenced a proſecution againſt her, that inflicted a ſtain on his character which the remembrance of his numerous virtues and accompliſhments has ſcarcely been able to obliterate.

There could be no poſſible reaſon why the Maid of Orleans ſhould not be conſidered as a priſoner of war, and be entitled to ſuch treatment as captives of a ſimilar deſcription experienced. The aſſumption of a maſculine habit—at worſt, an indecorum—for ſo patriotic a purpoſe as that of reſcuing her country from foreign oppreſſion, far from forming a ſubject of accuſation, could not fail to enſure her the higheſt encomiums: her conduct, too, in every reſpect, was calculated to excite commendation and eſteem. It is not ſurprizing, therefore, that her enemies ſhould find ſome difficulty in deciding on what baſis they could inſtitute a proceſs againſt her. While they were conſidering on this point, the unfortunate maiden was conducted to Rouen, and caſt into a dungeon, loaded with irons. During her confinement, meſſengers were ſecretly diſpatched to the place of her nativity, to make ſtrict enquiries into that part of her life when her actions might naturally be ſuppoſed to have been moſt unguarded, and conſequently to have afforded ſome grounds for cenſure: but the malicious inveſtigations of her enemies were even here diſappointed; the reports were favourable, and redounded to her honour. As her deſtruction, however, was reſolved on, the means of promoting it were at length deviſed: Joan was accuſed of *hereſy*, *ſorcery*, and *witchcraft*—crimes which afforded an aſtoniſhing latitude of interpretation to intereſted judges, being indefinable by the plain rules of reaſon and common ſenſe. The univerſity of Paris joined in the accuſation, which was echoed from the pulpit by a herd of venal prieſts, ever ready to ſacrifice the cauſe of Truth and Religion at the ſhrine of Intereſt. Cauchon, Biſhop of Beauvais; five other French Prelates; Friar Martin, Vicar of the Inquiſition; about fifty Doctors of the Canon Law; with the Cardinal of Wincheſter; were appointed to try this extraordinary cauſe. Theſe judges held their firſt ſeſſion at Rouen, on the thirteenth of February 1431; when their wretched priſoner appeared before them, bending beneath the weight of irons, from which ſhe earneſtly, but in vain, entreated them to relieve her. The queſtions that were put to her chiefly tended to eſtabliſh her belief in the reality of thoſe viſions, and of that intercourſe with departed ſaints, which ſhe had originally aſſigned as a reaſon for undertaking the defence of her country. She, on her part, maintained with firmneſs and intrepidity the truth of her inſpirations, and diſplayed the ſame enthuſiaſm before her judges that ſhe had ever evinced in the field. Though harraſſed by perpetual interrogatories during the courſe of near four months, ſhe betrayed no womaniſh timidity, nor ſuffered either threats or promiſes to extort a confeſſion of guilt to which her ſoul was a ſtranger. When the vain formalities of a trial, the iſſue of which had been previouſly decided by the judges, were concluded, Joan was conducted to the church-yard of St. Ouen, where a defamatory ſermon was preached before a vaſt concourſe of people; and, as the prieſt was beſtowing the moſt illiberal abuſe both on the French Monarch and his virtuous heroine, ſhe interrupted him in the midſt of his diſcourſe, and boldly contradicted his calumnious aſſertions. But this wonderful inſtance of mental firmneſs, far from diſarming, only ſerved to increaſe the rage of her perſecutors, who finally condemned her to be burnt alive, as having been convicted of "ſorcery, witchcraft, apoſtacy, ſchiſma-" tiſm, hereſy, ſacrilege, and idolatry; of blaſphem-" ing the name of God and the ſaints; promoting " the effuſion of human blood; of having violated the " modeſty of her ſex; deceived both King and peo-" ple; and worſhipped the devil." The inhuman ſentence was accordingly executed in the market-place—now the Marché aux Veaux—at Rouen, where ſhe was reduced to aſhes, embracing a croſs, and invoking with her dying breath the ſacred name of Jeſus.

Thus miſerably periſhed, by an ignominious death, the unhappy Maid of Orleans, whoſe purity of life, and whoſe intrepidity of ſoul, diſplayed in the beſt of cauſes—the juſt defence of her King and country—could not have failed, in an age leſs obſcured by ſuperſtition, to ſecure the admiration of her friends, and the reſpect of her enemies. The mad enthuſiaſm which gave riſe to and ſupported her glorious efforts in the cauſe of liberty, cannot afford the ſmalleſt pretext for detracting from her merit, as it was evidently derived from the moſt generous motives. Seldom, if ever, are the ſeeds of glory to be found in a mind that is barren of virtue. It is clear ſhe was convinced of the truth of her inſpirations: ſhe acted in conſequence of that conviction; and her conduct was firm, ſteady, and conſiſtent. In ſhort, either ancient or modern hiſtory can ſupply few examples of heroiſm ſo exempt from pollution as that of Joan d'Arc. The only ſhadow of an apology that can be offered for the conduct of thoſe who purſued her with ſuch unrelenting virulence, and to promote her deſtruction violated the moſt ſacred rules of juſtice and humanity, muſt be founded in the idea that their minds were inflamed by the magnitude of their loſſes, and were, moreover, impreſſed with the belief that ſhe was really an inſtrument of the devil.

The Duke of Bedford was diſappointed in his expectations of thoſe happy conſequences which he had hoped to derive from the death of the Maid of Orleans. The ſiege of Compeigne was raiſed, after the place had been inveſted for ſix months; the Engliſh were repulſed in three ſucceſſive attempts upon Lagny; and were unable to recover, before the concluſion of the campaign, any of thoſe numerous places which had been taken from them in the courſe of the preceding ſummer. Both parties, indeed, were ſo much exhauſted, that neither could find reſources to continue the war with ſpirit and effect; ſo that, except the reduction of ſome few inſignificant places, nothing worthy of notice occurred

curred till the fourteenth of November 1432, when Ann of Burgundy, Ducheſs of Bedford, died at Paris. By her death the chief tie which united the Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy was diſſolved; and the marriage of the former with the daughter of the Count de St. Pol, within two months after her deceaſe, laid the foundation of an open rupture between thoſe Noblemen. To prevent a diſpute which muſt have proved highly detrimental to the Engliſh intereſts, the Cardinal of Wincheſter brought them both to conſent to an interview at St. Omer's for the final deciſion of their differences: but a ridiculous point of etiquette as to the payment of the firſt viſit, maintained with equal obſtinacy by both, fruſtrated the good intentions of the Cardinal, by preventing their meeting.

The Engliſh, no longer allured by ſplendid victories, began to murmur at the continuation of the war; the ſupplies granted by Parliament were ſcanty, and wholly inadequate to the exigencies that called for them; and the nation ſeemed inclined to liſten to any propoſals that promiſed a reſtoration of peace on reaſonable terms. For this purpoſe conferences were held, firſt under the mediation of the Pope, and afterwards under that of the Duke of Orleans, who was ſtill a priſoner in England; but, the demands of the Engliſh being rather adapted to their paſt than their preſent ſituation, and the conceſſions of the French too much in the oppoſite extreme, no accommodation could be concluded. About this time, too, the Duke of Burgundy began to perceive that, by eſpouſing the cauſe of the Engliſh, he had ſacrificed his intereſt to his reſentment; and, as the latter ſubſided, the dictates of the former became prevalent. Theſe conſiderations, added to the diſguſt he had recently conceived againſt the Duke of Bedford, induced him to liſten to the ſolicitations of his friends, who urged him to accept the plauſive excuſes of Charles for the aſſaſſination of his father, and to pay attention to the advantageous offers which that Monarch had repeatedly made him. He was farther confirmed in this diſpoſition by an interview with his two brothers-in-law, the Duke of Bourbon and the Count of Richemont, which took place at Nevers, towards the concluſion of the year 1434; when a congreſs was appointed to aſſemble, the following year, in the town of Arras, which the Duke of Burgundy inſiſted that the Engliſh ſhould be invited to attend.

When the time fixed for the meeting of this congreſs arrived, the King of France deputed twenty-nine of the firſt Nobles in the kingdom to attend, as his ambaſſadors; the Council of England nominated the Cardinal of Wincheſter, the Biſhops of Norwich and St. David's, the Earls of Huntingdon and Suffolk, with two and twenty other commiſſioners of high rank and eminence, both in church and ſtate, to attend on their part; the Duke of Burgundy appeared in perſon, attended by his whole court, and moſt of his principal nobility; two Cardinals were ſent by the Pope and the Council of Baſil, which was then ſitting; and there was ſcarcely a Potentate in Europe who did not diſpatch deputies to be preſent at this celebrated congreſs. The conferences, which were held in the Abbey of St. Vaaſt, opened on the twentieth of Auguſt 1437; when the propoſals of the French ambaſſadors plainly demonſtrated the inſincerity of their deſire to promote a peace: the only ſacrifice they would conſent to make, was the ceſſion of Normandy and Guienne, ſubject to feudal homage; in return for which, they inſiſted that the Engliſh Monarch ſhould relinquiſh every pretenſion to the crown of France, and immediately give up every town and fortreſs which he poſſeſſed in that kingdom. The Engliſh commiſſioners, incenſed at an offer which they regarded as an inſult, immediately left the congreſs, without ſpecifying the nature of their demands. When they were gone, the Duke of Burgundy proceeded to conclude a ſeparate treaty with Charles, which was ſoon ſettled, as all the articles had been previouſly arranged. The Pope's Legate abſolved the Duke from the various oaths which he had taken to Henry the Fifth and his ſucceſſor; and Charles conſented to gratify both his pride and ambition by the moſt ample conceſſions. He engaged to aſk pardon of Philip, either in perſon or by his delegates, for the murder of his father, as a crime to the commiſſion of which he had been induced to conſent by the inſtigation of evil counſellors; to deliver up all the aſſaſſins to juſtice; to found chapels and perpetual maſſes for the ſoul of John Duke of Burgundy, as well as for thoſe of his attendants who were killed at the ſame time; to erect a croſs on the ſpot where the murder was committed; and to pay fifty thouſand crowns in gold, as a compenſation for the jewels of the Duke which had been taken from him after his aſſaſſination. He agreed to cede to Philip, and his heirs, the counties and cities of Boulogne-ſur-Mer, Maçon, St. Jençon, and Auxerre, with all their dependencies; together with that deſcription of impoſts, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Aids*, which were levied on ſuch parts of Maçon, Chalons, Autun, and Langres, as lay within Burgundy. The caſtles, towns, and diſtricts, of Bar-ſur-Seine, Peronne, Roye, and Mondidier, with their appendages; the whole county of Ponthieu, Dourlens, St. Riſquier, Crevecour, Arleux, Mortagne, St. Quintin, Corbie, Amiens, and Abbeville, were mortgaged to Philip, and his heirs, until four hundred thouſand crowns ſhould be paid for their redemption. Philip himſelf was exempted from doing homage for thoſe territories during the life of Charles, and his vaſſals from obeying him as their ſuperior Lord. The French Monarch engaged to ſuccour the Duke in caſe of an attack by the Engliſh; and both parties agreed to make no treaty with the enemy without the conſent of each other. The Duke's vaſſals, and others, who had borne St. Andrew's Croſs, which was the enſign of Burgundy, were exempted from ſerving under any other; and a general pardon was granted to all perſons, except the aſſaſſins beforementioned. Each party renounced every alliance to the prejudice of the other; and, by letters-patent, they mutually declared their reſpective

ſpective ſubjects abſolved from all ties of allegiance to him who ſhould firſt violate the preſent treaty. The Princes of the Blood in France, and the Burgundian Nobles, ratified this agreement under their hands and ſeals; and it was afterwards confirmed by the Council of Baſil, which denounced the cenſures of excommunication and interdict againſt him who ſhould be guilty of any infringement of the articles. Such were the extravagant terms on which the King of France purchaſed the friendſhip and alliance of the Duke of Burgundy: terms which nothing but the urgency of his preſent ſituation could juſtify or excuſe.

When the news of this treaty was received in England, by a herald ſent by the Duke for that purpoſe, who was likewiſe inſtructed to apologize for the conduct of his maſter in departing from the treaty of Troye, which he had ſolemnly ſworn to maintain, the people expreſſed the moſt violent indignation; the Londoners, in particular, were ſo much incenſed againſt Philip for this breach of faith, that they plundered all his ſubjects who were then reſident in the metropolis, and even put many of them to death. The herald, too, was treated with contempt, and diſmiſſed without an anſwer.

While the congreſs was ſitting at Arras, the Engliſh ſuſtained an irreparable loſs by the death of the Duke of Bedford, who died at Rouen, on the fourteenth of September. This Prince was endued with numerous virtues and extenſive talents, and left a character unſtained by any blemiſh, except that of the inhuman execution of the Maid of Orleans; which, though it will admit of ſome trifling mitigation from his implicit belief of her infernal agency, muſt ever prove diſgraceful to his memory.

The confuſion which obtained in the Council of England at this period, from the violent animoſity that ſubſiſted between the Duke of Glouceſter and the Cardinal of Wincheſter, prevented the adoption of any vigorous meaſures for the repair of theſe multiplied loſſes. By the influence of the former, Richard Duke of York was appointed Regent of France; but the power of the latter, who ſtrenuouſly contended for the appointment of his nephew, Edmund Beaufort, afterwards Duke of Somerſet, was ſufficient to impede the ſignature of his commiſſion for more than ſix months.

In this interval, the Conſtable Richemont, with the Mareſchal L'Iſle-Adam, had obtained poſſeſſion of Paris by the treachery of the citizens; and almoſt every fortreſs in the Iſle of France had been delivered up to Charles.

The Duke of York, having at length received his commiſſion of Regent, landed in Normandy with a body of troops, which enabled him to retake ſome inconſiderable towns and caſtles that had been lately reduced by the French. While he was employed in the conqueſt of Normandy, he received intelligence that the Duke of Burgundy, with an army of fifty thouſand Flemings, had laid ſiege to Calais; and, having made known this circumſtance to the Council, they determined, at the inſtigation of the Duke of Glouceſter, to raiſe a ſufficient force to check the progreſs of this powerful invader. A fleet of five hundred ſail was accordingly collected in a few weeks; and, an army of fifteen thouſand men being raiſed, the command of it was given to Glouceſter, who landed at Calais on the ſecond of Auguſt 1436: but the Duke of Burgundy, having met with more oppoſition from the garriſon than he had expected, and being afraid to riſk an engagement, raiſed the ſiege, and made a precipitate retreat, with the loſs of his artillery and baggage. Nor were the military expeditions of Philip in the enſuing campaign more ſucceſsful. After quelling an inſurrection of the Flemings, in which he was wounded, he levied a powerful army, and ſent his Generals to inveſt Crotoy; while he placed himſelf at a convenient diſtance with a ſtrong body of forces, in order to cover the ſiege. The gallant Lord Talbot, being apprized of the Duke's motions, advanced to oppoſe him with a ſmall army of five thouſand men; and, finding him poſted on the banks of the River Somme, boldly plunged into the ſtream at the head of his troops, who evinced the ſame ſpirit of reſentment againſt Philip as inflamed the boſom of their General. The Burgundians, intimidated at this inſtance of daring courage, which gave them reaſon to expect a moſt vigorous attack, provided for their ſafety by a precipitate flight. The ſiege of Crotoy was immediately raiſed; and Talbot, having ſtrengthened the garriſon and repaired the place, extended his incurſions into the provinces of Artois and Picardy, which he laid waſte, and then returned to Normandy loaded with ſpoils.

Charles, in the mean time, rouzed from his native indolence by the ſtrenuous exhortations of the Duke of Burgundy, had placed himſelf at the head of his army, and taken the towns of Landen, Nemours, and Montereau-Faut-Yonne; at the laſt of which places he ſignalized his courage and perſonal proweſs in a manner that raiſed him greatly in the eſtimation of his ſubjects. After theſe ſucceſsful operations, that Monarch made his triumphal entry into Paris, amidſt the acclamations of the people, and by his preſence reſtored to the metropolis a degree of order and tranquillity to which it had long been a ſtranger.

The factions ſtill prevalent in the Engliſh Council cauſed the removal of the Duke of York, though a Prince of great ſpirit and ability, from the Regency of France. He was ſucceeded by Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who landed in Normandy, with a reinforcement of a thouſand men, about the ſame time that the French Monarch made his entry into Paris: but that Nobleman dying at Rouen in April following, the Duke of York was reſtored to the enjoyment of his former dignity.

Both the Engliſh and French appear at this period to have been equally anxious to terminate the war; and, indeed, their ſituation was ſuch as muſt have ſtrongly enforced the neceſſity of an accommodation: that of France, in particular, was deplorable in the extreme; the army ſhe had been obliged to maintain was infinitely ſuperior to her reſources; and the troops receiving no pay, gave a looſe to that licentiouſneſs and ſpirit of plunder which long wars never

never fail to engender. Diſperſed in ſeparate bands, and headed by experienced Captains, who were not aſhamed to participate in their crimes, they overran the moſt fertile provinces in the kingdom, pillaged the defenceleſs inhabitants, and ſpread ruin and devaſtation wherever they appeared. The peaſants, juſtly alarmed at theſe dreadful incurſions, fled from their habitations, and neglected the cultivation of their lands. From hence, and from the inceſſant rains which fell during the years 1437 and 1438, a moſt deſtructive famine aroſe, ſucceeded by a peſtilence, which ſwept away many thouſands of the people, particularly in Paris and it's environs. Mezeray obſerves, that the Metropolis loſt ſo many of it's inhabitants, that the wolves prowled about the ſtreets in ſearch of prey, and carried off the children in ſight of their parents. England, too, partook of the miſeries of it's rival; the ſame deſtructive viſitants diminiſhed the number of her inhabitants; her finances were exhauſted; and her Councils diſtracted by contending factions. More forcible inducements to reconciliation cannot be imagined; and, the Pope ſtill continuing his exhortations to peace, conferences were again opened at a place equi-diſtant from Calais and Gravelines: but the propoſals of France and the demands of England were ſtill ſo widely different, that all hopes of accommodation immediately vaniſhed. The Engliſh Plenipotentiaries inſiſted on the free and independent poſſeſſion of Normandy and Guienne, with Calais and it's diſtrict; but the French would only conſent to a partial annexation of thoſe territories to the crown of England, and clogged alſo with the uſual burdens of homage and fealty: the negotiations, therefore, were diſcontinued.

During the congreſs, the Dutcheſs of Burgundy concluded a truce for three years, and alſo ſigned a treaty of commerce, between the Engliſh and Burgundians. This Princeſs was daughter of John, King of Portugal, and grand-daughter to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter; ſhe was, conſequently, nearly related to the King of England.

The attempts to negotiate a peace had not prevented the continuation of hoſtilities. Early in the ſummer, the Count of Richemont inveſted the city of Meaux, one of the beſt-fortified places in France, which had formerly taken Henry the Fifth ſeven months to reduce. It was defended by the Baſtard of Han, an officer of approved courage; but, notwithſtanding the moſt vigilant and active exertions, it was taken by aſſault, after a ſiege of three weeks. The garriſon, however, effected their retreat into that part called the *Marché*, which is ſituated on the oppoſite ſide of the Maine, and broke down the bridge of communication; ſo that Richemont had all his operations to begin anew. He formed compleat lines of circumvallation, ſtrengthened with redoubts, to prevent the entrance of ſupplies; and the King himſelf appeared in his camp, to encourage the troops by his preſence. Lord Talbot, however, notwithſtanding theſe precautions, reſolved to ſuccour the beſieged; and accordingly, advancing with a ſmall body of men, attacked one of the redoubts, which he ſpeedily carried, and then entered the place with a convoy. The next day he effected his retreat by ſimilar means, and determined ſoon to return with a more effectual ſupply; but Richemont, piqued at the inſult he had ſuſtained, preſſed the ſiege with ſuch impetuoſity, that the garriſon were compelled to ſurrender. The ſucceſs of this enterprize encouraged the Conſtable to undertake the ſiege of Avranches, which he was ſpeedily compelled to raiſe, being attacked by Talbot at the head of thoſe troops which he had deſtined for the relief of Meaux, who made him retreat with precipitation, leaving his baggage and artillery behind him.

In the enſuing campaign, the Engliſh had two armies in motion, one of which laid waſte the fertile province of Picardy; while the other, conducted by the Earl of Somerſet and Lord Talbot, inveſted Harfleur, which had been taken by the French in the year 1432. As theſe Noblemen had not ſufficient troops to take the town by ſtorm, they determined to reduce it by blockade; for which purpoſe they entrenched themſelves very ſtrongly, and cauſed the harbour to be blocked up by a powerful fleet. An army was ſent to the relief of the place; but, having made an unſucceſsful, though vigorous attack on the Engliſh entrenchments, they were obliged to abandon the enterprize; and the garriſon ſoon after capitulated.

Conferences were again opened, in order, if poſſible, to bring this tedious and deſtructive conteſt to a termination; but, neither the Engliſh nor French being willing to relax from their former propoſals, they proved ineffectual. The negotiations for the liberation of the Duke of Orleans from captivity were more ſucceſsful. That Prince having offered to pay the ſum of one hundred thouſand nobles for his liberty, the queſtion was debated by the Council of England; when the ſentiments of the Duke of Glouceſter and the Cardinal of Wincheſter were, as uſual, entirely oppoſite. The former ſtrongly contended, that the dying requeſt of the late King—that none of the French priſoners might be releaſed until his ſon ſhould have attained a ſufficient age to aſſume the reins of government himſelf—ſhould be ſtrictly adhered to. The Cardinal replied, that the ſum offered was of ſuch magnitude as, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, ought not to be rejected; and, indeed, it was equal to two-thirds of all the extraordinary ſupplies which the Parliament had, in the courſe of ſeven years, granted for defraying the expences of the war. He farther obſerved, that the Duke's preſence in France might give ſtrength and effect to thoſe factions which prevailed againſt Charles, and might conſequently prove advantageous to the Engliſh intereſt. Theſe arguments proved ſucceſsful; and the Duke of Orleans, after a tedious captivity of twenty-five years, was permitted to return to his native country. One of the conditions of his releaſe was, that he ſhould engage to exert his utmoſt influence in effecting a general peace; and, if he ſucceeded in his efforts for that purpoſe, that part of his ranſom which he had paid before his departure was to be reſtored, and the remainder remitted. But, on his return to France, he

he was received by the people with ſuch marks of affection, that Charles took umbrage at his popularity; and, far from favouring his endeavours to promote a peace, prepared to purſue the war with more vigour than he had lately exerted. Having placed himſelf at the head of his troops, accompanied by the Dauphin, he opened the campaign, in the month of April, by the ſiege of Creïl, a town on the River Oyſe, which he ſoon obliged to capitulate. His next attempt was on Pontoiſe, which he inveſted, about the middle of May, with an army of twelve thouſand men. The Dauphin, and all the beſt Generals of France, were preſent at this ſiege, which was conducted with the greateſt vigour, as Charles was extremely anxious to obtain poſſeſſion of a place ſo important both from it's ſtrength and ſituation. The defence, however, was ſuſtained with equal valour and intrepidity; and all the precautions of the beſiegers proved inadequate to reſiſt the courageous efforts of the gallant Talbot, who forced their entrenchments, and entered the town with a conſiderable convoy. The garriſon, deriving freſh ſpirits from this ſeaſonable ſupply, repelled every attack of the enemy, who continued the ſiege till the middle of Auguſt; when the Duke of York, having collected an army of eight thouſand men, marched from Rouen towards Pontoiſe. When he approached the place, he ſent a herald to Charles, challenging him to battle; but the French Monarch replied, that he ſhould never ſuffer an enemy to regulate his conduct. The two armies were ſeparated by the River Oyſe; and, as the bridge was guarded by a detachment of a thouſand men, Charles ſet the Engliſh at defiance, and continued the ſiege without dread of moleſtation. His ſecurity, however, proved fallacious; for the Duke of York, having found means to tranſport ſix hundred men in boats, during the night, to the oppoſite ſide, they attacked the guard on the bridge; and, having put them all to the ſword, opened a paſſage for the remainder of the army. Charles was thrown into ſuch conſternation by this unexpected aſſault, that he haſtily raiſed the ſiege, and retired under the cannon of Poiſſi. Thither he was followed by the Duke of York, who once more challenged him to battle: but, finding Charles determined to avoid an engagement, the Regent committed depredations on the neighbouring country; and, having recruited the garriſon of Pontoiſe, returned into Normandy.

The precipitate retreat of the French from an inferior army gave riſe to great murmurs in Paris; and the popular diſcontents became ſo loud and prevalent, that Charles deemed it neceſſary to recover his loſt reputation by ſome ſignal effort. With this view he returned to Pontoiſe, wholly unexpected by the Engliſh; recommenced the ſiege; and conducted it with ſo much vigour, that a practicable breach was ſoon effected, which Charles was the firſt to mount. His conduct on this occaſion inſpired his troops with ſuch courage, that their efforts proved irreſiſtible; the place was taken, five hundred of the garriſon were put to the ſword, and the reſt made priſoners.

During theſe tranſactions in France, the moſt violent confuſion prevailed in the Council of England. The Cardinal of Wincheſter, not content with thwarting the Duke of Glouceſter in all his views and projects, finding his popularity daily increaſed, had ſecretly determined to operate his deſtruction. He had introduced ſpies into his family, from the hope that the continued provocations which the Duke received from the Council, and the contemptuous behaviour of the young King—whoſe diſpoſition, being now developed, had proved him to be harmleſs and inoffenſive, of a weak mind, and ſlender abilities—a fit puppet for the hand of Ambition—would betray him into ſome unguarded expreſſions that might give riſe to an accuſation of treaſon: but Glouceſter, though warm in temper, and nicely ſuſceptible of inſults, was too ſtrongly attached to his Sovereign to afford the ſmalleſt pretence for attacking him on the ſcore of diſloyalty; the Cardinal was, therefore, obliged to change his plan, and to ſeek, by farther provocations, to obtain ſome advantage over his enemy. Having received information from one of his emiſſaries that the Dutcheſs of Glouceſter had frequent meetings with a Prieſt, named Roger Bolingbroke, a reputed necromancer, and Margery Gourdimain, of Eye, known by the appellation of *The Witch of Eye*, who acquired a ſubſiſtence by the ſale of certain powders, calculated to prevent the alienation of affection, he iſſued a warrant for the apprehenſion of thoſe people, as well as of the Dutcheſs herſelf, whom he accuſed of high-treaſon. The ſole attempt that was made to ſupport this malicious accuſation, was an aſſertion that the priſoners had made an image of young Henry in wax, which they melted before a ſlow fire, from the belief that, by the power of magical incantations, a ſimilar gradual conſumption of the King's ſtrength and vigour would take place, and produce a total decay. The Dutcheſs underwent an examination by the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, aſſiſted by ſeveral other Prelates, who were not aſhamed to proſtitute the ſacred dignity of their character to ſuch baſe and treacherous purpoſes. The accuſation being confirmed by theſe infamous Prieſts, a ſolemn deputation of the Peers, among whom were the Earls of Huntingdon, Stafford, Suffolk, and Northumberland, was appointed to try her. It will eaſily be imagined that the ſame diſhonourable ſpirit of perſecution which dictated the charge obtained at the trial. No evidence could poſſibly be adduced in ſupport of an aſſertion that ſet common-ſenſe at defiance; nor was any required: the judges, all creatures of the Cardinal, obeyed his injunctions with implicit preciſion; and, without the ſmalleſt proof, pronounced the Dutcheſs guilty, and ſentenced her to do public penance, three different times, at St. Paul's and two other churches, and then doomed her to perpetual impriſonment. Bolingbroke, who, unfortunately for himſelf, poſſeſſed ſome mathematical knowledge, and was *therefore* deemed a magician, was executed at Tyburn; and Margery Gourdimain, the female vender of love-powders, was burnt in Smithfield.

The religious principles of thoſe dark times muſt appear

appear in a very unfavourable point of view, when we ſee the firſt dignitaries of the church ſtand forward as the promoters of ſuch diabolical practices. The Cardinal, however, gained but little by this arbitrary exertion of power; for Glouceſter, aware of his deſigns, was ſtudious to counteract them; and the people, perceiving that the Duke was an object of perſecution, beſtowed on him a greater portion of their eſteem.

Since the declenſion of Glouceſter's power in the Council, the war with France had been either wholly neglected; or, what was of worſe conſequence, but feebly purſued. After the reduction of Pontoiſe, Charles had marched his army into Guienne; and, meeting with no oppoſition, made himſelf maſter of the principal places in that province. The Duke of York, indeed, attempted to make a diverſion in the northern parts of the kingdom; and Lord Talbot, lately created Earl of Shrewſbury, landed in Normandy with a reinforcement of troops: but, their forces being wholly inadequate to any important enterprize, they were unable to impede the rapid progreſs of the French.

The Duke of Glouceſter, in the mean time, juſtly incenſed at the perſonal injuries he had ſuſtained from the Cardinal of Wincheſter, as well as at the flagitious practices of that Prelate, preferred an accuſation of high-treaſon againſt him. The charge conſiſted of fourteen articles; the moſt weighty of which ſet forth, that the ſaid Cardinal, in conjunction with John Kemp, Archbiſhop of York, had taken the excluſive poſſeſſion of the King's perſon, and aſſumed to himſelf the exerciſe of ſovereign authority. By another, theſe Prelates were accuſed of embezzling immenſe ſums of the public money. Both theſe accuſations were founded in fact; and, as they related to circumſtances of public notoriety, might have been eaſily proved: but the Council, blindly devoted to the will of the Cardinal, refuſed to exert themſelves; and the King, wholly at his command, rendered the proſecution needleſs, by granting him a full pardon for all the treaſons and crimes he had ever committed—though the Cardinal's acceptance of ſuch a pardon certainly amounted to an acknowledgment of his own guilt.

Both France and England were by this time ſo compleatly exhauſted, that a ſpeedy termination of the war appeared inevitable. The Engliſh Council, convinced of their inability to purſue it with vigour, reſolved to propoſe terms of accommodation to Charles; and William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was ſent to Tours for that purpoſe. To adjuſt the terms of a laſting peace, however, was found to be impoſſible; a truce, therefore, was concluded between the two Monarchs and their allies, to commence on the twenty eighth of May 1444, and to laſt till the firſt of April 1446: but the period of it's duration was afterwards prolonged to ſix years. Had Suffolk's commiſſion extended no farther than to the reſtoration of tranquillity, the nation would have been highly indebted to his efforts: but, unfortunately, he was charged, either by a private article of his inſtructions, or (which is more probable) by the ſecret commands of the Cardinal, to procure for young Henry a conſort; who, being indebted to him for her elevation, might prove a formidable acquiſition to his party. The perſon fixed on for this purpoſe was Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, Count of Anjou, and titular King of Sicily, Naples, and Jeruſalem—pompous titles, which he inherited from Charles the Fifth, who had bequeathed them to his poſterity, without either power or poſſeſſions to ſupport them. This Princeſs was one of the moſt accompliſhed women of the age: with a perſon eminently beautiful, ſhe poſſeſſed a maſculine vigour of mind, a daring ſpirit of enterprize, and an underſtanding at once ſolid and acute; in ſhort, ſhe was peculiarly calculated to acquire a deſpotic aſcendancy over the feeble mind of Henry, and to ſupply his defects and imbecility. When Suffolk made his propoſals to her, they were immediately accepted; and the treaty of marriage was accordingly ſigned: but, though the Princeſs brought no dowry, he ventured, without any direct authority from the Council, though probably by the deſire of the Cardinal—who might hope by that means to ſecure the favour of Margaret—to engage, by a ſecret article, that the province of Maine, then in the hands of the Engliſh, ſhould be ceded to her uncle, Charles of Anjou, Prime-Miniſter and chief favourite of the King of France. The articles of the marriage being adjuſted, Suffolk returned to England, to procure it's ratification.

The only oppoſition it experienced was from the Duke of Glouceſter; who, perceiving it's evil tendency, declaimed againſt it with great vehemence. His vexation, too, was the more poignant, as he had himſelf, ſome time before, propoſed a daughter of the Count of Armagnac as a wife for Henry, and that Princeſs had actually been contracted to the King, though the capture of her father by Charles had prevented the completion of their marriage. All Glouceſter's objections were but of little avail, and only tended to enflame the reſentment of Margaret—already diſpoſed to behold him with an eye of miſtruſt—and to increaſe her attachment to his moſt inveterate enemies.

The treaty of marriage was ratified by the King and Council; and, in order to ſtrengthen the intereſt of that party which had effected it's accompliſhment, the Cardinal prevailed on Henry to confer new honours on ſome of the moſt powerful Nobles. John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, was created Duke of Exeter; Humphrey, Earl of Strafford, Duke of Buckingham; Henry de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, ſon to the late Regent of France, was made Duke of Warwick; and the Earl of Suffolk obtained the title of Marquis. This laſt Nobleman was ſent, with a ſplendid train of Peers and Peereſſes, to conduct the new Queen to England, where ſhe landed in April 1445. On the twenty-ſecond of that month the marriage was conſummated at Southwich, in Hampſhire; and, on the thirtieth of May, the ceremony of her coronation was performed, with great pomp and ſolemnity, at Weſtminſter Abbey.

Though the Duke of Glouceſter had attempted to ſoothe the indignation of Margaret, by going forth

forth to meet her, with five hundred of his followers in livery, as ſhe approached the metropolis, and by ſhewing her every mark of reſpect, her reſentment, daily inflamed by the Cardinal and his party, became inveterate; and ſhe was ſoon brought to join in a project for the deſtruction of that nobleman. The obſequiouſneſs of the Parliament—who had paſſed a vote of thanks to Suffolk for concluding a truce with France, and promoting the marriage of Henry, and had even petitioned the King to reward him for ſuch meritorious ſervices—induced theſe noble conſpirators to believe that they ſhould find little difficulty in making them accomplices in their crime, by procuring from them the ſanction of a legal condemnation. With this view a Parliament was ſummoned to meet, at St. Edmundſbury, on the tenth of February, in the year 1447; and the Duke of Glouceſter, unſuſpicious of danger, came to attend it at the appointed time. The aſſembly was opened with the uſual forms, and nothing extraordinary occurred on the firſt day of the ſeſſions; but, on the ſecond, the Duke was arreſted by Lord Beaumont, the High Conſtable, and committed to priſon: his attendants were likewiſe ſeized, and ſecured in different places of confinement. The pretext offered to the public for this violence was, that Glouceſter had formed a conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate the King, and uſurp the throne; and it was given out, that he would be brought to trial without delay for high-treaſon. But this tale not meeting with that degree of credit which it was expected the authority of thoſe who invented and propagated it would neceſſarily enforce, the accuſers changed their plan, and reſolved on a private aſſaſſination, as more certain, and leſs dangerous, than a public execution. Accordingly, ſome days after his commitment, he was found dead in his bed; and though his body, which had no marks of violence on it, was expoſed to the view both of the Parliament and the people, no body entertained the ſmalleſt doubt that he had fallen a victim to the perſecuting ſpirit of his enemies. Several of the Duke's friends and followers were afterwards tried as accomplices in his treaſonable projects; and, to the diſgrace of their judges, were convicted, and received ſentence of death.

Suffolk, who conducted this ſhameful proceſs, ſought to avert the odium he had incurred by an act of popularity. He ſuffered the convicts to be conveyed to the place of execution, and even to be tied up; but, after hanging a ſhort time, they were cut down alive, and received their pardon. The mode of beſtowing mercy was, in this inſtance, not leſs cruel than the illegal puniſhment which rendered the exertion of it neceſſary. The indecent haſte and rapacity with which the Queen and her favourites ſeized on the extenſive poſſeſſions of the Duke of Glouceſter, and appropriated them to their own uſe, or beſtowed them on their minions, ſufficiently explained to the people the motives which had influenced his deſtruction, and rendered his murderers compleatly odious.

The Cardinal of Wincheſter died ſoon after his nephew, and in his laſt moments is ſaid to have experienced the ſevereſt pangs of conſcious guilt—pangs which reduce illuſtrious Vice to it's proper ſtation, and afford to obſcure Virtue a glorious, though a painful, triumph! The death of the Cardinal deprived the Queen and Suffolk of the extenſive influence attached to his power and enormous wealth, and left the Marquis more than ever expoſed to the invectives and maledictions of the people. An event ſoon after occurred which increaſed this univerſal odium.

That article of the marriage-treaty, by which the province of Maine was to be ceded to the uncle of Margaret, had probably hitherto been kept ſecret; and, when the averſion of the Duke of Glouceſter to the marriage be conſidered, as well as the popularity of that nobleman, it appears that the execution of it during his life muſt have been attended with infinite danger: but, as the King of France now inſiſted with great earneſtneſs on immediate compliance, orders were diſpatched, under Henry's hand, to Sir Francis Surienne, Governor of Mans, commanding him to ſurrender that place to Charles of Anjou. Surienne, however, either doubting the authenticity of the order, or unwilling to part with his government, from which he derived his ſole ſubſiſtence, refuſed compliance; and it became neceſſary for a French army, under the Count of Dunois, to lay ſiege to the city. Surienne made an obſtinate defence; but, receiving no relief from Edmund, Duke of Somerſet, who had lately replaced the Duke of York in the government of Normandy, he was at length obliged to capitulate, and to ſurrender, not only Mans, but all the other fortreſſes of that province, which was thus entirely alienated from the crown of England. Nor was this the only evil conſequence of that imprudent ſtep. Surienne, at the head of his troops, to the number of two thouſand five hundred, retired into Normandy, under the natural expectation of being received and protected by the Governor of that province. Somerſet, however, being ſcarcely able to find pay and ſubſiſtence for the forces already there, refuſed them admittance; upon which they repaired to Brittany, ſeized the rich commercial town of Fougeres, repaired the fortifications of Pontorſon and St. Jacques de Beuvron, and ſubſiſted by committing depredations on the whole province. The Duke of Brittany, juſtly enraged at the infraction of a truce, in which, as an ally of France, he had been included, made inſtant application for redreſs to the Duke of Somerſet: who replied, that the violence was committed without his knowledge; and, having no authority over Surienne and his followers, he could not poſſibly be anſwerable for the conſequence. This reply proving unſatisfactory to the Duke of Brittany, that Prince appealed to the King of France, as his liege Lord; who, in the moſt peremptory terms, inſiſted that Somerſet ſhould recal the plunderers, and make reparation to the Duke of Brittany for all the damages which he had ſuſtained; and, that an accommodation might be abſolutely impracticable, he eſtimated thoſe damages at the enormous ſum of ſixteen hundred thouſand crowns.

Charles was the more eager to ſeize this opportunity

tunity for commencing hoſtilities, as, ſince the concluſion of the truce, he had been buſily occupied in recruiting the exhauſted finances of his kingdom, and in regulating it's internal œconomy. Having at length repreſſed the factious ſpirit of his Nobles, and reſtored to his army that diſcipline which is ſo eſſential to the ſucceſs of it's operations, he reſolved to attack the Engliſh, whoſe councils were divided, and whoſe forces were greatly inadequate to repel his progreſs. Four powerful bodies of troops were deſtined for the invaſion of Normandy: one commanded by Charles in perſon; a ſecond, by the Duke of Brittany; a third, by the Duke of Alençon; and a fourth, by the Count of Dunois. As the Governor of Normandy had been obliged to diſmiſs the greater part of his forces from want of money to pay them, and to ſuffer the fortifications of the towns and caſtles to become ruinous for the ſame reaſon, the French experienced but little reſiſtance. Verneüil, Nogent-ſur-Seine, Chateau-Gaillard, Pont-Audemer, Giſors, Mantes, Vernon, Argentan, Liſieux, Fécamp, Coutances, Beleſme, and Pont-à-l'Arche, were ſpeedily taken; while Somerſet remained at Rouen, unable to oppoſe the French. The garriſon of that city conſiſted but of two thouſand men; and Charles, having reduced the greateſt part of Normandy in leſs than four months, advanced, at the beginning of October, to attack the capital, with an army of fifty thouſand. The inhabitants, averſe to the Engliſh government, called on Somerſet to ſurrender; and he was obliged to conſent to a capitulation, by which he not only delivered up Rouen to the enemy, but engaged to put them in poſſeſſion of Arques, Caudebec, Tancarville, Mouſtier-Villiers, Liſlebonne, and Honfleur, on condition that he ſhould be ſuffered to go with the garriſon wherever he pleaſed, leaving the gallant Talbot, Earl of Shrewſbury, and ſeveral other noblemen, as hoſtages, to be retained till the terms of capitulation ſhould be complied with. The Governor of Honfleur refuſed to obey his orders, and ſuſtained a ſiege; but was obliged to ſurrender on the eighteenth of February 1450. Harfleur, too, made an obſtinate defence; but at length experienced a ſimilar fate. Cherbourg was the laſt place that ſurrendered to the French arms: it was taken on the twelfth of Auguſt. Thus did Charles, in a ſingle campaign, without riſking a battle, wreſt from the Engliſh the important province of Normandy, which had coſt them ſuch an effuſion of blood to acquire.

The French were not leſs ſucceſsful in Guienne, whither the Count of Dunois was diſpatched with a ſtrong detachment of troops. After reducing moſt of the principal towns and fortreſſes, he inveſted Bourdeaux, which agreed to ſubmit, if not relieved by a certain time; and, as the Engliſh councils were too much diſtracted by domeſtic factions to afford the ſmalleſt degree of attention to foreign affairs, no relief was ſent: the place, therefore, ſurrendered; and the ſubſequent capture of Bayonne, on the twenty fifth of Auguſt 1451, compleated the final conqueſt of that province, which had remained united to England ſince the acceſſion of Henry the Second, and which now, after a period of three centuries, became annexed to the crown of France.

While the Engliſh were ſuſtaining theſe loſſes on the continent, the popular diſcontents, aggravated by domeſtic oppreſſion, increaſed to a great height, and threatened deſtruction to the favourite of the Queen, who had been lately created Duke of Suffolk, and to whom all the national calamities were too haſtily imputed. A ſpirit of revolt appeared in Hampſhire, at the commencement of the year 1450; when Adam Molyns, Biſhop of Chicheſter, and Keeper of the Privy-Seal, who was known to be devoted to the will of Suffolk, was murdered by the populace at Portſmouth; and William Aſcough, Biſhop of Saliſbury, ſoon after experienced a ſimilar fate. An inſurrection in Kent was alſo excited by one Thany, a fuller, better known by the appellation of Blue-beard; but, the interference of legal authority proving ſufficient to quell it, the principal inſurgents, with Thany at their head, were ſeized and hanged at Canterbury.

The odium againſt Suffolk daily acquired ſtrength; and many of the chief Nobles, envious of his power, and enraged at his monopolizing the royal favour, conſpired with the Commons to operate his ruin. Accordingly, when the Parliament aſſembled, on the twenty-eighth of January 1450, the Commons, attended by their Speaker, repaired to the Houſe of Lords, and accuſed the Duke of Suffolk of high-treaſon; on which he was immediately committed to the Tower. The chief articles of accuſation were—That the Duke had betrayed the intereſt of his country, by facilitating to the French the conqueſt of her continental dominions; and that he purpoſed to place his own ſon on the throne of England. But as, in advancing theſe charges, the Commons had merely adopted the vague and ill-founded opinions of the populace, without any poſſible grounds whereon to ſupport them, they deemed it neceſſary to prefer a ſecond accuſation of high crimes and miſdemeanors, ſpecified in ſixteen articles. Theſe laſt offences conſiſted of ſuch inſtances of venality as had always been made a ſubject of accuſation againſt the reigning favourites: ſuch as a general waſte of the public money; the acceptance of extraordinary grants from the crown; and the unjuſt promotion of his own dependents—charges that muſt ever wear a plauſive appearance; for, when power is unlimited, there are few minds poſſeſſed of ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt the occaſional abuſe of it. The proſecution of a favourite Miniſter alarmed the court; and an expedient was deviſed to reſcue Suffolk from the ſtorm that threatened him. On the ſeventeenth of March, the Lords being aſſembled, and the King ſeated on his throne, the priſoner appeared before them; and, being called on to produce his defence, he denied the charges; but ſubmitted himſelf to the mercy of his Sovereign. Henry then declared the firſt impeachment of treaſon to be unſatisfactory; but, in conſideration of the charges for miſdemeanors, he baniſhed him his dominions for five years.

Suffolk, convinced that his life was not ſafe in

England, haſtened to obey the ſentence; and, on the third of April, embarked at Ipſwich for the continent: but he ſoon found that the rancour of his enemies was too inveterate to ſuffer him to eſcape ſo eaſily. The veſſel in which he ſailed was ſoon overtaken by a ſhip, called Nicholas of the Tower, employed for the purpoſe by the Duke of Exeter, to whom it belonged, and boarded by the captain, who ſeized Suffolk, and conducted him to Dover, where he cut off his head with a ruſty ſword on the ſide of a cock-boat, and left his mangled remains on the beach.

The nation was now in a ferment; and the people, finding their tumultuous efforts ſeconded by the Parliament, evinced an ardent deſire to promote a revolution in the government. Though ſeveral different commotions, begun without a plan, and purſued without an object, had been eaſily ſuppreſſed, an inſurrection now appeared in Kent—probably ariſing from the threats of the Queen againſt the people of that province, whom ſhe ſuppoſed to have been chiefly inſtrumental to the death of her favourite—which wore a more formidable aſpect, and promiſed to be productive of more ſerious conſequences. The leader of this tumult was one John Cade, a native of Ireland, a man poſſeſſed of great art, and of a daring ſpirit, who reſolved to ſeek the improvement of a deſperate fortune, by taking advantage of the preſent diſpoſition of the people. To render his cauſe more popular, and to acquire a greater number of followers, he aſſumed the appellation of *John Mortimer*, a name ſtill dear to the Engliſh. The common people of Kent, to the number of twenty thouſand, flocked to the ſtandard of Cade; and he augmented their enthuſiaſm by expatiating on the abuſes of government, and by the promiſe of ſpeedy and effectual reformation—the never-failing topics of popular incendiaries of all ranks. Having aſſembled a ſufficient force, he directed his march to the metropolis; and, on the firſt of June 1450, encamped on Blackheath. From thence the inſurgents ſent two manifeſtos, addreſſed to the King and Council; one of which was entitled—"The "Complaints of the Commons of Kent, and Cauſes "of the Aſſembly on the Blackheath;" and the other—"The Requeſts of the Captain of the great "Aſſembly in Kent." Theſe addreſſes appear to have been penned with conſummate art: they contained the warmeſt profeſſions of attachment to the perſon and government of Henry; and only requeſted that the King would afford them ſpeedy redreſs as to certain grievances, which they ſpecified; inflict exemplary puniſhment on thoſe evil counſellors, by whoſe treachery and miſconduct the people had been oppreſſed at home, and the national honour irreparably tarniſhed by continental loſſes; and, finally, that he would receive into his confidence the Dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, with other patriotic Nobles, whoſe principles were known to be friendly to the conſtitution. Independent of the indignity of receiving the dictates of a plebeian, the Council were ſwayed by the more powerful motives of ſelf-preſervation to reject the addreſſes of Cade, as a compliance with them would have occaſioned the immediate deſtruction of many of their own members. Henry, therefore, determined to attempt the reduction of the inſurgents to obedience by force; and an army of fifteen thouſand men was forthwith raiſed for that purpoſe. On the approach of the troops, Cade and his followers retired to the vicinity of Seven Oaks; and, their retreat bearing the appearance of a flight, the King's army returned to London, after a detachment had been ſent in purſuit of the fugitives, under the command of Sir Humphrey Stafford, who ſoon overtook them, when an action enſued, in which Stafford and his brother were ſlain, and his troops entirely routed. Elated with this victory, they returned, on the twenty-ninth of June, to their former ſtation on Blackheath, where they were joined by many perſons of rank and fortune. They ſtill continued to preſerve the ſame political moderation which had hitherto marked their proceedings; and, having by this means augmented the number of their adherents, and even impreſſed the ſoldiers with favourable ideas of their intentions, they reduced the King to the neceſſity of adopting conciliating meaſures. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Buckingham, were accordingly diſpatched to conſer with Cade, who treated them with becoming reſpect, though he diſplayed great firmneſs, poſitively refuſing to diſband his followers till the grievances complained of in his addreſſes were effectually remedied. On the return of theſe noblemen, Henry deemed it prudent ſo far to comply with the requeſts of the inſurgents as to commit Lord Say and Seale, the High Treaſurer, who was moſt obnoxious to them, to priſon; and, thinking the metropolis no longer a place of ſafety, ſince the army was not to be relied on, he retired with his court to the Caſtle of Kenilworth. The day after his departure, Cade entered the city; and ſeizing Lord Say and Seale, together with his ſon-in-law, Sir James Cromer, Sheriff of Kent, immediately cauſed them to be beheaded, without any form of trial. During ſome days the inſurgents obſerved the moſt rigid diſcipline; but the temptation of acquiring wealth, without labour or difficulty, proved too powerful to be reſiſted for any length of time. Some opulent houſes were plundered; and the pillage would doubtleſs have become general, but for the ſpirit of the citizens, who attacked the depredators with great vigour, and driving them from the city, ſhut the gates upon them. The next morning, Cade made an attempt to force an entrance; but, after a bloody conflict, he was obliged to deſiſt: and his followers were ſo diſpirited by this unexpected check, that a well-timed proclamation of pardon, under the great-ſeal, iſſued by the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, who with the Chancellor had taken refuge in the Tower, produced a ſurprizing effect. In a few hours the inſurgents were diſperſed; and of that army, which had lately appeared ſo formidable, Cade was almoſt the only man remaining; when, finding himſelf thus deſerted, he embarked the fruits of his depredations on board a barge that was bound to Rocheſter, and repaired

to the Caſtle of Queenborough; but, being refuſed admittance, he diſmiſſed the few followers who ſtill adhered to him, and retired for ſafety to the wilds of Kent. A reward of one thouſand marks to whoever ſhould produce him, dead or alive, ſoon cauſed the diſcovery of his retreat: he was found by Alexander Eden, a Kentiſh gentleman; who, meeting with reſiſtance, was obliged to put him to death. Thus ended an inſurrection which, under a leader of greater conſequence, might have produced an important revolution.

But, though tranquillity was apparently reſtored, the minds of the people continued in a ſtate of agitation: the ſame ſubjects of diſcontent remained; no change of miniſtry, no reformation of abuſes, no impeachment of evil counſellors, had taken place; and the Queen, more intent on projects of revenge than on meaſures of conciliation, increaſed the popular diſcontents, by giving to the Duke of Somerſet—who had lately returned from France—that place in her eſteem and confidence which had been lately enjoyed by Suffolk.

At this critical conjuncture a pretender to the crown appeared. This was Richard Duke of York, who had been ſuperſeded by the Duke of Somerſet in the regency of France, and had on his return been ſent to Ireland, to quell an alarming inſurrection. His pretenſions to the crown were founded on his deſcent from the Houſe of Mortimer, being the ſon of that Earl of Cambridge who was beheaded in the reign of Henry the Fifth, by Anne, the ſiſter of the laſt Earl of Marche; ſo that, being thus deſcended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the Duke of Clarence, ſecond ſon of Edward the Third, his title was evidently preferable to that of the King, who derived his deſcent from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, third ſon of that Monarch. The Duke of York, in right of his father, bore the rank of firſt Prince of the Blood; and his influence was uncommonly extenſive, as well from his great wealth as from his numerous and powerful connections. The united ſucceſſions of Cambridge and York, joined to thoſe of Mortimer—which laſt had been augmented by an union of the eſtates of Clarence and Ulſter, with the patrimonial poſſeſſions of the family of Marche, all veſting in this Prince—rendered his fortune immenſe. He had likewiſe greatly extended his connections with the Nobility, by marrying the daughter of Ralph Nevile, Earl of Weſtmoreland, whoſe family was the moſt opulent and powerful in the kingdom. Beſides the Earl of Weſtmoreland, and the Lords Latimer, Fauconberg, and Abergavenny, it included the Earls of Warwick and Saliſbury; the laſt of whom, brother-in-law to the Duke of York, was the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Weſtmoreland by a ſecond marriage, and inherited by his wife, daughter and heireſs of Montacute, Earl of Saliſbury, who loſt his life before Orleans, the title and eſtates of that great family. His eldeſt ſon, Richard, had married Anne, daughter and ſole heireſs of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died Regent of France; and by this alliance he enjoyed the poſſeſſions, and had acquired the title, of that family, eminently illuſtrious as well from it's opulence as antiquity. The perſonal qualifications, alſo, of theſe two Earls, tended to enhance the ſplendour of their rank, and to augment their influence and popularity. Warwick, in particular—who from the ſubſequent events received the appellation of *King-maker*—was diſtinguiſhed by his gallantry in the field; by the magnificent hoſpitality of his table; his unbounded generoſity, frankneſs, and candour; and, in ſhort, by the poſſeſſion of every virtue which can enſure the acquiſition of men's eſteem and affections. He is ſaid to have daily entertained no leſs than thirty thouſand perſons at his different manors; and we are told by Stow, that "he was "ever had in great favour of the commons of the "land, becauſe of the exceeding houſhold which "he daily kept in all countries where-ever he ſo-"journed or lay; and, when he came to London, "he held ſuch an houſe that ſix oxen were eaten "at breakfaſt, and every tavern was full of his "meat."

But the Duke of York, beſides the family of Nevile, had many other powerful partizans among the Nobility. Courtney, Earl of Devonſhire, deſcended from a very illuſtrious family of the ſame name in France, was ſtrongly attached to him; Moubray, Duke of Norfolk, had, from his hatred to the Houſe of Lancaſter, warmly eſpouſed his cauſe; and the general diſcontents of the people rendered every combination of the great more dangerous to the eſtabliſhed government. The Duke of York had been greatly diſguſted with the treatment which he had experienced from the Queen and her party, who had taken from him the Regency of France, and neglected no opportunity to hurt his feelings and mortify his pride; and the recent elevation of his chief rival, the Duke of Somerſet, to the firſt place in the miniſtry, could not fail to increaſe his diſguſt. His expedition to Ireland had been crowned with the moſt compleat ſucceſs: he had entirely ſuppreſſed the rebellion; and yet his exertions of vigour had been ſo judiciouſly tempered with moderation, that he acquired the affections of a people he had been ſent to ſubdue. The miniſtry, conſcious that he had juſt ſubject for diſcontent, imagined that the late inſurrection of Cade had been inſtigated by him, in order to ſound the diſpoſition of the Engliſh; but, though the ſuſpicion was natural, no circumſtance appears to have occurred that could poſſibly confirm it: and, indeed, had that been the caſe, would not Cade, on the deſertion of his followers, have ſought a ſure aſylum in Ireland, where the people were ſtrongly attached to his ſuppoſed patron? This idea, however, being once adopted, the court determined to act in conſequence; and, as the object of the Duke's expedition was now accompliſhed, and he was conſequently about to return, they imprudently iſſued orders, in the King's name, for oppoſing his landing; aſſigning, as a reaſon, that he meant to introduce an armed force into the kingdom: though he refuted the malicious aſſertions of his enemies, by returning with no more than his accuſtomed retinue.

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The Duke, expoſed to the malignity of the miniſters, who had thus publicly declared their ſentiments, now became ſenſible to all the dangers of his ſituation, and ſaw himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of coming forward in ſupport of his title. His partizans, therefore, were inſtructed to maintain in all companies the validity of his claim, from his right of ſucceſſion, founded in the eſtabliſhed laws and conſtitution of the realm; by which means theſe important queſtions became the daily ſubjects of converſation, and the minds of men were gradually prepared, by colloquial altercation, for diſputes of a more ſerious nature.

The claims on either ſide were extremely plauſive, and peculiarly calculated to excite thoſe civil commotions which for a ſeries of years rendered this devoted kingdom a ſcene of blood and confuſion. That the Duke of York was the legitimate heir to the crown, by ſucceſſion, was too evident to admit of a doubt; but the plea of poſſeſſion, derived from and ſupported by the unanimous approbation of a free people, ſucceſsfully urged by the two immediate predeceſſors of Henry, and by them delivered to him, appeared equally irreſiſtible. In vain could reaſon attempt to decide ſo equal and important a conteſt: the ſword alone—that ultimate but precarious arbiter of Princes—was adequate to the deciſion.

A Parliament, which aſſembled at this critical conjuncture, diſplayed a diſpoſition highly characteriſtic of the general diſcontents that pervaded the kingdom, and inſpired the partizans of the Duke of York with the moſt favourable expectations. The Commons, without any previous enquiries, preferred a petition, founded merely on the ſuſpicious baſis of common report, unſupported even by the ſhadow of a proof, againſt the Duke of Somerſet, the Dutcheſs of Suffolk, the Biſhop of Cheſter, Lord Dudley, and ſeveral others of inferior rank; and they beſought the King to remove them for ever from his perſon and councils, and to forbid them from approaching within twelve miles of the court. Though this was an unwarrantable attack on the miniſtry, the King was not in a ſituation openly to oppoſe it: he replied that, except the Lords, he would baniſh all the others from court during a twelvemonth, unleſs their ſervice ſhould be found requiſite for ſuppreſſing any public revolt. At the ſame time, he rejected a bill, which had paſſed both Houſes, for attainting the late Duke of Suffolk, and which in ſeveral of it's clauſes diſcovered an eagerneſs to encroach on the conſtitutional prerogatives of the crown.

The Duke of York, encouraged by theſe ſymptoms, ſoon after his arrival retired into Wales, by the advice of his friends; and, as the people of that country were firmly attached to the family of Mortimer, he found but little difficulty in raiſing an army of ten thouſand men to ſupport ſuch pretenſions as he might think it prudent to advance. While he was collecting theſe troops, he ſent the following petition to the King; probably in the hope that a refuſal to comply with it's contents might afford a plauſive pretext for his ſubſequent conduct, the real motives of which he was anxious for the preſent to conceal—

" Pleaſe it, your Highneſs, tenderly to conſider " the great grudging and rumour that is univer- " ſally in this your realm, of that juſtice is not duly " miniſtered to ſuch as treſpaſs and offend againſt " your laws; and in ſpecial of them that (*have*) " been endited of treaſon, and others being openly " noiſed of the ſame: wherefore, for great incon- " venience that have fallen, and great is like to " fall hereafter, in your ſaid realm, which God " defend, *unleſs* by your Highneſs proviſion con- " venable be made for due reformation and puniſh- " ment in this behalf. Wherefore I, your humble " ſubject and liege man, Richard Duke of York, " willing, as effectually as I can, and deſiring ſurety " and proſperity of your moſt royal perſon, and " welfare of this your noble realm, counſel and " advertiſe your Excellence, for the conſervation " of good tranquillity and peaceable rule among " all true ſubjects, for to ordain and provide that " due juſtice be had againſt all ſuch that (*have*) " been ſo endited, or openly ſo noiſed; wherein I " offer, and will put *myſelf* in devour (*duty*) for to " execute your commandments in theſe premiſes, " ſuch offenders and redreſs of the ſaid miſrulers, " to my might and power. And for the haſty " execution hereof, like it your Highneſs to *addreſs* " your letters of privy-ſeal and writs, to your officers " and miniſters, to do, take and arreſt, all ſuch per- " ſons ſo noiſed or endited, of what eſtate, degree, " or condition ſoever they be, and them to com- " mit to your Tower of London, or to other your " priſons, and there to abide without bail or main- " prize unto the time that they be utterly tried and " cleared, after the courſe of your laws."

The anſwer to this petition was ſuch as could afford no poſſible excuſe for violent proceedings: it expreſſed an approbation of the plan propoſed by the Duke; aſſured him of the ſpeedy adoption of the meaſures he had recommended; and informed him, that he ſhould be one of the commiſſioners for enforcing a due execution of them. The Duke of York, however, having raiſed an army, reſolved it ſhould not remain in a ſtate of inactivity; and, as ſo ſpecious a diſplay of moderation, in men who had recently evinced a quite different diſpoſition, might very reaſonably be ſuſpected of inſincerity, he determined to be on his guard, and to prepare himſelf either to repel or commence attacks, as neceſſity ſhould require or policy dictate. With this view he directed his march to the metropolis, not imagining that the King had a ſufficient army on foot to impede his progreſs: but in this he was miſtaken; for the Queen, with that foreſight and activity by which all her actions were diſtinguiſhed, had diſcovered his intentions by his retreat into Wales, and had ſince been buſily occupied in levying troops to prevent their completion, though none of the officers who were employed in raiſing them were informed of their deſtination. The Duke, therefore, had not proceeded far, before he received intelligence of the King's approach, at the head of a ſuperior army. Surprized at the information, he deemed

deemed it imprudent to riſk an engagement, until he ſhould be ſupplied with a better pretext for fighting againſt his Sovereign. The aſſurances of his partizans had led him to believe that his cauſe was popular, and would be eſpouſed by the people in general; and that the citizens of London, in particular, were anxious to afford him protection and ſupport. Theſe conſiderations induced him to change his road, and by forced marches to proceed with all poſſible expedition to the metropolis, where he accordingly arrived before the King. But here he experienced a ſevere mortification: the gates of the city were ſhut againſt him, and the inhabitants pertinaciouſly refuſed him admittance. In this emergency, he was obliged to paſs the Thames at Kingſton; and proceeding to Burntheath, in the vicinity of Dartford, there fixed his camp. The King likewiſe croſſed the river at London Bridge, and encamped at Blackheath.

While the two armies lay in this ſituation, Henry ſent two Prelates, and as many Barons, to the Duke of York, to demand the reaſon of his hoſtile proceedings: to which the Duke replied, that when the Duke of Somerſet ſhould be confined in order to take his trial, he would immediately diſband his army, and proffer his reſpects to the King as his moſt humble and loyal ſubject. The ſame motives which had induced a compliance with the prayer of his former petition, now led the miniſtry to adopt a ſimilar conduct with regard to his preſent requeſt. The Duke of Somerſet was put under arreſt; but, when the Duke of York had in conſequence thereof diſbanded his army, and repaired to the King's tent to pay his reſpects to Henry, and to repeat thoſe accuſations of criminal miſconduct which he had already preferred againſt Somerſet, he was greatly ſurprized to ſee that Miniſter ſtep forth, and aſſert his innocence. His indignation, however, roſe ſuperior to his aſtoniſhment; and, in obedience to it's dictates, he boldly accuſed Somerſet of high-treaſon: a charge which the other retorted with equal firmneſs; maintaining, that the Duke's ambition had made him forgetful of the allegiance which he owed to Henry, and led him to aſpire to the throne by the depoſition of his Sovereign. After a ſhort altercation, the Duke of York retired; but he had no ſooner left the tent than he was arreſted, and conducted to London.

This was a raſh and imprudent ſtep in the miniſtry, as it plainly evinced the nature of their inclinations, and at the ſame time betrayed their inability to gratify them: for though the Duke of Somerſet, incited by the powerful motives of hatred and revenge, ſtrenuouſly exhorted the King to the adoption of violent meaſures, there were very potent conſiderations to impel the proſecution of a different ſyſtem. The Duke was extremely popular; and the Queen and her party, who greatly dreaded the reſentment of the people, were afraid of exciting their indignation by putting him to death. A report, moreover, prevailed, that the young Earl of Marche was advancing, at the head of a powerful army, to effect the liberation of his father; and, at the ſame time, deputies arrived at court from the nobility of Guienne, and the citizens of Bourdeaux, with offers of renouncing the dominion of the French, if Henry would ſend a fleet and army to their aſſiſtance. The Queen thought this was a favourable opportunity to recover her loſt popularity; which, however, ſhe could not expect to regain, if ſhe exerted any violence againſt her noble captive: ſhe therefore reſolved to ſet the Duke of York at liberty; but, previous to his enlargement, ſhe not only compelled him to renew his oath of allegiance to Henry, but led him to St. Paul's, where he was obliged ſolemnly to ſwear upon the croſs that he would never, on any pretence, take up arms againſt the King. He was then permitted to retire to his Caſtle of Wigmore, in the county of Hereford; where he remained ſome time in great privacy, waiting the arrival of a propitious opportunity to violate an oath which had been extorted by force.

Internal tranquillity being thus reſtored, the venerable Talbot, Earl of Shrewſbury, was diſpatched to Bourdeaux—in compliance with the requeſt of the Gaſcons—with a body of four thouſand troops; and, ſoon after his arrival, he was joined by his ſon, Lord Liſle, with as many more, and a conſiderable fleet of proviſions. The efforts of this reſpectable warrior, now in the eightieth year of his age, were at firſt ſucceſsful: he obtained poſſeſſion of Bourdeaux, Fronſac, Caſtillon, and ſome other places. But the French Monarch, at length, advancing with a ſuperior army, an action took place, near the laſt-mentioned town, on the twenty-third of July 1451, in which the brave Talbot and his gallant ſon were both ſlain, and their troops entirely defeated. Bourdeaux was ſoon after obliged to ſubmit to Charles; and all hopes of recovering the province of Gaſcony were totally extinguiſhed.

The popular diſcontents were now renewed; and, though no reaſonable blame could be imputed to the Miniſtry on this occaſion, the clamours againſt them became more violent than ever. At this unpropitious conjuncture, the Queen was delivered of a ſon, at Weſtminſter, on the thirteenth of October 1453, who was named Edward; and, ſoon after his birth, the King was attacked by a lingering diſorder which wholly deprived him of his memory, and ſo far impaired the other faculties of his mind as to render him totally unfit for government. This latter occurrence proved an unfortunate circumſtance to the Miniſtry; who, deprived of the ſanction and ſupport of their Sovereign, and held in deteſtation by his ſubjects, began to tremble, not only for their places, but even for their perſonal ſafety. To augment their conſternation, the Duke of York iſſued from his retreat; and, accompanied by the Earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, repaired with a numerous retinue to London. The arrival of theſe Noblemen, thus formidably attended, convinced the Queen and her Miniſters that reſiſtance would be vain; and that to allay the preſent ferment, which muſt otherwiſe inevitably terminate in a civil war, it would be prudent to grant them a voluntary admiſſion into the Council. It will eaſily be ſuppoſed that men, poſſeſſed of ſuch extenſive

power, would not fail to exert it for the ruin of their enemies. Somerſet, the chief object of their indignation, was arreſted in the Queen's preſence, and committed to the Tower; and the Duke of York was appointed Lieutenant of the kingdom, with authority to hold a Parliament, which was accordingly aſſembled, on the fourteenth of February 1454, by a commiſſion under the great-ſeal, dated the preceding day. When the Parliament met, an accuſation of treaſon was preferred againſt Somerſet, and ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the Duke of Norfolk, who demanded that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to examine the various articles contained in the charge. It does not, however, appear, that his requeſt was complied with, or that the Peers themſelves entered into the merits of the accuſation.

During theſe tranſactions, John Kemp, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of the kingdom, having died, the Houſe of Lords ſent a deputation to the King, then reſiding at Windſor, to know his pleaſure as to the appointment of perſons to ſucceed him in thoſe important offices. The deputies, on their return, reported to the Houſe, on the twenty-fifth of March, "That they had been "to wait on the King at Windſor; and, after three "ſeveral repairs thither, and earneſt ſolicitations "to ſpeak with the King, they could by no means "have an anſwer, or token of anſwer, being only "told the King was ſick." Henry's incapacity for diſcharging the ordinary duties of government being now fully eſtabliſhed, the appointment of a Chief Magiſtrate naturally devolved on the people, from whom alone his authority could be derived. Their repreſentatives, therefore—the Parliament—proceeded to the formation of an act, by which Richard Duke of York was appointed to fill that important ſtation, under the title of *Protector* of the kingdom, but only during *the King's pleaſure*, or until Prince Edward ſhould arrive at years of diſcretion; and this act was confirmed by a commiſſion under the great-ſeal, on the ſecond of April. At the ſame time, the vacant Chancellorſhip was given to the Earl of Saliſbury. On the ninth of June following, Edward, the infant ſon of Henry, was created Prince of Wales; and, on the twenty-eighth of the ſucceeding month, the Protector obtained for himſelf a grant of the government of Calais—hitherto enjoyed by the Duke of Somerſet—for ſeven years, with an excluſive power to appoint all his officers.

During his Protectorſhip, the Duke of York ſpared no pains to acquire that popularity which he had found to be ſo eſſential to the ſupport of his power: he made a progreſs into the northern counties; and, by his affability and attention to his inferiors, acquired many friends. His reign, however, was deſtined to be ſhort; for the King having ſufficiently recovered his health, about Chriſtmas 1454, to reſume, or at leaſt to ſuperintend, the management of public affairs, the Duke's commiſſion of Protector was of courſe revoked, and the government returned into it's proper channel. It was natural that the Queen and her party, who had been openly attacked by the Protector, ſhould now exert that power which Providence had once more placed in their hands to counteract the effects of the Duke's enmity, and to revoke thoſe grants which he had either obtained for himſelf or others, with the view of confirming his own power. This was certainly a meaſure which not only policy, but common prudence, required; for, had the Duke been permitted to retain any poſt which could tend to a formidable extenſion of his influence, their own ſituation muſt have been perilous and precarious, and the executive government weak and indeciſive. Somerſet, therefore, was releaſed from confinement, and reſtored to that diſtinguiſhed place which he had ever enjoyed in the confidence of his Sovereign; while the Duke of York was deprived of the government of Calais, which he had cauſed to be taken from Somerſet in an arbitrary manner. Enraged at the loſs of his power, he deemed his degradation an inſult that could juſtify the moſt violent proceedings: he immediately retired from court; and, for the gratification of his revenge and ambition, determined to involve the nation in all the horrors of a civil war.

"Richard," ſays Mr. Hume, "ſenſible of the "dangers which might attend his former accept-"ance of the parliamentary commiſſion, *ſhould he* "*ſubmit to the annulling of it*, levied an army; but "ſtill without advancing any pretenſions to the "crown." This, it muſt be confeſſed, is a ſingular mode of accounting for the conduct of the Duke of York; and, indeed, a ſentence more replete with incongruities has ſeldom fallen from the pen of an hiſtorian. It is impoſſible to conceive what danger could have accrued to the Duke from the *annulling* a commiſſion which had been granted by *Parliament*; on the contrary, the danger of an attempt to *perpetuate* it muſt have been manifeſt and imminent. Nor is it eaſy to imagine what arguments he could have adduced to ſanction his refuſal to ſubmit to the revocation of a commiſſion which had been granted for a particular purpoſe, when that purpoſe was fully accompliſhed. The grant was founded on the incapacity of the King; and, the moment that incapacity ceaſed, the commiſſion was annulled of courſe: any ſubſequent exertion of ſovereign power, in conſequence of that commiſſion, would have been an act of *treaſon*. It was, moreover, ſpecified in the commiſſion itſelf, that it was only to continue in force—*durante bene placito*—during the King's pleaſure; which limitation, moſt probably, originated in a conſciouſneſs that the Parliament could not, without a palpable violation of every conſtitutional principle, give it a farther extenſion: and any member who ſhould have dared to vote for it's continuation, after the King had ſignified the return of thoſe powers, the temporary deprivation of which occaſioned the grant, might juſtly have been ſtigmatized with the appellation of *traitor*. What would have been the conſequence, had not the commiſſion been annulled? The Duke of York would have effected the virtual depoſition of his Sovereign, by a perpetuation of his own power, and have exerciſed the authority of a King under the title of Protector; and, in that caſe, his

forbearance

forbearance to advance any pretenſions to the crown, while he enjoyed all the advantages which reſulted from the poſſeſſion of it, however it might have proved the depth of his policy, could certainly not have been adduced as an inſtance of his moderation.

The ſituation of this Prince was very different now to what it was when he firſt took up arms. The Miniſtry had then openly avowed their enmity, and actually commenced hoſtilities againſt him; whereas at preſent his fears for his perſonal ſafety could not be very powerful, as he had been ſuffered for a conſiderable time to enjoy his repoſe, nor had the Queen and her party ever once attempted to interrupt his tranquillity during his retreat at Wigmore; and his popularity was now ſufficiently great to ſcreen him from the effects of their reſentment, had they been ever ſo deſirous to exert it. His conduct, therefore, was evidently influenced by motives of revenge and ambition; the former of which prompted him to inflict an exemplary puniſhment on thoſe who had impeded the gratification of the latter; though in the purſuit of it he certainly diſplayed a ſtrange mixture of daring vigour and timid caution—eager in the ſearch of power, but almoſt afraid to graſp it when within his reach.

When he retired from court, he repaired to Wales, and there raiſed a conſiderable army, chiefly compoſed of his friends and vaſſals; and, being joined by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, the Lord Cobham, and ſeveral other noblemen of his party, he began his march towards the metropolis. As they proceeded, they gave out that their ſole motive for taking up arms was to correct the abuſes which prevailed in the government, and to exact the puniſhment of thoſe Miniſters who had cauſed and ſupported them—the uſual common-place pretexts for rebellion in thoſe ſeditious times! When they had advanced as far as Royſton, they ſent a dutiful letter to the King, containing ſtrong profeſſions of zeal and attachment, to which their conduct formed a moſt curious contraſt. This letter, however, was by ſome means or other prevented from reaching the King; who, having raiſed an army, quitted the metropolis, on the twenty-firſt of May, accompanied by the Dukes of Somerſet and Buckingham, the Earls of Northumberland, Stafford, Dorſet, Pembroke, and many other powerful nobles of the Lancaſtrian party; and, encamping the firſt night at Walford, proceeded the next morning to the town of St. Alban's, of which they took poſſeſſion. On the evening of the ſame day, the rebel army encamped at Keyfield, in the vicinity of that place; and, on the morning of the twenty-third of May 1455, the Duke of York, having received to a meſſage ſent to the King that kind of anſwer which a rebellious ſubject ſhould ever expect from inſulted Majeſty, drew up his troops in order of battle, and prepared to attack his Sovereign. The town was accordingly aſſaulted in ſeveral places; but the vigour of the defence was for ſome time equal to the impetuoſity of the attack. At length, however, the Earl of Warwick having forced an entrance into one of the ſtreets, gave admittance to the Duke of York; when a fierce and bloody conflict enſued, in which the royaliſts were defeated. The Duke of Somerſet, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Clifford, and William Cotton, Vice-chancellor to Henry, were ſlain. The King himſelf was wounded; together with the Duke of Buckingham and his ſon, the Earl of Stafford, the Earl of Dorſet, Lord Sudly, and many other perſons of diſtinction. The Earl of Stafford's wounds proved mortal, and he died a few days after the battle. The number of men killed on the ſide of the royaliſts in this action has been variouſly repreſented by different hiſtorians; ſome of whom make it amount to eight thouſand; while others reduce it to as many hundreds: and, indeed, an authentic letter—lately publiſhed in Sir John Fenn's valuable collection of Original Letters—written only two days after the battle, reduces the number ſtill lower, making the King's loſs amount *at moſt* to *ſix ſcore* men.

The Duke of York has been highly extolled for his moderation on this occaſion. Hearing that the King was wounded, and had taken refuge in the houſe of a tanner, he haſtened thither with the Earl of Saliſbury; and, falling on his knees, made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty, and declared himſelf ready to obey the commands of his Sovereign. The fears of Henry being ſomewhat diſpelled by this pacific declaration, he entreated him to put an immediate ſtop to the carnage, and to recall his troops from the purſuit: a requeſt which was inſtantly complied with. But, had the Duke been really influenced by a regard for his Sovereign, would he not have been careful, before the attack, to have given ſuch orders as would have effectually ſecured his perſon from injury? As he neglected thoſe precautions, his ſubſequent moderation is not worthy of that praiſe which has been ſo laviſhly beſtowed on it. To aſcribe it to motives of loyalty would be groſsly abſurd; it is infinitely more natural to impute it to political conſiderations. He had now the King's perſon in his poſſeſſion, and was ſure of obtaining any degree of authority which he dared venture to exerciſe; and, as he was either too timid, or his party not ſufficiently ſtrong, openly to aſſert his pretenſions to the crown, it was certainly more for his intereſt, to employ the King as the inſtrument of his power, than to ſacrifice him to his vengeance, by which means he would probably have increaſed the number of his enemies.

The day after the battle, the Duke conducted Henry to London, and perſuaded him to iſſue writs for aſſembling a Parliament; which accordingly met at Weſtminſter on the ninth of July. Here the ſame ſpecious ſyſtem of moderation was purſued. The Duke of York juſtly deemed it neceſſary to obtain an act of indemnity for himſelf, and for all thoſe who had appeared in arms againſt their Sovereign at the battle of St. Alban's; which act was accordingly paſſed. The blame of that action was caſt on the Duke of Somerſet and his adherents, who were accuſed of intercepting a letter to the King; which, it was ridiculouſly aſſerted, would have prevented the battle from taking place. All

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the Prelates and Peers of either party renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry; the late Duke of Glouceſter was declared innocent of the crimes which had been imputed to him; a general amneſty was paſſed; and the ſeſſions concluded with a reſumption of all the grants which had been made ſince the acceſſion of Henry, and which had greatly impoveriſhed the crown. The Parliament was then prorogued to the twelfth of November; and, in the interval, the Duke of York aſſumed to himſelf the exerciſe of ſovereign authority, ſtrengthening his intereſt by beſtowing honours on his friends and partizans; and, among other honourable and lucrative places which he diſpoſed of was the government of Calais, which he gave to the Earl of Warwick. This conduct was ſurely ſufficiently demonſtrative of the motives that gave birth to his boaſted moderation!

When the Parliament met in November, the King being in a ſickly ſtate, probably from the anxiety of mind he muſt neceſſarily have experienced, he was importuned by the Lords, at the requeſt of the Commons—as we are told, though it is aſſuredly more natural to impute it to the ſecret inſtigations of the Duke of York, whoſe party was then prevalent—to appoint a Protector. The unfortunate Henry, thus urged, conſtituted Richard, Duke of York, Protector and Defender of the realm, until Prince Edward ſhould arrive at years of diſcretion, or till the commiſſion ſhould be revoked by the King, *with the conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal* in Parliament aſſembled. It is impoſſible to believe that this choice could be voluntary; Henry never could have appointed the avowed enemy of his houſe to be the Protector of his kingdom, had he been at liberty to chuſe for himſelf. The very tenour, too, of the commiſſion, ſo eſſentially different to the former one, fully explained by whom it was dictated, and for what purpoſe the difference was made. It was evident that the Duke of York was anxious to perpetuate his power without ſubjecting himſelf to the odium which ſo palpable a violation of the laws and conſtitution of the country muſt neceſſarily incur; and this could only be effected by rendering the Parliament ſubſervient to his views. The nature of his preſent commiſſion, which ſtipulated that the conſent of Parliament was requiſite to procure it's revocation, he imagined would effectually ſecure him againſt that deprivation of authority which he had recently experienced; not doubting but, as he now poſſeſſed ſufficient influence over the Parliament to obtain from them the gratification of his wiſhes, that the extenſive power and patronage they had conferred on him, would enable him to keep them in the ſame favourable diſpoſition. The commiſſion received the confirmation of Parliament on the nineteenth of November; and, on the twelfth of December, the Duke of York, by virtue of another commiſſion, prorogued that aſſembly to the twenty-fourth of January 1456.

The Protector, having adopted every precaution which he judged neceſſary to eſtabliſh his power on a ſolid baſis, now reſigned himſelf to the enjoyment of his triumph without ſuſpicion of controul, or fear of moleſtation. Indeed, his apparent defect of political foreſight muſt impreſs us with a very unfavourable idea of his underſtanding: for the numerous enemies he had created by the ſlaughter at St. Alban's; the reſentment of an injured and inſulted Queen, excited to revenge by the moſt powerful motives, the honour of her huſband, and the ſafety of her ſon; certainly formed a combination of powerful incitements to a ſteady and unremitting vigilance, and to a lively diffidence of his own ſecurity. He was ſoon, however, convinced that his confidence was ill-timed; for the day after the Parliament aſſembled—the twenty-fifth of February—the King went to the Houſe of Lords, where he made a declaration that his health was now perfect, and the office of Protector no longer neceſſary: he therefore requeſted their conſent to the revocation of the Duke of York's commiſſion, which was immediately granted.

The Duke, equally ſurprized and mortified at a circumſtance which he ought to have foreſeen, again retired from court in diſguſt; and, with the Earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, repaired to Yorkſhire, where theſe noblemen had frequent meetings, to conſult on the beſt mode of recovering their loſt authority. The Queen, active by nature, and from experience ſuſpicious, received intelligence of their motions; and reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent the execution of their deſigns. With this view ſhe formed a project for ſecuring their perſons; but, London appearing an improper place for the purpoſe, ſhe removed with the King to Coventry, under pretence that his health required a change of air. When the court arrived at the deſtined place, the King wrote to the Duke of York, the Earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, in the moſt preſſing terms, requeſting their attendance on affairs of the utmoſt importance. Unſuſpicious of danger, they haſtened to obey the citation: but, on their approach to Coventry, a meſſage from a ſecret friend adviſed them of their peril, and induced them to fly with the utmoſt precipitation. They took different roads: the Duke retired to his Caſtle of Wigmore; the Earl of Saliſbury to Middleham, in Yorkſhire; and the Earl of Warwick to his government of Calais. The diſperſion of theſe noblemen produced a temporary calm; during which the court returned to Weſtminſter.

The unſettled ſtate of the kingdom induced the French to make a deſcent on the coaſt of Kent; which they accordingly effected, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt 1457, with four thouſand troops, under the command of the Mareſchal de Brezé, who landed in the vicinity of Sandwich; and, after a bloody conflict, took and pillaged that town: but he was fearful of extending his incurſions, and therefore re-embarked his troops the ſame evening, and returned to France. About the ſame time, a body of Bretons landed in Cornwall, and committed ſome trifling depredations on the coaſt. There is ſome reaſon to believe that the French court

court had engaged the Scots to favour theſe operations againſt England by a diverſion in the northern counties, which they invaded, in violation of the truce ſtill ſubſiſting between the two nations, and carried off a conſiderable booty. The truce, indeed, was ſo ill obſerved on both ſides, that predatory incurſions were continually made by the borderers. The Engliſh alledge, that the preſent invaſion was commanded by King James in perſon, who retired at the approach of the Earl of Northumberland: whereas the Scottiſh hiſtorians affirm, that Percy, with the Earl of Douglas, then a refugee in England, entered Scotland, and ravaged the country, until they were met and defeated by the Earl of Angus and Sir James Hamilton. Be that as it may, the truce between the two kingdoms was renewed, and afterwards prolonged for four years; though both the Engliſh and Scottiſh Kings had been ſo greatly incenſed, that letters paſſed between them, couched in terms of abuſe but little conſiſtent with the dignity of their ſtations.

The attacks of a foreign power, joined to the inveterate diſcord which ſtill prevailed among the nobility, and threatened the kingdom with the moſt dreadful calamities, induced Thomas Bourchier—who had lately been raiſed to the Primacy—in conjunction with ſome other Prelates and Nobles, to attempt a coalition of parties, as the only means of reſtoring tranquillity to the nation. The King, whoſe mind was formed for the calm enjoyments of domeſtic happineſs, and whoſe juſt ſenſe of religious duty ſtrongly diſpoſed him to the adoption of any meaſures which might tend to prevent the effuſion of human blood, ſeconded with warmth the endeavours of thoſe worthy mediators. As the affairs of the rebels—for as ſuch muſt the Duke of York and his party be ſtill conſidered—bore at this period no very propitious appearance, they were inclined from intereſt to liſten to an accommodation, which Henry favoured from more laudable motives.

The preſence of the principal leaders of either party being accordingly requeſted in London, they punctually obeyed the ſummons; but their external appearance betrayed the ſentiments of hatred and miſtruſt which reigned within their boſoms: they came attended by numerous retinues of armed followers, and eſtabliſhed their quarters in different parts of the town. The Yorkiſts reſided in the city, and the Royaliſts in Weſtminſter and the adjacent ſuburbs; while Sir Godfrey Bollen, the Mayor, patrolled the ſtreets with a body of five thouſand men, to reſtrain either party from exertions of violence. After many conferences, their mutual differences were apparently ſettled, and an accommodation took place; the terms of which being drawn up in the form of a decree, were pronounced on the twenty-fourth of March by the King, who was conſidered as an arbitrator between his own adherents and thoſe of the rebel Lords. To render this reconciliation more public, a day was appointed for a ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's, in which the Duke of York led the Queen; and the leader of one party walked hand in hand with a leader of the other. But theſe pleaſing rays of friendſhip only ſerved to hide the glowing embers of diſcord, which were ſoon deſtined to burſt forth with undiminiſhed fury. The ſecret pretenſions of the Duke were too lofty to admit of a compromiſe that excluded him from the poſſeſſion of ſovereign power—*Aut Ceſar aut Nullus* was the motto of his heart; though he concealed beneath the ignominious ſtandard of rebellion thoſe claims which he wanted ſpirit to avow.

The Duke of York and his friends were the firſt to betray their miſtruſt. Pretending to be ſuſpicious of Margaret's ſincerity, they retired from court under various pretexts: the Duke, accompanied by the Earl of Saliſbury, retired to York; and the Earl of Warwick returned to Calais. No immediate violence, however, reſulted from their departure. While Warwick was at his government, he received intelligence that a convoy of Spaniſh traders, eſcorted by ſome ſhips of war, was at ſea; on which he gave immediate orders for ſome Engliſh veſſels to be armed, and ſailed from Calais to attack them. A deſperate engagement took place between them, on the twenty-ninth of May 1458, in which Warwick captured ſix of their trading veſſels; but was afterwards obliged to retreat with his prizes into the harbour of Calais. The Engliſh had about four ſcore men killed, and two hundred wounded, in the action: the Spaniards had one hundred and twenty killed, and five hundred wounded. As the Engliſh were not at war with the Spaniards at this time, it is difficult to conceive what could have induced Warwick to make this attack, apparently unprovoked. Some hiſtorians, indeed, aſſert, that he was urged to it by their neglect to pay proper deference to the Engliſh flag: but their accounts of the whole circumſtance are ſo confuſed and erroneous, that little credit can be afforded to their aſſertions. It is not likely that ſo trivial an offence ſhould have incurred ſo ſevere a puniſhment. By the capture of the merchantment, it appears more probable that the Earl was actuated by very different motives: he might poſſibly wiſh, by the plunder they afforded, to ſecure the attachment of the garriſon of Calais, which he knew he ſhould ſoon ſtand in need of. Be that as it may, his conduct was not approved by the King; who, in the month of July, inſtituted a Commiſſion of Enquiry to inveſtigate the matter, when Warwick was ſummoned to appear and juſtify his proceedings. He accordingly obeyed the citation, and repaired to court; but, during his reſidence in London, a circumſtance occurred which fomented that ſpirit of ſedition he was doubtleſs anxious to excite. An inſult received by a domeſtic of the King from one of the Earl of Warwick's retinue produced an affray, in which the former was wounded. This ſo far irritated his companions, that they immediately attacked the comrades of the aggreſſor, who eſcaped from their fury. Diſappointed in their hopes of revenge, they fell on the Earl himſelf, as he came from the Council; and it was with great difficulty that he reached his boat, which waited for him on the ſide of the river. Warwick pretended to believe that this was a plot formed by the Queen to take away his life;

and he was careful to promulgate his opinion throughout the city; though it is much more natural to ſuppoſe that he himſelf was the founder of the plot—if there really was any plot—and had given ſecret inſtructions to his domeſtics to commence the diſturbance, that he might have ſome excuſe, however pitiful, for his ſubſequent conduct. He haſtened into the north, and there concerted a plan of operations with his father and the Duke of York; in conſequence of which he ſoon after returned to his government of Calais, in order to ſecure the garriſon in his favour. York and Saliſbury immediately began to levy forces; the former in Wales, the latter in the north of England. The adherents of either party took up arms; and every preparation was made for deciding this obſtinate conteſt by the ſword.

The Earl of Saliſbury, marching with a body of five thouſand men to join the Duke of York, was overtaken by Lord Audley, at the head of an army amounting to double that number, at Blore-heath, on the borders of Staffordſhire and Shropſhire, where he ſupplied his inferiority of numbers by a ſtratagem. The two armies being encamped on the oppoſite banks of a deep and rapid rivulet, he drew up his archers, on Sunday morning the twenty-third of September 1459, as near to the brink as poſſible, and gave them orders to diſcharge a flight of arrows, and then retire in ſeeming confuſion. Lord Audley, deceived by the appearance of diſorder which pervaded the ranks of the enemy, forded the rivulet with more haſte than regularity; and, before one half of his troops had gained the oppoſite ſide, he found himſelf attacked by Saliſbury with great impetuoſity; and, though the ſhock was ſuſtained with determined courage, the Royaliſts, after a long and bloody conflict, were defeated; two thouſand four hundred of them, among whom was their leader, being left dead on the field.

In conſequence of this victory, the Earl of Saliſbury was enabled to reach the general rendezvous of the rebels at Ludlow without farther moleſtation. He was there ſoon after joined by the Earl of Warwick, with a choice body of veterans from Calais, commanded, under the Earl, by Sir Andrew Trollop and Sir John Blunt, two officers of approved courage and abilities. The Queen, in the mean time, had not been idle: aſſiſted by thoſe Nobles who ſtill preſerved their loyalty, ſhe had raiſed a powerful army, with which the King advanced to give battle to the rebels; and, on the thirteenth of October, encamped at Ludiford, in the vicinity of Ludlow, with the deſign of attacking them the enſuing morn. An incident, however, occurred, which occaſioned a change in the face of affairs as ſudden as unexpected. The Duke of York had been hitherto ſtudious, even in the very act of rebellion, to preſerve an appearance of loyalty, which he maintained by the moſt ſpecious and ſolemn profeſſions of reſpect and attachment to his Sovereign, carefully concealing his real deſigns on the crown from all but a few confidents, on whoſe ſecrecy and zeal he thought he might rely. Theſe deſigns, however, were by ſome means or other communicated to Sir Andrew Trollop, whoſe ſteady attachment to the King made him ſhudder at the Duke's treachery, and induced him to deſert to Henry during the night, with the detachment of veterans under his command. Many others, ſtimulated by this laudable example, and encouraged by a proclamation of pardon which had been iſſued from the royal camp the preceding day, took the ſame ſtep; and the diſpoſition to deſert became ſo general, that the rebel Lords found it neceſſary to conſult their ſafety in immediate flight. The Duke of York, with his ſecond ſon, the Earl of Rutland, retired to Wales, where they embarked for Ireland: the Earls of Warwick and Saliſbury, accompanied by York's eldeſt ſon, the Earl of Marche, fled into Devonſhire, and from thence to Calais, where they landed on the ſecond of November. No permanent advantage, however, was obtained by the diſperſion of theſe noblemen, whoſe vaſſals and adherents kept themſelves in conſtant readineſs to riſe on the firſt orders they ſhould receive. The flame of rebellion had now become ſo ardent, that it's extinction could not be expected till the ſtrength of one party ſhould be wholly conſumed.

The King retired to Coventry, where he ſummoned a Parliament to meet on the twentieth of November; in which the Duke of York, with his two ſons, the Earls of Marche and Rutland; the Earls of Saliſbury and Warwick; the Lords Powys and Clinton; the Counteſs of Sarre, daughter to the Earl of Saliſbury; Sir Thomas and Sir John Neville, with many others of the principal leaders of the York party, were attainted as traitors to the crown, and their eſtates confiſcated.

At the commencement of the enſuing year, the Queen determined to adopt a more effectual mode of preventing future rebellions. With this view, by the advice and aſſiſtance of the Council, ſhe ordered a ſtrict enquiry to be made in every town and county of England for the diſcovery of all the friends and adherents of the Duke of York. The Earl of Wiltſhire and Lord Scales were appointed to make this inveſtigation, and to puniſh all thoſe who had appeared in arms during the late rebellion: a commiſſion which they began to execute with ſuch rigour, that a general conſternation prevailed among the Yorkiſts. The county of Kent, in particular, which had always ſtrenuouſly favoured that party, and had given riſe to the firſt civil commotion which had appeared in the reign of Henry the Sixth, conſcious that it merited the utmoſt ſeverity of offended Majeſty, reſolved to purſue ſome vigorous plan to avoid the ruin that threatened it. The principal inhabitants, therefore, ſent an invitation to the rebel Lords at Calais, aſſuring them that, if they would land in Kent, they would experience a welcome reception and powerful aſſiſtance. The invitation was inſtantly accepted: they landed at Sandwich with fifteen hundred followers, who were joined by four thouſand men, under the command of Lord Cobham. From thence they marched towards London; and found the people in general ſo well diſpoſed to favour their attempts, that they entered

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that city, on the ſecond of July, with an army of forty thouſand men.

Thus ſtrengthened, Warwick determined to profit by his numbers; and, by ſome deciſive action, terminate, if poſſible, the deſperate ſtruggle between the Sovereign and his rebellious ſubjects. He marched towards Coventry, from whence the royal army iſſued to meet him. The battle was fought at Northampton on the tenth of July: it was long maintained with obſtinate valour; but the treachery of Lord Grey, of Ruthin, who commanded the van of the Royaliſts, and fled to the enemy during the heat of action, by ſpreading conſternation through the King's army, decided the victory in favour of the rebels. The loſs fell chiefly on the officers, as the Earls of Warwick and Marche had given directions to their troops to afford no quarter either to the nobility or gentry. Among the ſlain were the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewſbury, the Lords Beaumont and Egremont, and Sir William Lucie. The Queen, with her ſon, the Prince of Wales, fled to the north; and, after encountering many difficulties on the road, arrived in Scotland, in a moſt wretched condition. The King himſelf was taken priſoner; and, as the mildneſs of his diſpoſition, and the ſanctity of his manners, had rendered him an object of eſteem to a very numerous claſs of his ſubjects, the victorious Earls deemed it prudent to treat him with every external mark of deference and reſpect.

Immediately after the victory, meſſengers were diſpatched to Ireland, to inform the Duke of York of the ſucceſs of his friends, and to entreat his immediate preſence in England. Writs were then iſſued, in the King's name, for a Parliament to aſſemble at Weſtminſter, on the ſeventh of October following. When it met, the firſt buſineſs tranſacted was a repeal of the proceedings of the laſt Parliament held at Coventry, on pretence of informality in the writs iſſued for it's aſſembling, as well as of it's being conſtituted of evil-deſigning and unqualified perſons. At this time the Duke of York arrived in England; and, encouraged by the preſent favourable ſtate of his affairs, determined to throw aſide that maſk of hypocriſy which he had hitherto worn, and aſſume a different and more laudable character. He had certainly degraded himſelf, by having recourſe to the pitiful and ſhallow ſubterfuges of all popular inſurgents, the avowed object of whoſe purſuit was invariably the puniſhment of proſligate Miniſters, and the correction of political abuſes; though their real deſign was to ſubvert all order of government, that they might profit by the confuſion themſelves had occaſioned. But he now reſolved to act with a degree of candour and openneſs more ſuitable to his dignity, by boldly aſſerting thoſe claims, the enforcement of which had firſt incited him to emerge from the tranquil obſcurity of a private ſtation. For this purpoſe he repaired to Parliament, on the third day of the ſeſſions; and, advancing towards the royal canopy, placed his hand on the cuſhion, in evident expectation of being invited to take poſſeſſion of the throne. In this, however, he was diſappointed; for, inſtead of thoſe acclamations which he had vainly hoped to experience, a ſolemn ſilence reigned throughout the houſe; which, after ſome minutes had elapſed, was broken by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who approached the Duke, and aſked him if he would go with him, and pay his reſpects to the King: to which the Duke, in great agitation, replied—"I know no perſon to "whom I owe that mark of reſpect, which is more "juſtly due to myſelf from all others;" and then ruſhed out of the houſe.

The Duke of York, having now made known his claim, determined to ſupport it in ſpite of all oppoſition. On the ſixteenth of October, he delivered it in due form, by his counſel, to both Houſes of Parliament, accompanied by his pedigree, on which his claim was founded, deriving his deſcent—as we have before obſerved—from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, ſecond ſon of Edward the Third, and eldeſt brother to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, from whom Henry the Sixth was deſcended. Theſe were ſent by the Parliament to the King; who, in a few days after, ſent his counſel to offer arguments in ſupport of his own title, and to ſtart objections to that of the Duke of York; which objections were delivered to the Duke, that he might have an opportunity of refuting them. This important and unprecedented cauſe was then debated by the Peers with the ſame coolneſs, and (if contemporary writers may be credited) with the ſame freedom of ſpeech, as if it had been a common topic of diſcuſſion: one party ſupported the title of the Houſe of Lancaſter on the ground of—parliamentary ſettlements, long poſſeſſion, and reiterated oaths of allegiance; while the plea of ſucceſſion by hereditary right was ſtrongly urged by the other, as conferring a ſuperior title on the Houſe of York. After long and warm debates for ſeveral ſucceſſive days, they proceeded to a final deciſion, which was calculated to conciliate the favour of either party; though, in fact, it was equally diſſatisfactory to both. They declared that Henry ſhould continue to enjoy the regal dignity during life; but, on his demiſe, the crown ſhould devolve on the Duke of York, or his heir. Some farther ſtipulations were made to enforce the execution of this deciſion, which was formed into an act of parliament on the firſt of November. The Duke acquieſced in it; and Henry, being a priſoner, could not oppoſe it: ſo that the act paſſed with the unanimous conſent of the whole legiſlative body.

This ſpecious compromiſe was of too flimſy a texture to afford a hope that it's duration would be long: the momentary calm it occaſioned ſpeedily diſappeared; the dark clouds of civil diſcord again obſcured the political hemiſphere, and foretold an approaching ſtorm. The whole nation was now divided into parties; one of which was diſtinguiſhed by the Red Roſe, the badge of the Houſe of Lancaſter; the other by the White Roſe, the badge of the Houſe of York. The chief ſtrength of the Lancaſtrians lay in the northern counties; while the Yorkiſts derived their principal ſupport from the metropolis, the ſouthern parts of England, and the Marches of Wales: though both had partizans in every

every quarter of the kingdom, and not unfrequently in the ſame family, the evil conſequences of which may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed.

The Duke of York, believing that the ſole object of his apprehenſion was the active ſpirit of the Queen, determined to find ſome pretext for baniſhing her the kingdom. He ſent her, in the King's name, a ſummons to repair immediately to London, well knowing that ſhe would not fail to treat it with contempt. In that caſe, he thought, ſhe would become criminal in the eyes of the world, from a refuſal to comply with the commands of her huſband and ſovereign, and in ſome meaſure juſtify the meaſures he intended to take againſt her. He vainly imagined her reſources were wholly exhauſted, and perſuaded himſelf that nothing was requiſite but a pretext for oppoſing ſome invincible obſtacle to her return, to free himſelf from that danger to which her ſpirit and genius would not fail to expoſe him, whenever an opportunity might offer. But a ſhort time convinced him of his error.

Margaret, far from being diſcouraged by her paſt misfortunes, only thought of exerting herſelf effectually to promote the releaſe of her huſband. She had experienced a very kind reception from James the Third, the young King of Scotland, at whoſe court ſhe was joined by the Dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, and ſome other fugitives of the royal party: ſeveral martial adventurers of the Scottiſh nation alſo eſpouſed her cauſe; ſo that ſhe was ſoon enabled to muſter a ſmall army, with which ſhe marched to the ſouth. When ſhe entered the northern counties of England, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Weſtmoreland—who, though he had originally followed the example of his family connections in joining the rebels, ſoon returned to his allegiance—with many other barons, knights, and gentlemen of the north, flocked to her ſtandard. In a ſhort time, ſhe found herſelf at the head of twenty thouſand troops, with which ſhe continued her march to the ſouth.

The Duke of York, apprized of her motions, though ignorant of the number of her forces, determined to oppoſe her progreſs without delay: he therefore committed the cuſtody of the King's perſon, and the guard of the metropolis, to the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Warwick, and ſet out for the north with a body of five thouſand men; but when he reached Wakefield, on the twenty-fourth of December, he was extremely ſurprized to find that the Queen was approaching with an army ſo infinitely ſuperior to his own. He immediately threw himſelf into Sandal Caſtle, which lay in the vicinity; where he was adviſed by the Earl of Saliſbury and Sir David Hall, his chief confidents, to remain, till his ſon, the Earl of Marche, ſhould join him with a body of forces which he had been ſent to collect on the borders of Wales. He was induced, however, to reject this prudent advice—either by the inſulting meſſages which Margaret ſent in order to provoke him to forego the advantage of his ſituation; or, which is more probable, by the want of ſufficient proviſions to ſuſtain a ſiege—and to engage the enemy. With this view he deſcended from the eminence on which the fortreſs was placed, on the morning of the thirtieth of December 1460, and drew up his men in order of battle on the plain beneath. He began the attack himſelf, with great impetuoſity, on the van of the Queen's army, which was commanded by the Duke of Somerſet; but in a few minutes he found his own rear attacked by two detachments, under the command of Lord Clifford and the Earl of Wiltſhire, who had been placed in ambuſh for the purpoſe, by Somerſet, previous to the commencement of the action. His ſmall body of forces was thus compleatly ſurrounded, and in leſs than half an hour defeated with conſiderable ſlaughter. The Duke himſelf was killed; together with Sir Thomas Harrington, Sir David Hall, Sir Hugh Haſtings, Sir Thomas Nevile, third ſon to the Earl of Saliſbury; Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer; many other gentlemen; and about two thouſand eight hundred ſoldiers.

This victory was attended with many of thoſe circumſtances of cruelty which were frequent during the obſtinate conteſt between the Houſes of Lancaſter and York, and which appear to have originated with the friends of the latter, who were anxious to exterminate ſuch of the nobility as adhered to the King, from a conſciouſneſs that, while a ſpark of loyalty remained unextinguiſhed in the kingdom, all their efforts to eſtabliſh their own authority muſt experience a deſperate reſiſtance. The young Earl of Rutland, ſecond ſon to the Duke of York, was murdered in cool blood, on the bridge of Wakefield, by Lord Clifford, in revenge for the death of his father, who had periſhed in the battle of St. Alban's. The ſame ferocious Baron, having found the body of the Duke of York on the field, ſevered the head from it, which he preſented to the Queen, who ordered it to be placed on the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it, in deriſion of his boaſted title. The Earl of Saliſbury, who was wounded and taken priſoner, was ſent to Pomfret, and there beheaded, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, by martial law.

The Duke of York was deeply regretted by his own party; a Prince who appears to have been endued with more perſonal courage than mental vigour; and to have poſſeſſed thoſe qualities which are better calculated to conciliate affection than to command reſpect. He periſhed in the fiftieth year of his age; and left three ſons, Edward, George, and Richard; with three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

The victory of Wakefield, far from proving deciſive, rather tended to accelerate than to obſtruct the ruin of the Lancaſtrian party. Edward, the young Earl of Marche—now Duke of York—equally impelled by ambition and revenge, determined boldly to graſp at that crown which the timid diſpoſition of his father had probably prevented him from obtaining. He was now at the head of three and twenty thouſand men, which he had collected in Wales, and with which he ſet out in queſt of Margaret and her victorious army: but, on his arrival at Shrewſbury, hearing that the Queen had divided her forces, and ſent a part of them, under the

the conduct of Jaſper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, uterine brother to the King, accompanied by the Earl of Ormond, to watch his motions, he reſolved to go in ſearch of them, and if poſſible to bring them to action. The two armies accordingly met at Mortimer's Croſs, in Herefordſhire, on the ſecond of February 1461; where Edward, from the ſuperiority of his numbers, obtained a compleat victory. Near four thouſand of the Royaliſts were ſlain. The Earls of Pembroke and Ormond eſcaped; but Sir Owen Tudor, father to Pembroke, was taken; and, with ſeveral other knights and gentlemen, immediately ſuffered decapitation, by the orders of Edward.

Meanwhile, the Queen, with her ſon, attended by the Dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, the Earls of Northumberland and Devonſhire, and many others of the nobility, who ſtill adhered to her cauſe, continued her march towards London, in the hope that the appearance of her victorious army would induce the citizens to expel Warwick, and afford her a welcome reception. Warwick himſelf, indeed, ſeems to have been fearful that this would prove the caſe, as he left the metropolis with an army inferior to that of the Queen, and determined to give her battle. With this view he advanced to St. Alban's; where he was attacked by the Royaliſts, on the ſeventeenth of February, who attempted to force a paſſage through the town, but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs by a ſtrong body of archers poſted in the market-place: they then effected their retreat, with great difficulty, into the open fields, where they found the main body of Warwick's army ready to receive them. A deſperate conflict enſued, and victory for ſome time remained doubtful; but, at length, Lord Lovelace, who commanded the Kentiſh men, withdrew with his followers from the combat, and decided the fate of the day. About two thouſand three hundred of the vanquiſhed periſhed in the battle and purſuit; and the King once more fell into the hands of his friends. Lord Bonville, to whoſe care he had been entruſted by Warwick, remained with him in the tent, on the aſſurances of pardon given him by Henry; but the Queen, regardleſs of her huſband's promiſes, immediately ordered the head of that nobleman to be ſevered from his body by the executioner. Sir Thomas Kiriel, a brave officer, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the French wars, experienced a ſimilar fate. The interview between Henry and the Queen, after the battle, is ſaid to have been truly affecting; and, indeed, if we conſider the circumſtances which had occurred ſince their laſt meeting, the ſenſations they muſt have experienced can be eaſily conceived. At the deſire of Margaret, the King knighted the Prince of Wales, with thirty young noblemen and gentlemen who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the action.

Had the Queen been able to march to London immediately after the victory of St. Alban's, ſhe moſt probably would have gained poſſeſſion of that city; but this was out of her power, as her troops, in oppoſition to the moſt peremptory commands, paſſed ſeveral days in committing depredations on the adjacent country, and extended their deſtructive incurſions to the very gates of the metropolis. This gave the citizens time to recover from the conſternation which the defeat of Warwick had occaſioned—for, notwithſtanding the apprehenſions of that nobleman, they were ſtrongly attached to his party—and inſpired them with a reſolution to ſuſtain the moſt deſperate attacks, rather than grant admittance to ſuch ferocious plunderers. So inveterate were they, that they even ſtopped a few waggons, loaded with proviſions, which the magiſtrates had ſent to the Queen at her particular deſire. Margaret, being thus convinced that an attempt on the capital muſt inevitably fail, and having received intelligence of Edward's approach with an army ſuperior to her own, ſhe was reduced to the cruel neceſſity of relinquiſhing all the advantages of her late victory, and returning into the north.

The Earl of Warwick, having collected the ſcattered remains of his troops which had eſcaped from the battle of St. Alban's, and effected a junction with Edward at Chipping Norton, that nobleman advanced to London, where he arrived on the twenty-eighth of February 1461, and was received by the citizens with the loudeſt acclamations of joy. Edward, in the bloom of youth, endued with every grace of perſon, brave, affable, and inſinuating—in ſhort, poſſeſſed of all thoſe qualifications which are peculiarly calculated to engage the affections of the people—found himſelf ſo high in the favour of the public, that he determined to adopt a different line of conduct to that which his father had purſued; and, by a bold and open aſſertion of his claims, gain poſſeſſion of the crown, and give the character of rebels to his opponents. But, however plauſive his title, the appearance of a national conſent ſtill ſeemed requiſite to precede his elevation; and, as the aſſembling a parliament would neceſſarily be attended with delay, and might poſſibly fail to anſwer his expectations, he had recourſe to a more eaſy and ſummary mode of proceeding. He ordered his army to aſſemble in St. John's Fields, on Sunday the ſecond of March; when a great concourſe of people ſurrounded them. Lord Falconbridge then addreſſed the rabble with as much formality as if he had been haranguing the legal repreſentatives of the nation aſſembled in parliament. He expatiated on the imbecility of Henry, and on the multiplied calamities of his reign—careful, however, not to trace thoſe calamities to their real ſource, the turbulence of his own party. He then adverted to the criminal conduct of that Monarch, in violating the late ſolemn compact, by an attempt to deprive the Duke of York of the ſucceſſion; and concluded with aſking the people, Whether they would have Henry of Lancaſter for their Sovereign? To which they unanimouſly anſwered, "No! no!" He next aſked them if they would have Edward Duke of York for their King? when they replied in the affirmative, with loud and general acclamations. The enſuing day, a great council of the Prelates, Nobles, and Gentry, then in the metropolis and it's vicinity—conſequently, all

all of them of the York party—aſſembled; and Edward, in perſon, explained to them the nature and foundation of his claims; and inſiſted that Henry had incurred the penalty of a particular clauſe in the late act of ſettlement, which expreſsly ſtipulated, "That if King Henry ſhould attempt, "in any way, to violate the ſaid agreement, the "crown ſhould immediately devolve to the Duke "of York, or his heir." He then left the council to reflect on his propoſals. The deliberation, it may be ſuppoſed, was ſhort. The following reſolution paſſed with that unanimity which might be expected from an aſſembly ſo conſtituted—"That "Henry of Lancaſter had forfeited his right of "poſſeſſing the crown during his life; and that it "had devolved to Edward, Duke of York." To conclude the farce, Edward was earneſtly entreated to accept that crown to which his right was indiſputable; and, after a ridiculous apology for his youth and inexperience, he graciouſly condeſcended to comply with their requeſt. On Tueſday the fourth of March, the new Sovereign repaired to St. Paul's, where *Te Deum* was ſung. From thence he went to Weſtminſter; where, being ſeated on the throne, with the ſceptre in his hand, he received the homage of all the Nobles then preſent: after which he was proclaimed King, under the title of Edward the Fourth.

Thus ended the unhappy reign of Henry the Sixth, a Prince who was born to poſſeſs the moſt ſplendid inheritance that had ever been bequeathed to any European Monarch: but Nature had unfortunately denied him that ſtrength of mind which is requiſite to the diſcharge of ſuch an important ſtation; and a reſignation of his power into the hands of favourites was the almoſt natural conſequence of ſo eſſential a defect. To this facility of temper, and to the ambition of the Duke of York—not to any criminal conduct in the Monarch, or groſs violation of the laws by the Miniſtry—muſt be aſcribed that long train of public calamities which perpetually harraſſed the nation during the laſt years of his reign.

THE only important laws which were enacted during the reign of Henry the Sixth were to regulate the election of Members of Parliament. As the rigour of the feudal ſyſtem relaxed, the conſequent change of tenures by degrees increaſed the number of voters at elections to ſuch an extent as proved productive of numerous inconveniences. To remedy theſe, acts were paſſed in the eighth and tenth of Henry, excluding all thoſe who were not poſſeſſed of forty ſhillings a year in land, exempt from all impoſts and burdens within the county, from the privilege of giving their vote at elections for counties, at which the evil complained of was chiefly prevalent. Falſe returns at elections were alſo provided againſt, by two different acts, in the courſe of this reign. The firſt, paſſed in the eighth of Henry the Sixth, enacted, That a Sheriff convicted of a falſe return ſhould pay a fine of one hundred pounds to the King, and ſuffer a year's impriſonment. The laſt, paſſed in the twenty-third year of his reign, inflicts an additional penalty of one hundred pounds to the injured candidate, or to any other perſon who ſhould ſue for it. This was a ſevere law, as it ſubjected the offender to a fine equivalent to two thouſand pounds of our preſent money, beſides a year's impriſonment: but the ſeverity ſeems to have been proportioned to the magnitude of the injury; for, as Parliaments were then annual, a falſe return generally proved the means of excluding the lawful member from his ſeat during the whole ſeſſion.

Corn appears during this reign to have been more abundant than in any former period, ſince conſiderable quantities of it were exported; and ſeveral laws were enacted to regulate this branch of commerce. In the year 1425, a general and permanent permiſſion was granted to export corn without particular licences, except for the uſe of enemies; reſerving only to the King and Council a diſcretionary power to reſtrain that liberty, when the good of the kingdom ſhould require ſuch reſtraint. The country gentlemen in the Houſe of Commons complained, in the year 1463, that the *Eaſterlings*, or Merchants in the Steel-yard, by too conſiderable an importation of corn, had ſo far reduced it's price, that the Engliſh farmers were in danger of being ruined. To obviate this inconvenience, it was enacted, "That "when the quarter of wheat did not exceed the "price of ſix ſhillings and eight-pence; rye, four "ſhillings; and barley, three ſhillings; no perſon "ſhould import any of theſe three kinds of grain "under the penalty of forfeiting the ſame."

It is worthy of remark, that the firſt inſtance of debt, contracted on parliamentary ſecurity, occurs in this reign.

EDWARD



EDWARD THE FOURTH.

YOUNG Edward, though he had but juſt entered his twentieth year, was poſſeſſed of a mind well adapted to profit by thoſe ſcenes of devaſtation which were now exhibited in every part of the kingdom. With a perſon beautiful in it's form, in it's deportment inſinuating, he had a heart callous to every impulſe of compaſſion, and only open to the cruel ſuggeſtions of political caution, and the ſanguinary dictates of revenge. Active and enterprizing, not leſs from neceſſity than nature, his army was ready to march in queſt of the enemy on the third day after his ſeizure of the regal authority: the firſt diviſion of it accordingly left the metropolis, under the conduct of the Earl of Warwick, on the ſeventh of March; and on the twelfth Edward followed in perſon, with the remainder of his forces. Before his departure from London, however, he afforded a ſtrong ſymptom of his vindictive and ferocious diſpoſition. A grocer in the city, named Walker, whoſe ſhop was diſtinguiſhed by the ſign of the Crown, having jocoſely obſerved to his neighbours that he would make his ſon heir to the crown, this innocent jeſt was maliciouſly interpreted by Edward to have been ſpoken in deriſion of his own title, and Walker was accordingly condemned and executed.

As Edward advanced towards the north, he found his army daily increaſe; ſo that by the time he had reached Pomfret, which was on the twenty-ſeventh of March, it amounted to near fifty thouſand men. Queen Margaret, too, having exerted her uſual activity, had collected ſixty thouſand troops, which were now ſtationed at York; but, being apprized of Edward's approach, ſhe entruſted the command of her forces to the Duke of Somerſet, who marched from that city on the twenty-eighth of March, leaving a proper guard with Henry, Margaret, and the young Prince of Wales, to defend them from danger and inſult. A body of troops, under the command of Lord Fitzwalter, having been detached by Edward to ſecure the paſſage of Ferrybridge over the River Are, which lay between the two armies, Somerſet ſent Lord Clifford to diſlodge him from that important poſt; when a conflict enſued, in which the Yorkiſts were repelled with great ſlaughter, and Lord Fitzwalter himſelf was ſlain. The Earl of Warwick, alarmed at this diſaſter, at a time when a deciſive action was hourly expected to take place, immediately ordered his horſe to be brought him, which he ſtabbed before the whole army; then kiſſing the hilt of his ſword, which was made in the form of a croſs, he ſwore that he was reſolved to ſhare the fate of the meaneſt ſoldier: and, to aſſume an appearance of confidence, Edward iſſued a proclamation, giving free permiſſion to retire to all perſons who choſe to abandon his ſtandard; but denouncing the ſevereſt puniſhment on thoſe who, in the enſuing action, ſhould betray any ſymptoms of cowardice. Lord Falconbridge was then ſent to recover the poſt which had been loſt; when, taking Clifford by ſurprize, he accompliſhed the taſk by the defeat of his party, and the death of their leader.

Early on the morning of Palm-Sunday, the twenty-ninth of March 1461, theſe two powerful armies, the minds of whoſe leaders were inflamed by the moſt implacable reſentment, met on the plains of Touton, a village about ten miles ſouth-weſt from York. While the Yorkiſts were advancing to the charge, there fell a violent ſhower of ſnow, which was forced by the wind into the faces of the Lancaſtrians, and ſo effectually blinded them, that they could not diſtinguiſh their enemies: an advantage which was greatly improved by a ſtratagem of Lord Falconbridge. That nobleman ordered his archers to advance before the reſt of the army;

army; and, after diſcharging a flight of arrows, immediately to retreat. The Lancaſtrians, thus galled by the arrows of the enemy, imagined they were near enough to diſcharge their own, by which they were led to exhauſt their quivers without effect. The Yorkiſts then advanced, and did great execution on the Lancaſtrians, without experiencing the ſmalleſt oppoſition; till the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Andrew Trollop, to whoſe conduct the van of Henry's army was entruſted, aware of the diſadvantage under which they laboured, ruſhed impetuouſly forward, and brought their troops to a cloſe engagement. The action then became general, and was maintained with equal courage and obſtinacy for ſeveral hours. At length, at the approach of evening, the Lancaſtrians began to give way; but they retreated in excellent order, intending to make a farther ſtand at a neighbouring bridge. Edward and Warwick, however, animating their men, both by words and deeds, to render the action deciſive, they redoubled their efforts, and preſſed the Lancaſtrians ſo hard, that they broke their ranks, and fled on all ſides. The purſuit was attended with immenſe ſlaughter; as Edward had iſſued orders—well ſuited to the brutal ferocity of his diſpoſition—to give no quarter. The loſs of the Lancaſtrians in this battle, which was certainly one of the moſt bloody ever fought in England, has been generally computed by hiſtorians at ſix and thirty thouſand men; but authentic documents, recently publiſhed by Sir John Fenn, reduce the number to twenty-eight thouſand. Among theſe were many perſons of rank and eminence; as, the Earls of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Shrewſbury; the Lords Beaumont, Clifford, Dacres, Stafford of Buckingham, Welles, Scales, and Willoughby; Sir Ralph Bigot, Sir Ralph Gray, Sir Richard Jeney, Sir Andrew Belingham, and that brave veteran Sir Andrew Trollop. The Earl of Devonſhire, who had now embraced the cauſe of Henry, was only exempted from the general ſlaughter, to undergo the more cruel puniſhment of deliberate murder: he was beheaded at York, where his head was erected on a pole, together with that of Sir W. Hill, on the walls of the city; from whence thoſe of the Duke of York and the Earl of Saliſbury were taken down. The Earl of Wiltſhire alſo ſuffered decapitation at Newcaſtle; and Sir Thomas Fulford at Hexham.

The Dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, when they found that the day was loſt, rode full ſpeed to York, to convey the diſmal intelligence to Henry and Margaret; who immediately fled with precipitation. They firſt retired to a fortreſs in the north, (the name of which is not preſerved) where they were beſieged by a ſtrong detachment of the Yorkiſts, and ran a great hazard of being taken. At length, however, through the negligence of the enemy, they effected their eſcape, and fled to Edinburgh, where they experienced a very cordial reception from the Scottiſh Prince. They were compelled, however, to purchaſe the friendſhip of the Scots by the ceſſion of the town and caſtle of Berwick to James the Third, who was then in his infancy, and under the tuition of Douglas Earl of Angus. This alliance was farther confirmed by the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the eldeſt daughter of Mary of Gelders, Queen-dowager of Scotland.

Edward endeavoured to counteract the effects of this connection by ſecretly negotiating an alliance with the potent Earl of Roſs, Lord of the Iſles, which was concluded on the ſecond of June: and he alſo empowered the Earl of Warwick to treat with the Regent of Scotland for a truce; by which means the Scots were prevented from taking that decided part in favour of the unfortunate Henry they had originally intended, though numerous individuals of all ranks eſpouſed his cauſe, and contributed, as far as lay in their power, to reſtore him to his former dignity.

Edward, in the mean time, had returned to London, where he was crowned: and, being anxious to ſecure by law that throne which he had acquired by arms, he iſſued writs for the purpoſe of aſſembling a parliament, at Weſtminſter, on the ſixth of July; but the unſettled ſtate of the kingdom occaſioned it's prorogation to the fourth of November. So great had been the ſlaughter of the Nobles in this deſtructive conteſt, that only one Duke, four Earls, one Viſcount, and twenty-nine Barons, remained to obey the citation; and, as theſe were all either adherents of Edward, or elſe ſo overawed by his recent ſucceſſes and ſeverity of temper, as to ſuffer their fears to influence their deciſions, it will eaſily be ſuppoſed that any meaſures which he might wiſh to dictate were adopted with alacrity. Accordingly, motions the moſt unjuſt, well ſuited to the violence of the times, and to the diſpoſition of Edward's partizans, paſſed with unanimity. Not content with declaring Henry the Fourth, whom they ſtiled the Earl of Derby, an uſurper, they extended the charge of uſurpation to his deſcendants, all of whom were declared for ever incapable of holding any eſtate or dignity in any part of the Britiſh dominions. They had the unprincipled aſſurance to include Henry the Sixth in this vague accuſation; a Prince whoſe acceſſion had been marked by no exertion of violence, whoſe title had experienced no oppoſition for upwards of thirty years, and whom they had all ſworn to defend and obey as their lawful Sovereign.

This unhappy Monarch, with his Queen Margaret, his ſon Edward, the Dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, and Devonſhire, beſides an incredible number of inferior rank, were attainted as traitors; while all the attainders which had paſſed during the reigns of the Lancaſtrian Princes were reverſed; particularly thoſe of the Earl of Cambridge, Edward's grandfather; the Earls of Saliſbury and Glouceſter; and Lord Lumley, who had been attainted for his adherence to Richard the Second. Every grant paſſed in thoſe reigns was annulled; and all the poſſeſſions which had belonged to the crown on the depoſition of Richard the Second, were reſtored to Edward, whoſe title, by hereditary deſcent through the family of Mortimer, was formally recognized; and who was declared to have been King by right from the death of his father, who was equally poſſeſſed of the ſame lawful title: it was even aſſerted that he was

in poſſeſſion of the crown from the day on which he aſſumed the government, tendered to him by the acclamations of the people.

Theſe diſhonourable deciſions, which rather marked this aſſembly as a ſervile herd of courtly ſycophants, than as a free band of Britiſh ſenators, amounted to an avowal, that every oath of allegiance they had taken to Henry, every inſtance of obedience they had ſhewn him, was an act of treaſon to their lawful Monarch—to that Monarch whom, till now, they had regarded as their fellow-ſubject; and who had himſelf ſworn allegiance to the Prince whom they now ſtigmatized as a treacherous uſurper.

At the concluſion of the ſeſſions, Edward haſtened to profit by the forfeitures which had taken place, to enrich his friends at the expence of his enemies: and, while he gratified their avarice by the grant of eſtates, he was ſtudious to ſoothe their ambition by the beſtowal of additional honours. His eldeſt brother, George, was created Duke of Clarence; and his younger brother, Richard, Duke of Glouceſter: Lord Falconbridge was promoted to the Earldom of Kent; Lord Bourchier to that of Eſſex; and Sir John Nevile, brother to the Earl of Warwick, was made Lord Montague.

This compliance with the dictates of policy was ſpeedily followed by a farther gratification of revenge; which, though Mr. Hume has attempted to juſtify it, on the fallacious plea of neceſſity, muſt ever mark Edward as a blood-thirſty tyrant. John Earl of Oxford, a nobleman not more venerable from his years than his virtues, was arreſted, on a pretence of holding a ſecret correſpondence with Queen Margaret, and beheaded on Tower Hill, in February 1462, without any previous trial—for the proceſs of martial law is unworthy the name of a trial—together with his eldeſt ſon, Aubrey de Vere; Sir Thomas Todenham; Sir Walter Tirrel; and Sir John Montgomery.

While Edward was thus employed, Margaret was buſily occupied in the formation of projects for the recovery of her loſt grandeur. Finding all her efforts to perſuade the Regent of Scotland to declare war againſt Edward fruitleſs and unavailing, ſhe ſailed to the continent with the Duke of Somerſet, and a ſmall retinue, to ſolicit ſuccours and aſſiſtance from her foreign connections. Her principal reliance was on the King of France, her near relation; but Lewis the Eleventh, who now filled the Gallic throne, poſſeſſed a mind that could only be influenced by motives of ſelf-intereſt: all, therefore, he could be perſuaded to grant to the earneſt ſolicitations of Margaret, were a loan of twenty thouſand livres, and a conſiderable body of troops, under the command of the Seneſchal of Normandy. With theſe ſhe embarked for England; and, after a tedious and tempeſtuous paſſage, arrived off Tinmouth, about the end of the year 1462: but, being prevented from landing there, ſhe again put to ſea; and her fleet being overtaken by a ſtorm, many of the ſhips were ſtranded near Bamburgh Caſtle, and the veſſel in which the Queen was with difficulty reached the port of Berwick. The French troops effected a landing in Holy Iſland, where they were ſoon attacked by a ſuperior force, and moſt of them either killed or taken; but their leader, with ſome other officers, made their eſcape, and joined the Queen.

The affairs of Henry were now in a deſperate ſituation: but no diſaſters could intimidate the heroic ſpirit of Margaret, who determined to make another effort in order to obtain aſſiſtance from the continent. Leaving her huſband and ſon at Edinburgh, ſhe ſailed from Kirkcudbright, in Galloway, on the eighth of April 1463; and, landing in Brittany, obtained a gift of twelve thouſand crowns from the Duke of that province. From thence ſhe proceeded to the court of France; and by a promiſe to Lewis to deliver up Calais, ſhould her family by his means be reſtored to the throne of England, procured a body of two thouſand men at arms, with which ſhe arrived ſafe in Northumberland, in the month of October: but the inhabitants of the north, though generally friends to the Lancaſtrian party, deeming her force inſufficient to afford a proſpect of ſucceſs, refuſed to take up arms; ſhe was therefore compelled, after reducing a few caſtles, to retire into Scotland, where ſhe paſſed the winter.

In the enſuing ſpring, ſhe again took the field, having been reinforced by a numerous train of Scotch adventurers. Her firſt efforts were ſucceſsful: ſhe reduced the caſtles of Bamburgh, Dunſtanburgh, and Alnwick; and, by her active exertions, diſpelled the fears of many who had been hitherto deterred from openly eſpouſing her cauſe. Edward, alarmed at her progreſs, ſent Lord Montague to oppoſe her; and iſſued a proclamation, commanding every man in England, from the age of ſixteen to that of ſixty, to be prepared to march at a day's warning. Having collected a powerful army, he ſet out in perſon for the north, and reached York towards the end of May. But Lord Montague, without waiting for his arrival, had firſt attacked and defeated a detachment of the Lancaſtrian army, at Hedgeley Moor, near Wooller, on the twenty-fifth of April, commanded by Sir Ralph Percy, a brave and experienced officer, who was killed in the action: and, encouraged by this ſucceſs, had afterwards advanced towards the main body of the enemy, which lay encamped on a plain called *The Levels*, in the vicinity of Hexham; attacked them in their camp on the fifteenth of May; and, after a long and bloody conflict, obtained a compleat victory. The Duke of Somerſet was taken in the purſuit; and, with four others, beheaded at Hexham, the day after the battle. The Earl of Kyme, Lords Roos and Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Fynderne, underwent the ſame puniſhment at Newcaſtle; Sir Humphrey Nevile, and eleven other knights and gentlemen, were conducted to York, and there executed; while many of the fugitives, having taken ſhelter in the caſtle of Bamburgh, were beſieged by the Earls of Warwick and Northumberland; and, on the capitulation of the garriſon in the month of July, the Governor, Sir Ralph Gray, was ſent to Doncaſter, where he experienced

the ſame fate as all the Lancaſtrian nobles, whoſe utter extermination Edward was now determined to accompliſh.

After the defeat of her troops at Hexham, Margaret is ſaid to have met with a very ſingular adventure, which is thus related by Monſtrelet, the French hiſtorian of thoſe times:—As ſhe was flying with her ſon from the purſuit of Edward, ſhe took refuge in a thick foreſt, where ſhe was attacked and rifled by a band of robbers; who, ignorant of her quality, treated her with the greateſt indignity. But while theſe ſavage plunderers—the ferocious offſpring of civil commotion—were diſputing on the partition of their rich booty, ſhe eſcaped unperceived; and, piercing the thickeſt retreats of the wood, wandered about for ſome time, till ſhe and her ſon were almoſt overpowered by the united attacks of hunger and fatigue. In this wretched ſituation ſhe ſaw a ruffian approach with a furious aſpect, and a drawn ſword in his hand; but neither her courage nor preſence of mind forſook her at the ſight of ſuch a terrifying object: aſſuming an air of confidence, ſhe advanced towards him with a majeſtic pace; and, preſenting her ſon, ſaid—"There, friend, is the ſon of your Sovereign, King "Henry: to your care and protection I commit "him." The dignity of her tone and deportment ſtruck the robber with awe: the beauty of her perſon, and the tender years of her ſon, inſpired him with ſentiments of compaſſion; and the nature of her addreſs rouzed in his boſom thoſe latent ſparks of generoſity which his lawleſs courſe of life had rather ſmothered than extinguiſhed. Having aſſured her that his conduct ſhould ſoon prove her confidence was not miſplaced, he led her into a ſafe and retired part of the foreſt, where ſhe lay concealed till the heat of the purſuit was over, when he conducted her to the ſea-coaſt. From thence ſhe embarked with her ſon, accompanied by the Duke of Exeter; Sir John Forteſcue, the celebrated Lawyer, Chancellor to Henry the Sixth; and a retinue of about two hundred knights and gentlemen, who all arrived ſafe at Sluys, in Flanders. Margaret's firſt viſit was to the Count of Charolois, who conducted her to the court of his father, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, the moſt magnificent Prince of his age. Philip received her with great hoſpitality; and, after loading her with valuable preſents, ſent a guard to eſcort her into Lorrain, where ſhe fixed her reſidence for ſome years, in a caſtle given her by her father, the Duke of Anjou: while her huſband, who had owed his eſcape from Hexham to the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, retired into Lancaſhire, where he was long concealed by the friends of his family.

To compleat his good fortune, Edward, in the courſe of the ſummer, reduced all the caſtles in the north whoſe governors ſtill adhered to the Lancaſtrian intereſt; and, on the firſt of June, concluded a truce with Scotland for fifteen years, by which the Scottiſh Monarch engaged to afford neither aid nor protection to Henry, his family, or adherents. Tranquillity being thus reſtored, Edward returned to the metropolis, where he reſigned himſelf, uncontrouled, to the allurements of pleaſure, and the unlimited indulgence of his favourite enjoyments. During the preſent interval of peace, he was induced by policy to maſk the cruel ſeverity of his temper by a diſplay of ſocial confidence, and urged by nature to partake of thoſe convivial joys that lead to the gratification of the ſofter paſſions, which wholly engroſſed his ſoul when unoccupied by the purſuits of ambition, or the toils of war. Thus, by living on terms of familiarity with his ſubjects, he ſoon effaced the unfavourable impreſſions which his numerous exertions of rigour had made on their minds; and, by acquiring their affections, gave an apparent ſolidity to his throne. He had now every opportunity of indulging his amorous diſpoſition; and as the dignity of his rank, added to the beauty of his perſon, facilitated his ſucceſs with the fair, he ſoon became as much diſtinguiſhed for his profligacy in peace as for his cruelty in war. But he had not long purſued his career of pleaſure, before the warmth of his paſſions betrayed him into a connection which interrupted his tranquillity, and proved a ſource of calamity to his family and ſubjects.

On his return from a hunting party in Northamptonſhire, he paid a viſit to Jaqueline de Luxembourg, Dutcheſs of Bedford; who, on the death of her firſt huſband, had given her hand to Sir Richard Widville, a private gentleman, by whom ſhe had ſeveral children; and, among others, a daughter, named Elizabeth, married to Sir John Gray, of Groby. The huſband of Elizabeth having been ſlain at the ſecond battle of St. Alban's, fighting for the Houſe of Lancaſter, and his eſtate being for that reaſon confiſcated, his widow retired to live with her father at his ſeat of Grafton, in Northamptonſhire. The occaſion of the King's viſit appearing favourable to Elizabeth, to obtain from him ſome grant, ſhe threw herſelf at his feet, and entreated him to allow a maintenance for herſelf and children out of their father's poſſeſſions. The youthful Monarch, ſtricken with the beauty of his fair ſuppliant, haſtily raiſed her from the ground, and ſoothed her ſorrows by aſſurances of protection. The impreſſion made by the charms of Elizabeth, on a heart ſo ſuſceptible as that of Edward, was deep though inſtantaneous; and her converſation ſpeedily compleated the conqueſt which the graces of her perſon had began. Little uſed to reſiſtance, he ſoon revealed his paſſion to it's amiable object, not doubting but immediate gratification would be the conſequence of the diſcovery. He was diſappointed, however, in his expectations: the lady, being too virtuous to be dazzled by the ſplendour of royalty, rejected his petition with the diſdain it deſerved. But as the paſſion of love generally acquires ſtrength from oppoſition, Edward found his affection for Elizabeth—whoſe charms now derived additional force from the powerful attractions of virtue—daily increaſed; and, deſpiſing for once the cautious ſuggeſtions of Policy, and the cold dictates of Prudence, he made her an offer of his hand, and they were privately married at Grafton. The ſecret was carefully preſerved for ſome time; but, when Edward

ward thought the ſtability of his throne ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he diſcovered his marriage; and Elizabeth, on the twenty-ninth of September 1464, was led to the Abbey-church of Reading—where the Court then reſided—by the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick; and was there declared Queen of England, and afterwards received the compliments of the nobility on the occaſion. Had the Earl of Warwick, as it hath been aſſerted by many of our hiſtorians, both ancient and modern, been previouſly engaged by Edward to negotiate, and in conſequence of that engagement had actually concluded, a treaty of marriage with the Princeſs Bona of Savoy, ſiſter to the Queen of France, it is highly improbable that he would have countenanced this ſolemnity by his preſence, much leſs have appeared in it as a favoured ſubject and confidential friend, when the ſame writers affirm, that he was ſo enraged at the conduct of his Sovereign on that very account, as to retire from court in diſguſt, to meditate on projects of revenge.

The numerous evils which muſt neceſſarily reſult from the marriage of a Sovereign with one of his own ſubjects, however deſerving ſhe may be, are ſo extremely obvious, that no Prince, who did not prefer the gratification of his own paſſions to the welfare and felicity of his people, could be induced to form ſo imprudent a connection. The Engliſh were now doomed to experience the inconveniences of Edward's inconſiderate conduct: his court was ſoon crouded with the relations and friends of his new conſort, who monopolized the favour of their Sovereign, and obtained every thing which their avarice impelled them to aſk, or their ambition led them to deſire. Sir Richard Widville, Elizabeth's father, was created Earl Rivers, appointed Treaſurer of the Exchequer, and Conſtable of England; her eldeſt brother, Anthony, was married to the only daughter of Lord Scales, the richeſt heireſs in the kingdom, with whom he obtained the title which her father had enjoyed; her brother, John, eſpouſed the Dutcheſs of Norfolk, a lady of immenſe wealth; the daughter and heireſs of the Duke of Exeter, the King's niece, was given in marriage to Sir Thomas Grey, one of the Queen's ſons by her former huſband; and five of her ſiſters were ſpeedily married to the heirs of five of the firſt families in England.

This profuſion of favours on the ſame family could not fail to inſpire a certain degree of pride and inſolence almoſt inſeparable from the poſſeſſion of exorbitant power and the attainment of unexpected honours; while at the ſame time it incurred the envy and reſentment of all whoſe ſervices, or whoſe vanity, taught them to expect the ſmiles and bounty of their Sovereign. But, though a foundation was thus laid for future diſcontents, no murmurs of complaint were yet heard, no interruption of the national tranquillity was yet produced.

Edward, ſecured by his truce with Scotland from any attack from that quarter, was anxious, by forming continental alliances, to extend his ſecurity on all ſides, and wholly to deprive the Lancaſtrians of any aſſiſtance which might enable them to enforce their claims, and give diſturbance to his government. With this view he appointed the Earl of Warwick his ambaſſador; and, in the ſpring of the year 1465, ſent him, with a ſplendid retinue, to negotiate treaties of peace with the King of France, the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and the Count of Charolois, who had all evinced ſentiments of compaſſion for the exiled family. But the Earl found theſe Princes ſo buſily engaged in wars with each other, that they had not leiſure to attend to negotiations of any kind; ſo that nothing was ſettled till the following year, when ſhort and ſeparate truces were concluded with them all.

The King, in the mean time, was employed at home in preparing for the coronation of his conſort; in honour of which ſolemnity he made ſeven and thirty Knights of the Bath, on the twenty-third of May. On the following day, the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, richly dreſſed, went forth on horſeback, to Shooter's Hill, to meet the Queen, whom they conducted to the Tower; from whence ſhe was conveyed in a litter, preceded by the new-made Knights, to Weſtminſter, where ſhe was crowned, on Sunday the twenty-ſixth of May, by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. The coronation was ſucceeded by magnificent tournaments, which laſted ſeveral days.

About this period the unfortunate Henry, who had long lain concealed in the counties of Weſtmoreland and Lancaſter among the friends of his family, was betrayed by a monk to Sir James Harrington, who apprehended him as he ſat at dinner in Waddington Hall, and conducted him to London; a ſervice for which Edward rewarded him with the grant of the forfeited eſtates of Sir Richard Tunſtall. The royal captive was met at Iſlington by the Earl of Warwick; who, actuated by a mean ſpirit of revenge, equally unworthy of his character and inconſiſtent with the general tenour of his conduct, is ſaid to have inſulted him in his misfortunes, in a manner the moſt groſs and indecent, ordering his feet to be tied to the ſtirrups, and treating him in other reſpects with the utmoſt indignity. A convincive proof that, as yet, the Earl had formed no intention of depoſing Edward, and reſtoring his rival to the throne. In this ignominious ſituation the wretched Henry, who in the days of his proſperity had never been betrayed into ſo baſe and unmanly an exertion of power, was conducted through the ſtreets of London, after a proclamation had been made to prohibit any perſon from ſhewing him any marks of compaſſion or reſpect; a mandate which none but a tyrant could have iſſued, and none but ſlaves have regarded! When the proceſſion—which reflected more infamy on thoſe who framed it than on the unhappy object it was meant to degrade—reached Tower Hill, the horſe on which Henry rode was led three times round the pillory; and the fallen Monarch was then lodged in the Tower, where he was treated with a degree of contempt and cruelty which was doubtleſs intended to ſhorten the period of his exiſtence.

The honours which had been ſo profuſely laviſhed on the Queen's relations, and their almoſt excluſive enjoyment of the royal confidence, appear

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at this time to have cauſed ſome coolneſs between them and the powerful family of the Nevilles; ſince, at a magnificent entertainment given, in the month of September 1465, by George Neville, Chancellor of England, brother to the Earl of Warwick, on his promotion from the ſee of Exeter to that of York, though the Duke of Glouceſter, brother to Edward, with almoſt all the Nobles and Prelates of the kingdom, were preſent, not one of the Queen's family appeared. But, though a coolneſs might ſubſiſt, no appearance of an open rupture between Edward and Warwick had yet occurred: nor, indeed, could that coolneſs itſelf have riſen to any great height, as the Earl, ſoon after, ſtood godfather to the Princeſs Elizabeth, of whom the Queen was delivered at Weſtminſter on the eleventh of February 1466. Yet, as the family of Widville advanced in greatneſs, that of Neville experienced a diminution of the credit they had hitherto enjoyed, ſo marked and extenſive, as to afford the moſt reaſonable grounds for diſguſt. The poſt of Chancellor, enjoyed by the Archbiſhop of York, brother to Warwick, was abruptly taken from that Prelate on the eighth of June 1467, and conferred on the Biſhop of Bath and Wells, one of the Queen's moſt zealous partizans. The King, probably ſtimulated by the relations of his conſort, continued to ſubject the man, to whoſe exertions he was chiefly indebted for his own elevation, to the moſt pointed inſults, in the vain hope that ſuch unworthy treatment would urge him to retire from court to the enjoyment of a private ſtation, for which he was by no means adapted, either by birth, habit, or inclination. In this view he obtained an act of parliament which empowered him to reſume all the grants he had made, with ſome few exceptions, ſince his acceſſion to the throne. Thus the family of Neville was rendered wholly dependent on his pleaſure for the poſſeſſion of thoſe numerous eſtates which had been conferred on them as rewards for their important ſervices: and Edward imagined that, by holding this act *in terrorem* over Warwick, he ſhould induce him to bury his diſguſt in ſilence and obſcurity; or, ſhould the reſentment of that nobleman riſe ſuperior to his intereſt, by enforcing it's proviſions, he might decreaſe his opulence; and, by the reſumption of grants which, according to the computation of Philip de Comines, a writer of great accuracy and undoubted credit, produced, excluſive of his patrimonial eſtates, an annual revenue of eighty thouſand crowns, effect a proportionable diminution of his influence and authority. Edward, to ſhew at once his power and intentions, immediately reſumed two manors which he had granted to the Archbiſhop of York, reſerving a farther execution of the act for more urgent occaſions.

Warwick was abſent, on an embaſſy to France, during theſe tranſactions: and though, when apprized of them, his pride muſt have ſuffered conſiderably, he did not, on his return, evince that ſpirit of reſentment which might naturally have been expected; on the contrary, he ſuffered his brother, the Archbiſhop of York, to attempt a reconciliation with the Queen's relations; for which purpoſe that Prelate had an interview with his father, Lord Rivers, at Nottingham, when an amicable arrangement took place between the rival families. The Earl of Warwick, ſoon after, attended a great council held at Coventry in January 1468; at which he was publicly reconciled to the Lords Herbert, Stafford, and Audley, who had married three of the Queen's ſiſters. The King expreſſed ſo much pleaſure at this circumſtance, that he reſtored to the Archbiſhop of York, by whoſe means it had been effected, the two manors which he had taken from him the preceding year.

In the mean time, Edward had endeavoured to ſecure the ſtability of his throne by foreign alliances. He was, for ſome time, at a loſs whether to prefer a connection with Lewis the Eleventh, or with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who had lately ſucceeded his father Philip: for as theſe Princes, as well from oppoſition of intereſts as of character, entertained a violent animoſity againſt each other, he was certain of ſecuring the ſincere attachment of either of them for whom he ſhould chuſe to declare himſelf.

The Duke of Burgundy being deſcended by his mother, a Princeſs of Portugal, from John of Gaunt, was naturally inclined to favour the Houſe of Lancaſter: but this conſideration, in the mind of an ambitious Prince, was too feeble to counterbalance the more weighty motives of political advantage; and Charles perceiving that the Engliſh were reſolved to ſupport the ſupremacy of the Houſe of York, ſent over his natural brother, commonly called the Baſtard of Burgundy, to carry, in his name, propoſals of marriage to Margaret, the King's ſiſter. The commercial intereſts of the Engliſh and Burgundians rendered the alliance of this Prince more popular with the former than that of France; and as Edward, beſides the pleaſure he received in depriving the Lancaſtrians of a powerful protector, had about this time conceived the project of recovering the Engliſh dominions in France, for the execution of which the parliament had granted him an ample ſubſidy of two tenths and two fifteenths, he chearfully coincided with the ſentiments of his people, and beſtowed his ſiſter upon Charles. The difficulty, however, of obtaining a diſpenſation from the Pope—ariſing from the influence of Lewis at the court of Rome—retarded the marriage for ſome months. When that obſtacle was removed, and every preliminary arranged, the Princeſs Margaret rode in proceſſion, behind the Earl of Warwick, through the ſtreets of London: after which ſhe embarked at Margate on the firſt of July 1468; arrived ſafe at Sluys on the ſecond; and, on the ninth, her marriage was celebrated at Dam with great pomp and magnificence.

The mark of diſtinction here ſhewn to Warwick, by appointing him to attend the Princeſs, was ſoon followed by another proof of the confidence which Edward either repoſed, or pretended to repoſe, in him. Several gentlemen having been apprehended on a charge of maintaining a correſpondence with Margaret of Anjou, the King granted a commiſſion for their trial; in which the Earl of Warwick, and his

his brother, the Earl of Northumberland, were included, with the Dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, Edward's own brothers: and the two Earls appear to have executed their truſt with a zeal that rather tended to juſtify the confidence of their Sovereign than to demonſtrate their own attention to the principles of juſtice and humanity; for great exertions of violence, according to William of Worceſter, were employed to procure evidence againſt the unfortunate culprits, many of whom were condemned and executed on the moſt vague and inadequate proofs. Though from hence we may infer that Edward had not as yet perceived in Warwick, or his brother, any marks of that diſaffection which many circumſtances in his conduct were calculated to promote, it is certain the Earl was taking ſuch precautions as, in caſe of a rupture, ſhould render his oppoſition effectual. For this purpoſe he contracted an intimacy with George Duke of Clarence, who had received the ſame cauſe for diſguſt as himſelf, in a total excluſion from any active ſhare in the adminiſtration, and in the marked preference ſhewn by his brother to the relations of the Queen. Deeply impreſſed with ſimilar ſentiments of animoſity againſt the objects of their common hatred, a ſtrict intercourſe and communication of councils ſpeedily enſued between theſe injured noblemen; and hence aroſe an union of intereſts, that was finally cemented by the Duke's marriage with Iſabella, daughter and coheireſs to the Earl, which took place, at Calais, on the eleventh of July 1469.

In the mean time, a dangerous inſurrection aroſe in Yorkſhire, which by many hiſtorians has been haſtily imputed to the intrigues of the Earl of Warwick; though it is certain that his brother John, Earl of Northumberland, exerted the moſt vigorous efforts to cruſh it in it's infancy. The hoſpital of St. Leonard's, near York, had received, from an ancient grant of King Athelſtan, a right of levying a thrave of corn upon every plough-land in the county: and, as abuſes had crept into this charitable eſtabliſhment, the country people complained of the grievance; aſſerting, that the revenue of the hoſpital was no longer expended for the relief of the poor, but employed by the managers for their own private purpoſes. Finding their complaints did not produce redreſs, they were induced to refuſe payment of the accuſtomed contribution. Cenſures, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, were immediately iſſued againſt them; their goods were diſtrained, and their perſons thrown into gaol. Continued ſeverity, at length, gave birth to determined reſiſtance: they took up arms; attacked the officers of the hoſpital, whom they put to the ſword; and proceeded in a body, fifteen thouſand ſtrong, to the gates of York. On their approach, the Earl of Northumberland armed his followers, and went forth to meet them; when an action enſued, in which the inſurgents were defeated: their leader, called Robin of Redſdale, was taken, and immediately beheaded, by the Earl's orders.

This defeat, however, did not ſo far diſpirit the inſurgents as to make them lay down their arms: they continued their incurſions; and ſoon acquired leaders of greater conſequence than him they had recently loſt. Theſe were Sir Henry Nevile. ſon of Lord Latimer; and Sir John Coniers; under whoſe conduct they directed their march to the ſouth. As this inſurrection now began to wear a formidable appearance, it attracted the ſerious attention of government. Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who had received that title on the forfeiture of Jaſper Tudor, was therefore diſpatched by Edward to oppoſe their progreſs, at the head of a body of Welſhmen; and this nobleman was joined by five thouſand archers, under the command of Stafford, Earl of Devonſhire, who had ſucceeded in that title to the family of Courtney, which had alſo been attainted. But a trifling difference about quarters having occaſioned a violent animoſity between theſe two leaders, the Earl of Devonſhire retired with his archers, and left Pembroke to ſuſtain the attack of the rebels alone and unſupported. The two armies met on the twenty-ſixth of July 1469, at Edgcote, in Northamptonſhire, about three miles from Banbury; when the Royaliſts, overpowered by numbers, were ſpeedily defeated; and the Earl of Pembroke, and his brother, Sir Richard Herbert, with ten other gentlemen, ſuffered immediate decapitation on the field. The rebels, too, having taken Richard Earl Rivers, the Queen's father, and his brother, Sir John Widville, in the Foreſt of Dean, they were conveyed to Northampton, and there executed without trial or delay.

The murder of Rivers and his ſon, who were the chief enemies of Warwick, and the primary ſource of his diſcontents, gave riſe to reports that it was undertaken by his advice; but, as Edward himſelf entertained no ſuch ſuſpicion, theſe reports muſt have been wholly devoid of foundation. That Edward did not ſuſpect the Earl of being privy to the murder of his father-in-law, is evident from a commiſſion, dated Auguſt the ſeventeenth 1469, by which he conſtituted Warwick Chief Juſticiary of South Wales: he alſo beſtowed on him ſeveral other offices of truſt and power, which had been held by his favourite, the late Earl of Pembroke.

The progreſs of the quarrel between the King and the Earl of Warwick, and indeed all the tranſactions of the preſent period, are ſo variouſly related by different writers, and the accounts of them ſo little authenticated by records, that at this diſtance of time it is almoſt impoſſible to diſtinguiſh between the faithful narrator of hiſtorical facts and the thoughtleſs or deſigning propagator of vague and unfounded reports; much leſs can we trace the motives which actuated the conduct of the principal agents in thoſe ſcenes of devaſtation and bloodſhed ariſing from the fatal wars between the Two Roſes: we can indeed diſcover, that their proceedings are ſtrongly marked by treachery and diſhonour; but ſtill a glaring inconſiſtency pervades the whole—confidence and miſtruſt are entertained and eſtabliſhed, in a rapid ſucceſſion, without any apparent reaſon; and the moſt plain rules of action ſeem to experience a frequent violation. In this dilemma,

the hiſtorian muſt confine himſelf to the relation of facts, ſanctioned by authorities the leaſt diſputable.

Though Edward had afforded Warwick ſuch ſtrong marks of his confidence in the month of Auguſt, when circumſtances appear to have increaſed the propriety, or rather the prudence, of adopting a different line of conduct; in the ſhort ſpace of three months, without any intervening occurrence—preſerved in hiſtory—that could operate a change in his ſentiments, we find that confidence vaniſhed, and ſuſpicion eſtabliſhed in it's place. On the ſixteenth of the ſucceeding November, the King granted a commiſſion of *array* to John Duke of Norfolk, John Duke of Suffolk, and Anthony, late Lord Scales, now Earl of Rivers, to embody all the men capable of bearing arms in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, to be employed againſt the Duke of Clarence, and *other rebels*, who had conſpired to effect the liberation of Henry the Sixth. This attack on a Prince ſo nearly allied to Warwick, and in which Warwick himſelf was doubtleſs included, was accompanied by another on the brother of that Earl. Henry Percy, ſon and heir to the Earl of Northumberland who was ſlain in the fatal battle of Touton, had from that time been detained a priſoner in the Tower; while his title and eſtate were conferred on John Nevile, brother to Warwick. Edward is ſaid to have now cauſed ſecret intimations to be given to the Percy family, that if they would preſent a petition for the releaſe of their kinſman, and for the reſtoration of the eſtates and honours of his anceſtors, it would be attended with ſucceſs. Petitions were accordingly preſented; and young Henry was liberated from confinement, on the twenty-ſeventh of October, and ſoon after reſtored to the Earldom of Northumberland.

But before the diſaffection of Warwick—which this laſt tranſaction could not fail to promote—had given riſe to any hoſtile proceedings on his part, and before the commiſſion of array iſſued by the King had been enforced, another change in the ſentiments of Edward, as ſudden and unaccountable as the former, appears to have taken place. In conſequence of this, John Nevile, who had been recently deprived of the Earldom of Northumberland, received the higher title of Marquis of Montague; his eldeſt ſon, George, was created Duke of Bedford, on the fifth of January 1470; and Edward publicly declared his intention of marrying that young nobleman to his eldeſt daughter, Elizabeth; who, as he had yet no ſons, was preſumptive heir to the crown. In ſhort, the reconciliation, at the beginning of this memorable year, was—in appearance, at leaſt—ſo cordial and compleat, that Edward granted another commiſſion of array, dated at Waltham Abbey, March the ſeventh, very different from the former, authorizing the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick to collect all the men able to bear arms in the county of Worceſter, and to conduct them to the army then raiſing by the King, to be employed againſt the rebels.

The rebels here alluded to were commanded by Sir Robert Wells, eldeſt ſon of Richard Lord Wells, in conjunction with ſome other gentlemen of Lincolnſhire; but the motive which induced them to take up arms is as unaccountable as the other events of this obſcure period. Their proceedings, however, are better authenticated. They firſt attacked the caſtle of Sir Robert Burgh, an officer of the King's houſhold, which they ſpeedily demoliſhed; then expelled it's owner from the county, and plundered his eſtate. Lord Wells, the father of Sir Robert, was ſo far from approving the conduct of his ſon, that he fled into a ſanctuary, in order to ſecure himſelf from the King's anger or ſuſpicion. Thither Edward ſent to him, with a ſolemn aſſurance of ſafety if he would write to his ſon, and direct him to lay down his arms; a requeſt with which that nobleman immediately complied: but Edward, juſtly doubting the ſucceſs of his application, aſſembled his army; and, accompanied by Lord Wells, began his march to the north.

Previous to his departure, the King is ſaid to have paid a viſit to George Nevile, Archbiſhop of York, at his houſe of Moor Park; when, as he was about to ſit down to ſupper, one of his attendants, named Ratcliff, gave him private notice that a hundred men at arms were in waiting to ſecure his perſon. Alarmed at this intelligence, Edward immediately left the houſe, mounted his horſe, and rode full ſpeed to Windſor; from whence he advanced againſt the northern rebels.

It appears that the intelligence thus conveyed to Edward was deſtitute of foundation; though for what purpoſe it was formed—unleſs by the relations of the Queen to widen the breach between Warwick and his Sovereign—it is difficult to conceive. If that was the intention, it was fully anſwered: for not only Warwick, and his brother the Archbiſhop, but even the Duke of Clarence, who was preſent at the time, were ſo much enraged at the King's abrupt departure, which indicated a rooted diſtruſt of their loyalty, and ſeemed calculated to fix the imputation of perfidy on their conduct, that they immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to Sir Robert Wells, exhorting him not to lay down his arms, and promiſing him ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance; and, to enable themſelves to put their promiſe in execution, the Duke and Earl immediately departed for Warwick to collect their forces.

But the temerity of Sir Robert Wells, who ſuffered an impulſe of paſſion to overcome his prudence, diſconcerted their projects. Edward, when he reached Stamford, having found that Sir Robert Wells paid no attention to the repeated ſolicitations of his father, who ſtrenuouſly urged him to return to his allegiance, in violation of a ſolemn promiſe, ordered that nobleman to be beheaded. This act of inhumanity inſpired the ſon with ſuch a thirſt for revenge, that, without waiting for the reinforcements which Warwick had promiſed to ſend him, he attacked the King's army at Stamford, where he was defeated, taken priſoner, and ſoon after beheaded; together with Sir Thomas Dymoc, and ſome other leaders of the inſurrection.

Meanwhile, Warwick and Clarence advanced into Lancaſhire, in the hope of being reinforced by Thomas

Thomas Lord Stanley, who had married the Earl's ſiſter; but Stanley refuſing to join them, they were about to march into Yorkſhire, to form a junction with the northern inſurgents under Sir John Coniers. The King, however, got the ſtart of them, having reached York with his victorious army; from whence he iſſued a proclamation on the twentieth of March, denouncing the ſevereſt penalties againſt all propagators of falſe reports. Four days after, he publiſhed a long declaration from the ſame place, acquainting his ſubjects with the treaſonable deſigns of which the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick had been accuſed by Sir Robert Wells and the other inſurgents in their laſt moments; and ſummoning thoſe noblemen to appear before him on the twenty-eighth of March, in order to anſwer the charges which had been preferred againſt them, on pain of being pronounced rebels and traitors. As they paid no regard to his declaration, another was actually publiſhed at Nottingham on the thirty-firſt of March, proclaiming them rebels and traitors; offering rewards for apprehending them; and prohibiting all perſons, under the ſevereſt penalties, from aſſiſting them and their adherents.

Finding the north thus ſecured, Clarence and Warwick directed their courſe to the weſt, whither Edward followed them with great expedition; and from Exeter iſſued commiſſions to the Earl of Wiltſhire, Lord Mountjoye, Sir John Forteſcue, and others, to array men in Devon and Cornwall; but, before theſe troops could be collected, the fugitive nobles had eſcaped to Dartmouth, where they embarked for Calais.

The deputy-governor, to whom Warwick had entruſted the command of Calais during his abſence, was one Vaucler, a Gaſcon; who ſeeing the Earl return in the deplorable ſtate of an exile, refuſed him admittance; and would not even ſuffer the Dutcheſs of Clarence to land, though ſhe had been taken in labour, and delivered of a ſon on ſhip-board. With difficulty he would allow a few flaggons of wine to be carried to the veſſel for her uſe; but, as he was a man of ſagacity, he deemed it prudent to make a ſecret apology to Warwick, whom he aſſured that his conduct was entirely influenced by motives of perſonal regard and zeal for his ſervice. He ſaid that the fortreſs was ill ſupplied with proviſions; that he could place no reliance on the fidelity of the garriſon; that the inhabitants, deriving their principal means of ſubſiſtence from their commercial intercourſe with England, would certainly declare for the eſtabliſhed government; that the place, in it's preſent ſituation, was unable to reſiſt the attacks of the Duke of Burgundy on the one hand, and thoſe of England on the other; and that, by ſeeming to preſerve his loyalty to Edward, he ſhould acquire the confidence of that Prince, and ſtill keep it in his power, when a proper opportunity ſhould occur, to reſtore Calais to it's ancient maſter. Whatever were the real intentions of Vaucler, his conduct was ſo highly approved both by Edward and the Duke of Burgundy, that, as we are told by Philip de Comines, the former gave him the government of Calais, and the latter granted him a penſion of one thouſand crowns a year; on which he took a ſolemn oath to remain faithful to the King, and to reſiſt every ſolicitation that could tempt him to ſwerve from his duty.

It is uncertain whether Warwick was ſatisfied with the apology of Vaucler, or ſuſpected him to be guilty of a double infidelity; but he ſeemed to be entirely convinced by his arguments: and, having ſeized ſome Flemiſh veſſels which he found lying off Calais, ſailed towards the coaſt of Normandy, and arrived at Honfleur on the ſecond of May. He there found the Baſtard of Bourbon, Admiral of France, who received him with the utmoſt friendſhip and cordiality; and, having provided ſuitable accommodations for the Dutcheſs of Clarence, and the ladies who had attended her, at Valongis, he conducted Warwick and the Duke, together with Jaſper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and John de Vere, Earl of Oxford—who had likewiſe fled from England—to the court of France, which then reſided at Amboiſe.

Lewis the Eleventh, juſtly alarmed at the cloſe connection of Edward with his two inveterate enemies, the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, received the Earl of Warwick with every poſſible demonſtration of regard; hoping, through his means, to overturn the eſtabliſhed government of England, and to effect the reſtoration of the exiled Houſe of Lancaſter. The animoſity which had ever ſubſiſted between that unfortunate family and this powerful Earl was ſo inveterate, as ſcarcely to allow a hope that a reconciliation could ever take place. The father of Warwick had been executed by orders from Margaret: he himſelf had twice reduced Henry to a ſtate of captivity; had promoted the baniſhment of the Queen; had put to death all her moſt zealous partizans, either in the field or on the ſcaffold; and, in ſhort, had drawn down ſuch calamities on her houſe, as no future ſervices could, in appearance, poſſibly compenſate. For this reaſon, when he had firſt adopted the reſolution of depoſing Edward, he had no intention of reſtoring his rival to the throne; but meant to confer the regal dignity on his own ſon-in-law, the Duke of Clarence. Of this deſign he was accuſed by Edward, in his long declaration publiſhed at York on the twenty-fourth of March; and it had obtained univerſal credit with the people of England. Finding, however, that his project was ill received, and would be equally oppoſed by the Yorkiſts and Lancaſtrians, he was now reduced to the neceſſity of adopting the plan propoſed by the King of France, which was to effect the reſtoration of King Henry. To render this more palatable to Warwick, and to reconcile him, in ſome meaſure, to that flagrant contradiction of principles which his conduct muſt neceſſarily diſplay to the world, it was propoſed that the adminiſtration of the government, during the minority of young Edward, Henry's ſon, ſhould be entruſted conjointly to the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence; that the Prince of Wales ſhould eſpouſe the Lady Anne, Warwick's ſecond daughter; and that the crown, in failure of male iſſue from that Prince, ſhould deſcend, at his death, to the

Duke

Duke of Clarence, to the entire excluſion of Edward and his poſterity.

When theſe arrangements were fixed, meſſengers were ſent to conduct Queen Margaret, and her ſon Edward, from their obſcure reſidence in Lorraine, to the court of France. An union of intereſts induced an union of ſentiments in the Queen and Warwick, which effectually ſtifled all emotions of hatred. Margaret willingly acceded to the terms propoſed. The marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Lady Anne Nevile was celebrated, to the apparent ſatisfaction of all the parties concerned in this unexpected alliance; a treaty, offenſive and defenſive, was concluded between King Henry and the French Monarch; and the whole was confirmed on either ſide by the moſt ſolemn oaths.

The ſmalleſt reflection, however, ſerved to convince the Duke of Clarence, that, by becoming an inſtrument of Warwick's revenge, he ſhould ſacrifice the true intereſts of his own family for a precarious and diſtant advantage. The Dutcheſs herſelf, though daughter to Warwick, was ſecretly diſcontented with a plan that gave to her youngeſt ſiſter a ſuperiority of rank, and the proſpect of a throne which ſhe had hoped to enjoy herſelf.

Edward, who foreſaw that an alliance formed of ſuch diſcordant parts might be eaſily diſſolved, found means to improve this favourable diſpoſition in his brother, by ſending over a lady of great ſagacity and addreſs, who belonged to the train of the Dutcheſs of Clarence; and who, under colour of attending her miſtreſs, was inſtructed to enter into a negotiation with the Duke, and to renew the connections of that Prince with his own family. This female politician, whoſe name has not been preſerved in hiſtory, fortified with a paſſport from Edward, landed at Calais, and proceeded in ſafety to the court of France. On her arrival, ſhe repreſented to the Duke the extreme folly and danger of his conduct, in ſuch ſtrong terms, that he ſoon ſent her back to his brother, with aſſurances that he would embrace the firſt favourable opportunity to deſert the Lancaſtrian party, and return to his allegiance.

During this negotiation, Warwick maintained a private correſpondence, of a ſimilar nature, with his brother, the Marquis of Montague, in whom Edward repoſed an unlimited confidence; and the ſame motives induced that nobleman to adopt the ſame reſolution with the Duke of Clarence, and to promiſe ſupport to his own family: but, to render his defection more important to his brother, the Marquis determined ſtill to maintain the appearance of a ſteady attachment to Edward, and only to revolt when his departure might prove fatal to the Houſe of York.

Edward, in the mean time, ſecure in the imaginary inability of Warwick to diſturb his government, had diſbanded his army, and reſigned himſelf wholly to the enjoyment of thoſe ſenſual pleaſures to which he was ſo much addicted. Even the frequent warnings of the Duke of Burgundy, who apprized him of the ſtorm that was gathering, were inadequate to rouze him from his dangerous ſecurity. A vain confidence in his own proweſs, and in the affections of his ſubjects, had rendered him incapable of ſound reflection; and induced him to declare, that he ſhould be perfectly ſatisfied could he once ſee Warwick ſet foot on Engliſh ground.

Edward had not long to wait for this deſired ſatisfaction: Warwick, having been ſupplied by his new ally, the King of France, with a body of troops, and a ſufficient number of veſſels to tranſport them to England, embarked at Harfleur; and, on the thirteenth of September, landed at Dartmouth, the ſame place from which he had ſailed about five months before. Having maintained a correſpondence with the friends of the Houſe of Lancaſter, he found himſelf joined, immediately after his landing, by ſuch numbers, that in a few days he was at the head of a formidable army. He therefore directed his march towards the metropolis; diſtributing a manifeſto, commanding all loyal ſubjects, who were able to bear arms, to repair to his ſtandard, and aſſiſt him in depoſing the tyrant Edward; and in reſtoring their lawful Sovereign, Henry the Sixth.

Edward was in the north, ſuppreſſing ſome commotions in thoſe parts, when he received the news of Warwick's deſcent; and, ſo far was he from being diſcouraged at this event, that he ſent a meſſage to the Duke of Burgundy, whoſe fleet was then at ſea, to keep a ſtrict watch, that he might prevent the Earl's eſcape. A few days, however, were ſufficient to convince him that his expectations were vain as his confidence was groundleſs. He had appointed the general rendezvous of his forces at Nottingham; and, having advanced himſelf to the vicinity of that city, there waited for the arrival of the Marquis of Montague, whom he expected to join him with a reinforcement of ſix thouſand men from York.

Though the rapidity of Warwick's motions had prevented the Duke of Clarence from executing the plan which *he* had projected, the Marquis of Montague had now a favourable opportunity of fulfilling *his* promiſe to his brother. When he had approached, therefore, within ten miles of Edward's quarters, he diſcovered his intention of declaring for Henry to his followers; who, being ſtrongly inclined to the Lancaſtrian party, adopted them with alacrity; and immediately evinced their joy by repeated exclamations of—"Long live King Henry!" The news of this unexpected occurrence was communicated to Edward by one of his minſtrels, whoſe intelligence was ſpeedily confirmed by other meſſengers. His native courage firſt ſuggeſted the idea of drawing out his forces, and encountering the enemy; but Lord Haſtings ſoon convinced him of the temerity of ſuch a ſtep, by repreſenting the little dependence that could be placed on his own troops, and the great ſuperiority of thoſe he had to combat. In conſequence of his advice, the King immediately mounted his horſe; and, accompanied by his brother the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earl of Rivers, and a ſmall retinue, rode to Biſhop's-Lynne, in Norfolk; where he was fortunate enough to find veſſels, in which they put to ſea on the third of October.

But Edward's danger did not ceaſe with his embarkation.

barkation. The Eaſterlings, or Hanſe-Towns, were then at war both with France and England; and ſome of their ſhips, hovering on the Engliſh coaſt, eſpied the King's veſſels, and gave chace to them, ſo that it was with extreme difficulty he made his eſcape into the port of Alcmaer, in Frieſland. He had fled from England with ſuch precipitation, that he had carried nothing of value along with him; and the only reward which he could beſtow on the captain of the veſſel that brought him over, was a robe lined with ſables, and the promiſe of an ample recompence, if fortune ſhould ever become propitious to him. In this manner did the Earl of Warwick, in a few days from his firſt deſcent, become entire maſter of the kingdom, by the expulſion of the reigning Sovereign.

After Edward's retreat, his army ſubmitted to Warwick, who forthwith marched to London, which he entered in triumph on the fifth of October. The day after his arrival, the Earl releaſed King Henry from his confinement in the Tower, into which he himſelf had been the chief cauſe of throwing him, and conducted him to the Biſhop's Palace, where he reſided for ſome days; and then went in proceſſion, accompanied by all the Prelates and Nobles of his party, to return thanks to God for his reſtoration.

Elizabeth, Edward's Queen, had, during theſe tranſactions, privately retired from the Tower, with her infant daughters, and a few faithful adherents, and taken refuge in a ſanctuary at Weſtminſter; where ſhe was delivered of a ſon, named Edward, on the fourth of November.

When the news of this ſudden and important revolution was received on the continent, it inſpired the minds of the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy with very different ſenſations. In the capital, and all the principal cities of France, ſolemn proceſſions of the clergy and laity took place during three days; and public thankſgivings were offered for the reſtoration of Henry to the throne of England. Margaret, and her ſon Edward, who had been ſuffered to live in obſcurity for ſeveral years wholly neglected, and almoſt forgotten, were now received into Paris in triumph, with all the ſplendour and magnificence it was poſſible to exhibit. The Duke of Burgundy, on the contrary, was ſtricken with conſternation, as he began to fear that thoſe political motives which had urged him to form an alliance with the Houſe of York would now prove the means of involving him in thoſe very calamities he had been anxious to avoid. Lewis the Eleventh had declared war againſt him, and ſeized St. Quintin and Amiens; and now that Edward was expelled from the throne, he was apprehenſive that, by affording him aſſiſtance, he ſhould incur the united enmity of England and France. The Dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, who ſtill continued at his court, earneſtly exhorted him to abandon the exiled Monarch; and even threatened him with the indignation of Henry, ſhould he protect or patronize him. Charles, therefore, whoſe conduct was generally governed by intereſted motives, determined to follow their advice: but, as he dreaded an immediate attack from England, in order to avert it, he ſent Philip de Comines, his confidential ſervant, to Vaucler, the Governor of Calais, whom he believed to be firmly attached to his intereſt. Comines, however, on his arrival, found Vaucler, and the whole garriſon of Calais, decked with the enſigns of Warwick, and celebrating the reſtoration of Henry with every demonſtration of joy. But, notwithſtanding this diſcouraging circumſtance, he found means to prevent an immediate rupture, by confirming the commercial truce that ſubſiſted between the Engliſh merchants reſident in Calais and thoſe of Burgundy.

Warwick had no ſooner ſeated Henry on the throne than he haſtened to ſummon a Parliament, in the name of that Prince, to meet at Weſtminſter; which proved as obſequious as that which had formerly confirmed the pretenſions of Edward. In this aſſembly, the Earl's treaty with Margaret was fully executed. Henry was recognized as lawful King: but, his incapacity for government being avowed, the regency was entruſted to Warwick and Clarence during the minority of Prince Edward; and, in default of iſſue of that Prince, Clarence was declared ſucceſſor to the crown. Reverſals, ſo common in this turbulent period, were not forgotten: every ſtatute made during the reign of Edward, now declared an uſurper, was repealed; he and his adherents were attainted; and, in particular, his younger brother, the Duke of Glouceſter. All the attainders of the Lancaſtrians, the Dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, the Earls of Richmond, Oxford, and Ormond, were reverſed; and every one who had ſuffered for his adherence to Henry was reſtored to his former dignities and poſſeſſions.

Among theſe was Jaſper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke; who, ſoon after the prorogation of parliament, repaired to Wales, to viſit the county from whence he derived his title. Having there found his nephew Henry, the young Earl of Richmond, then in the tenth year of his age, who was detained, as it were, in captivity—though, according to Hall, he was well and honourably educated by Lady Herberta—the Earl brought this young Prince to the King; who, as Hollingſhed aſſerts, fixed his eyes ſtedfaſtly upon him, and foretold that he ſhould one day mount the throne of England, and terminate the fatal conteſt between the rival families.

Edward—who ſince his flight had hitherto reſided in Holland—after his ſiſter, the Dutcheſs of Burgundy, had in vain ſolicited her huſband to take ſome deciſive ſteps in his favour, demanded an interview with Charles, which he could not with any decency refuſe to grant. At this conference, Edward repreſented that delays muſt prove extremely prejudicial to his intereſt, as his friends and adherents in England would gradually forſake his cauſe; while the power of his enemy, Warwick, would receive daily confirmation and ſtrength: that the Duke, therefore, ought either to afford him ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance, or wholly abandon him to his evil fate. In order to reinforce this remonſtrance, he imparted to Charles the engagement

which his brother Clarence had contracted with him; he reminded him of the oath by which that Prince was bound to aſſiſt him, ſhould he ever ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance; and he deſired him to conſider that, by aiding him in his diſtreſs, he would act for the benefit of his own family, which might one day be in want of equal ſupport, and at the ſame time enjoy the glory of having reſtored a near relation to his throne. He ſolemnly promiſed to unite with him, in oppoſition to France, ſo ſoon as he ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in his regal dignity; and obſerved, that the neutrality which the Duke had hitherto obſerved, could be productive of no poſſible advantage, nor even prevent Lewis and the Earl of Warwick from the adoption of meaſures equally deſtructive to his power and repoſe. This expoſtulation was not fruitleſs; the Duke of Burgundy, though ſtill afraid to furniſh Warwick with a plauſive pretext for attacking his dominions, contrived an expedient which enabled him to accommodate the fugitive King without incurring the riſk of a rupture with England. He cauſed four large veſſels to be equipped, in the name of ſome private merchants, at the free port of Terveer in Zealand; to which he added fourteen ſhips ſecretly hired from the Eaſterlings. This ſquadron, accompanied by a ſum of money, he delivered to Edward, who immediately ſet ſail for England on the eleventh of March 1471, with an army of fifteen hundred men, partly compoſed of Engliſh fugitives, and partly of Flemiſh. No ſooner was Charles informed of his departure, than he iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting all his ſubjects from affording him aſſiſtance, under the ſevereſt penalties—an artifice too ſhallow to have deceived Warwick, though it might have ſerved as a decent pretence, were that nobleman ſo diſpoſed, for maintaining friendſhip with the Duke of Burgundy.

In the mean time, Queen Margaret, with the Dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, and many other of the Lancaſtrian exiles, were waiting on the coaſt of France to embark for England and join their friends; but unfortunately a conſtant ſucceſſion of bad weather and contrary winds prevented their embarkation for ſeveral months.

Edward, impatient to exact vengeance on his enemies, and ambitious to recover his loſt authority, directed his courſe to the coaſt of Norfolk, where he attempted to land, according to Hollingſhed, in the vicinity of Cromer, but was repulſed by the inhabitants. He then ſailed to the north; and, on the fourteenth of March, diſembarked at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire, though not without ſome oppoſition. But, to quiet the minds of thoſe who had aſſembled to oppoſe his progreſs, he ſolemnly declared that he had relinquiſhed all thoughts of again claiming the crown, and only came to recover the forfeited eſtates of his family. To convince them of the ſincerity of this declaration, he wore an oſtrich feather, the enſign of Prince Edward, in his hat; and commanded his followers to exclaim, on their march, "Long live King Henry!" When he approached the city of York, he found the gates ſhut againſt him; nor could he obtain admittance till he had taken a ſolemn oath, in the preſence of the mayor and aldermen, that he had no intentions to lay claim to the crown—an oath which he renewed at the high altar of the cathedral.

It is probable that the Earl of Warwick had received authentic intelligence of the motions and deſigns of Edward during his reſidence in Holland; as it appears that, ſo early as the twenty-firſt of December 1470, a commiſſion was given to his brother, the Marquis of Montague, to arm all ſuch as were capable of bearing arms in the five northern counties, for the purpoſe of repelling an expected invaſion in thoſe parts; and on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, a ſimilar commiſſion was granted, for every other county in the kingdom, to the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Oxford, and Sir John Scroop. In the ſucceeding month, Warwick was conſtituted Admiral of England; and, in conjunction with the Duke of Clarence and Earl of Pembroke, received another commiſſion to array the Welſh. But we are not informed what progreſs theſe commiſſioners had made in the collection of troops when Edward landed at Ravenſpur.

Edward having refreſhed his troops at York, began his march to the ſouth, in a ſituation which afforded but little proſpect of ſucceſs. The Marquis of Montague was at Pomfret with an army greatly ſuperior to his, and of courſe could have impeded his progreſs with facility; and Clarence and Warwick were on their march to meet him at the head of two other powerful armies. Montague, however, to the aſtoniſhment of the whole kingdom, would not ſuffer his forces to move, and permitted Edward to paſs without any interruption. No hiſtorian has aſſigned any ſatisfactory reaſon for this myſterious conduct, the true motive for which muſt remain enveloped in the ſame cloud with many other important events of this obſcure period. Conjectures, indeed, have been offered on the ſubject; the moſt probable of which is that of Stow, who ſuppoſes that the Marquis had received orders from the Duke of Clarence not to fight till he ſhould have joined him. Be that as it may, Edward was allowed to continue his march to Nottingham, where he received conſiderable reinforcements from Lord Stanley, Sir Thomas Parre, Sir James Harrington, Sir Thomas Montgomery, and others of the York party. Deeming himſelf now ſufficiently ſtrong to throw off the maſk he had hitherto worn, he made known the true object of his enterprize; and, in direct violation of an oath the moſt ſolemn, aſſumed the title of King.

The Earl of Warwick had by this time advanced to Leiceſter, in order to form a junction with his brother, the Marquis of Montague; but being informed that Edward had taken the road to Coventry, he haſtened thither with a view to hazard an engagement. But, not being joined by the Duke of Clarence, as he had expected to be, he ſuffered Edward to purſue his march to London, not doubting but that city would be able to reſiſt his efforts till he himſelf ſhould advance to it's relief. To this imprudent meaſure of the Earl all his ſubſequent misfortunes may be chiefly attributed. A moment's reflec-

reflection—even ſuppoſing him ignorant of the correſpondence which the Londoners maintained with the enemy, and of the treachery of his own relations—muſt have convinced him that Edward would experience a favourable reception at the metropolis. He muſt have known that the opulent merchants, of whom Edward had formerly borrowed very conſiderable ſums, founded their ſole hopes of payment in the reſtoration of that Prince; that the women, of whoſe powerful influence he muſt have been ſenſible, were ſtrongly attached to a Monarch who was ever ſtudious to gratify their pride, vanity, and more imperious paſſions; and would, conſequently, perſuade their friends and families to eſpouſe his cauſe; that the Primate, and ſeveral potent Nobles reſident in the capital, were avowed Yorkiſts; and, finally, that the ſanctuaries of London and Weſtminſter contained above two thouſand of Edward's partizans, among whom were four hundred knights and gentlemen, ready to take arms at a moment's warning. Yet theſe advantages, important as they were, might perhaps have proved ineffectual, had the Archbiſhop of York, to whom his brother Warwick had entruſted the care of the city, and of the King's perſon, remained faithful to his truſt: but that Prelate, whoſe ſenſe of religion was not ſufficiently ſtrong to preſerve him from a violation of the moſt ſacred engagements, being infected with the ſpirit of perfidy ſo general in theſe degenerate times, yet ſo difficult to account for, facilitated the entrance of Edward into London; admitting him, on the eleventh of April, by a poſtern, into the Biſhop's palace, where he found the helpleſs and unfortunate Henry, whom he immediately ſent to the Tower.

Warwick, by this time, being joined by his ſon-in-law the Duke of Clarence; and by his brother the Marquis of Montague, who—whatever might have been the reaſon of his late conduct—appears now to have been ſincerely attached to the intereſts of his family; advanced towards London, in hopes of bringing Edward to action before he gained admittance into that city. But, when he arrived at St. Alban's, on the twelfth of April, he received the diſagreeable news that his enemies were in poſſeſſion of the capital. Still, however, confiding in the ſtrength of his army, he reſolved to attack them even there: and, with that view, proceeded to Barnet the following day; where Edward, having marched from London, had encamped the ſame evening.

The motions of Edward, on this occaſion, were influenced by private intelligence which he had received from the Duke of Clarence; who, though bound to Warwick by every tie of honour and gratitude; though he had been inveſted by him in all the honours and patrimony of the Houſe of York; though he participated in the power of the Regency—reſolved to fulfil the ſecret engagements which he had formerly entered into with his brother; and, by a ſcandalous inſtance of treachery, ruin the man who had raiſed him to a ſtation he was wholly unworthy to enjoy. Accordingly, he deſerted to Edward in the night-time, and took with him twelve thouſand of his followers; which defection deprived Warwick of his ſuperiority, and gave it to his enemies. It was, however, too late to retreat. At the break of day, therefore, on Eaſter Sunday, April the fourteenth 1471, the Earl drew up his troops in order of battle, and immediately attacked the foe with incredible fury. The conflict was long, obſtinate, and bloody. The troops of Warwick, though inferior in number to the enemy, fought with the moſt deſperate reſolution, from a conſciouſneſs that the fate of rebels would await them if vanquiſhed; and the Earl himſelf was determined to conquer or periſh. Such was their impetuoſity, that they ſpeedily obliged the firſt line of Edward's army to give way. But Edward ordered his body of reſerve to advance, and charge the enemy in flank; which it was the better enabled to do, as the brave Earl of Oxford had driven the Yorkiſts from their ſtation, and purſued them ſo far, that Warwick's main body was left almoſt defenceleſs. That nobleman, however, no ſooner recollected this circumſtance, than he wheeled about, to reſume his former ſtation; a motion which unfortunately occaſioned the loſs of the battle, though it ought to have produced a very different effect. Oxford's mark of diſtinction worn by his followers was a ſtar darting forth rays; and that of Edward was a ſun: a fog, therefore, ariſing at this critical conjuncture, cauſed the Lancaſtrians to miſtake the ſtar for the ſtandard of the enemy; in conſequence of which, they inſtantly attacked their friends with ſuch fury, that they were routed and put to flight before the Earl of Oxford could rectify the fatal error.

This untoward circumſtance produced a general conſternation, which all the exertions of Warwick were unable to diſſipate. He had that day, contrary to his uſual practice, fought on foot, with the view of encouraging his troops, by ſhewing them his reſolution to ſhare their fate in the iſſue of the battle: but even this meaſure, though founded in wiſdom, tended to accelerate his defeat; becauſe it prevented him from being perſonally preſent where his aſſiſtance was moſt wanted; and his men, deprived of his advice and directions, were ſooner thrown into confuſion, and leſs able to rally.

Finding his efforts ineffectual to revive the drooping courage of his men, he determined to try the force of example; and, ruſhing into the thickeſt of the foe, fell covered with wounds, after diſcharging, with his wonted ſkill and valour, all the duties of an experienced officer and a perfect warrior. His brother Montague, attempting to relieve him, experienced a ſimilar fate. The death of theſe noblemen put an end to the action, and left Edward in poſſeſſion of the field; and, as that ſanguinary tyrant, with his accuſtomed ferocity, had iſſued orders to his troops not to give any quarter, a great and undiſtinguiſhed ſlaughter was made in the purſuit. The Duke of Somerſet and the Earl of Oxford fled to Wales, where the Earl of Pembroke was employed in raiſing forces for the ſervice of Henry. The Duke of Exeter was grievouſly wounded, and left for dead on the field; but was taken up towards evening, and ſecretly conveyed to the Sanctuary at Weſtminſter.

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The chief perſons of diſtinction who fell on the ſide of Edward were, the Lords Cromwell and Say, and Lord Bourchier. The day after the battle, Edward returned to London, and ordered the bodies of Warwick and Montague to be expoſed to public view in the cathedral of St. Paul; from whence they were conveyed to Biſham, in Berkſhire, and interred in the priory founded by the anceſtors of the houſe of Montague.

Few inſtances occur in hiſtory of ſuch a rapid ſucceſſion of untoward events as attended the Houſe of Lancaſter in this obſtinate ſtruggle for the crown of England. Queen Margaret and her ſon, whoſe preſence would have drawn together all the genuine Lancaſtrians, and have brought a powerful acceſſion to the forces of Warwick, had been detained the whole winter on the continent from bad weather and contrary winds; and, after their embarkation, they were toſſed about in the Channel no leſs than three weeks, and did not land at Weymouth till the evening of that fatal day on which the battle of Barnet had been fought. It is difficult to conceive a ſituation more deeply diſtreſsful than that of Margaret at this period. After ſpending ſome years in obſcurity, ſhe had been called from her retreat with the promiſe of ſuch aſſiſtance as ſhould reſtore her to her former dignity: her mind, long inured to misfortune, had been again brought to cheriſh the moſt alluring hopes; and ſhe had the felicity of witneſſing a train of ſucceſsful events, which had brought them to the point of completion: her anxiety once more to enjoy the ſweets of regal ſplendour had been heightened by delays the moſt extraordinary and unexpected. At length, every obſtacle apparently overcome, ſhe had ſafely arrived in that kingdom over which ſhe imagined the authority of her huſband to be fully eſtabliſhed; and ſuppoſed that nothing remained but to enter the capital in triumph, receive the homage of an affectionate and obedient people, and ſee the ſucceſſion of a beloved ſon eſtabliſhed on a ſolid baſis. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, the ſituation of her mind, when apprized of the fatal change in her fortune, the total deſtruction of her hopes, can be more eaſily imagined than deſcribed. On this occaſion all her wonted fortitude forſook her; ſhe ſunk ſenſeleſs on the floor, and remained ſpeechleſs and inanimate for a conſiderable time. When ſhe revived, yielding to the dictates of deſpair, ſhe fled, with her ſon, to a ſanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu. Her firſt deſign was to make her eſcape into France; but, being encouraged by the appearance of the Duke of Somerſet, the Earls of Oxford and Devonſhire, the Lords Wenlock and St. John, with other men of rank, ſhe reſumed her former ſpirit, and determined to defend to the utmoſt the ruins of her fallen fortunes. She earneſtly requeſted her friends, however, to ſend her ſon back to the continent; but, as they thought his preſence would prove of eſſential ſervice to their cauſe, they at length prevailed on her to conſent that he ſhould remain in England.

Having preconcerted their plan of operations, the Queen advanced to Bath under a ſtrong eſcort, accompanied by Prince Edward and his conſort; while the noblemen of her party ſeparated, to collect their forces: and their ſucceſs in this important ſervice was ſo great, that, in the ſhort ſpace of ten days, they are ſaid to have aſſembled an army of forty thouſand men—a ſure proof that the Houſe of Lancaſter ſtill retained a conſiderable portion of influence and popularity. With theſe forces they intended to march into Wales, to effect a junction with the Earl of Pembroke and his numerous followers; and from thence into Cheſhire, where a ſtrong body of archers awaited their approach.

Had this ſcheme been as ſucceſsfully executed as it was prudently planned, it might probably have produced the good effects that were expected to be derived from it; but this was prevented by the vigilance and activity of Edward; who having proſcribed Margaret, and all her adherents, by proclamation, immediately began his march towards the banks of the Severn, in order to engage her before ſhe could join the Earl of Pembroke.

Margaret having been refuſed admittance at Glouceſter, where ſhe intended to croſs the river, had marched to Tewkeſbury with the ſame deſign; but Edward purſued her ſo cloſely, that ſhe found it impoſſible to paſs without expoſing her rear to deſtruction: it was therefore reſolved, in a council of war, to entrench her army in a neighbouring park, and there wait the arrival of Pembroke. This ſcheme was immediately put in execution; and Edward coming up, reſolved to attack them in their entrenchments, before they ſhould be better fortified or reinforced. Accordingly, on the morning of the fourth of May 1471, he drew up his army in two lines; one of which was commanded by his brother the Duke of Glouceſter, and the other by himſelf and the Duke of Clarence. The Duke of Somerſet formed the Queen's army into three lines within his entrenchments; and placed himſelf in the van, to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock of the enemy. The ſecond line was commanded by Lord Wenlock, under the Prince of Wales, who was conſidered as commander in chief; and the rear was entruſted to the care of the Earl of Devonſhire.

Edward, obſerving ſome openings in the front of the Lancaſtrians, left by Somerſet for the purpoſe of ſallying, and being well acquainted with the impetuous diſpoſition of that nobleman, directed the Duke of Glouceſter, who commenced the attack, to decoy him from his entrenchments, by pretending to fly. Theſe inſtructions were ſtrictly obeyed: Glouceſter attacked the entrenchments with great vigour; and, being warmly received, retired in ſuch haſte and ſeeming confuſion, that the Duke of Somerſet was induced to ſally forth, and purſue them into the plain, after he had ſent an order to Wenlock to follow, and ſuſtain him in caſe of emergency. When he had advanced to ſome diſtance from his entrenchments, Glouceſter ſuddenly halted; and his troops being immediately ranged in their former order, he attacked the purſuers with great fury; who were ſo aſtoniſhed at this unexpected change, that they fled with precipitation towards their entrenchments. Somerſet, perceiving

ceiving that Lord Wenlock had not obeyed his orders, by advancing to ſupport the firſt line, but ſtill remained in his ſtation, was ſo incenſed, that he rode up to him, and cleft his head aſunder with a ſtroke of his battle-axe; while the Duke of Glouceſter, entering the entrenchments with the fugitives, made a dreadful ſlaughter. The Prince of Wales, ſeeing his whole army in confuſion, knew not which way to turn; and the Duke of Somerſet was ſo overpowered with indignation, that he could ſcarcely ſpeak, much leſs adopt the neceſſary meaſures for rallying his ſcattered troops. Edward, following his brother with the ſecond line of his army, compleated the overthrow of the Lancaſtrians, who were routed with conſiderable loſs, their ſecond and third lines having betaken themſelves to flight without ſtriking a ſingle blow. The Earl of Devonſhire, Lord John Beaufort, a great number of knights and gentlemen, with about three thouſand ſoldiers, were ſlain. The Duke of Somerſet, the great Prior of St. John, with twenty other perſons of diſtinction, having taken ſanctuary in a church, were dragged out, and immediately beheaded. Had the Lancaſtrians been thus ſanguinary, and leſs ſcrupulous in violating the ſanctuaries of London and Weſtminſter, after the flight of Edward, which contained ſo many of their enemies, that Prince would probably not have obtained ſo eaſy an admittance into the metropolis, nor have been able to make thoſe exertions which crowned his ſubſequent meaſures with ſucceſs.

Margaret and her ſon were among the number of the priſoners. The former was thrown into the Tower, where ſhe ſuffered a tedious and painful confinement: but the Prince being brought into the preſence of the King, that tyrant aſked him, with an inſulting air, how he dared enter his kingdom in arms; to which he boldly replied, that he came to recover his lawful inheritance. The ferocious Edward, enraged at his anſwer, which would have excited the eſteem and admiration of a generous foe, ſtruck him on the face with his gauntlet; and his attendants, deeming this the ſignal of murder, immediately fell upon the helpleſs victim, and diſpatched him with their daggers.

Whether the Dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter actually joined in the murder of this unhappy Prince, is not certain: nor is the fact of any conſequence; for, as there is not a doubt that they were preſent, and took no means to prevent it, their guilt muſt be deemed of almoſt equal magnitude as if they had really imbrued their hands in his blood. We cannot, however, but remark, that the arguments uſed by Mr. Walpole to exculpate Glouceſter from any participation in the guilt of this infamous tranſaction, are more weak and fallacious than any which that writer has employed in ſupport of his ingenious Hiſtorical Doubts. Numerous inſtances might be adduced, from various parts of the Engliſh Hiſtory, to convince him that perſonal courage and mental turpitude are far from incompatible; and that the braveſt men have been guilty of "baſe, and even uſeleſs, aſſaſſinations." The murder of Lord Welles, by Edward the Fourth, is a caſe moſt ſtrongly in point.

This was the Twelfth pitched battle that had been fought ſince the fatal conteſt between the rival Houſes of York and Lancaſter: and in theſe various engagements, and by the executions which followed them, periſhed ſixty Princes of the blood-royal, more than half of the Nobles and men of diſtinction in the kingdom, and above one hundred thouſand of the common people. The battle of Tewkeſbury was the moſt deciſive, as it ſecured the quiet poſſeſſion of the crown—ſome trifling commotions excepted—to the Houſe of York, during the reign of Edward, by the almoſt total extinction of the rival family.

On the twenty-firſt of May, Edward returned to London; and, on the following morning, Henry the Sixth was found dead in his apartments in the Tower. That his death was the effect of violence, can ſcarcely admit of a doubt: ſuch, indeed, was the general belief of the times, as appears from the accounts of Philip de Comines, and the author of the Continuation of the Chronicle of Croyland, both of them contemporary writers. The latter ſays—"May God ſpare, and grant time for repent-" ance to, the man, whoever he was, who dared " to lay his ſacrilegious hands upon the Lord's " anointed! A deed, the perpetrator of which de-" ſerves the appellation of Tyrant; and the unfor-" tunate object of his cruelty, the title of Glorious " Martyr!" It would have been too dangerous to name the aſſaſſin, though it is evident that the ſuſpicions of this writer fell on one of the royal family; and his ſubſequent commendations of Edward amount to a preſumptive proof that they were fixed on his brother Glouceſter. The writers of the next age, indeed, ſuch as Stowe, Hall, and ſome others, openly accuſe that nobleman, as the author of Henry's death; but their accuſations appear rather to have originated in prejudices founded on the ſubſequent conduct of Glouceſter, than on any authentic records which could ſanction ſo ſerious a charge. We are therefore inclined to reject their teſtimony; and to attribute this atrocious deed to the reigning Monarch, whoſe anxiety to effect the extermination of that family, which had cauſed him ſo much trouble and uneaſineſs, and of whom Henry was the laſt Prince now remaining, had been long manifeſt; and whoſe vicious and ſanguinary diſpoſition rendered him familiar with acts of cruelty and horror. How different to the tyrant Edward was the unfortunate Henry! Though not endued with thoſe ſplendid talents, and thoſe active qualities of the mind, which are eſſential to the formation of a great Monarch, he was poſſeſſed of every virtue which could entitle him to the more enviable character of a Good Man. Pious and devout; not more rigidly attentive to the external forms of religion than ſtrictly obſervant of it's principles and precepts; warmed with a chriſtian love for his fellow-creatures that reſiſted the infectious cruelty of the times, and inſpired him with ſentiments of compaſſion and charity; in proſperity moderate, and patient in adverſity—with theſe endowments, he had certainly a much

a much ſtronger claim to the title of Philoſopher than many of his biographers and hiſtorians who have ſtigmatized him for his imbecility. The people who can make the meekneſs of their Monarch a ſubject of complaint, deſerve to experience all the rigours of tyranny.

Henry founded the College of Eton; as well as King's College, Cambridge, for the reception of thoſe ſtudents who had commenced their ſtudies at Eton. On the morning that ſucceeded his death, his body was expoſed in the church of St. Paul for public inſpection; though this ſtale contrivance muſt have rather tended to corroborate than deſtroy any ſuſpicions which had been entertained as to the manner of his death. It was ſent the next day, by water, to the abbey of Chertſey, where it was interred; but it was afterwards removed from thence, by order of Richard the Third, to Windſor, and there buried with great ſolemnity.

All the hopes of the Houſe of Lancaſter ſeemed now to be extinguiſhed: every legitimate Prince of that family was dead; and almoſt every leader of the party had periſhed, either in the field or on the ſcaffold. The Earl of Pembroke, who was levying forces in Wales, diſbanded his army when he received intelligence of the defeat of his party at Tewkeſbury; and, with his nephew, the young Earl of Richmond, embarked at Tynby for France; but contrary winds compelled them to land in Brittany, where they experienced a very hoſpitable reception from Duke Francis the Second. Thomas Neville, commonly called the Baſtard of Falconbridge, who had levied ſome forces, and had advanced to London during Edward's abſence in the weſt, was repulſed. His men deſerted him; he was taken priſoner, and immediately executed: and peace being now fully reſtored, Edward, who had recently created his infant ſon Prince of Wales, ſummoned a great council of Prelates, Peers, and a few Knights, which met at Weſtminſter on the third of July; when all the members took a ſolemn oath to maintain the ſucceſſion of the young Prince, who was named after his father. The Duke of Glouceſter was the ſecond temporal Peer who took this oath. Though Edward never relaxed in his rigour to the laity in the ſmalleſt degree, the influence of the clergy was ſuch as induced him to adopt a different line of conduct with them; at leaſt with thoſe from whom no danger was to be apprehended. From motives of policy, therefore—for to more laudable ſources can his actions never be traced—he pardoned ſeveral Biſhops who had taken an active part againſt him in the late conteſt. But, to make himſelf amends for theſe extraordinary exertions of lenity, he ſummoned a parliament on the ſixth of October, which indulged him in the free uſe of attainders and confiſcations, in the ratification of all his acts, and the recognition of his regal authority.

The tranquillity which ſucceeded the laſt active and memorable year ſuffered a ſhort interruption from the return of the Earl of Oxford, one of the few Lancaſtrians who had eſcaped from the battle of Tewkeſbury, and retired to the continent. Having experienced a cool reception from Lewis the Eleventh, in whoſe court he had ſought for refuge, he contrived to aſſemble a ſmall band of reſolute followers, with whom he embarked for England; and landing at St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, took that fortreſs by ſurprize. The King, alarmed at this unexpected invaſion, ſent a ſtrong detachment of troops to retake the place before Oxford could have been joined by his friends and adherents. The Earl, however, defended himſelf with great bravery for ſome time; though he was at length obliged to capitulate, on the fifteenth of February 1472, on condition that his life ſhould be ſafe. But he loſt his liberty, being impriſoned in the Caſtle of Hammes, in the vicinity of Calais, where he remained no leſs than twelve years; while his extenſive poſſeſſions were confiſcated; and his Counteſs, ſiſter to the late Earl of Warwick, was reduced to the neceſſity of earning a ſcanty ſubſiſtence by her needle. Edward likewiſe ſeized the effects and revenues of George Neville, Archbiſhop of York, to whom he was in a great meaſure indebted for his reſtoration to the throne; and, although he had granted him a full pardon, he now ſent him into confinement in the Caſtle of Guiſnes, under pretence of his having maintained a criminal correſpondence with the Earl of Oxford.

But all his ſeverities could not exempt him from occaſional diſquietudes; and, though no civil commotions now threatened to ſhake the ſtability of his throne, his domeſtic felicity was interrupted by a violent altercation which occurred between his brothers, the Dukes of Glouceſter and Clarence. Glouceſter had entertained the deſign of eſpouſing Lady Ann Neville, widow of the late Prince of Wales, and one of the co-heireſſes of the immenſe eſtates of the late Earl of Warwick: but Clarence, who had married her elder ſiſter, from a ſpirit of rapaciouſneſs that induced him to covet the whole of the ſucceſſion, was anxious to prevent their union; and for that purpoſe he concealed the young lady ſo carefully as to elude the ſtricteſt reſearches for ſeveral months. At length, however, ſhe was diſcovered, by the vigilance of Glouceſter, in the dreſs of a cook-maid, and placed in the ſanctuary of St. Martin's. The cauſe of the two brothers was pleaded by themſelves, before the King in council, with much warmth and acrimony, though the Continuator of the Chronicle of Croyland obſerves that the ſtrength and ſolidity of their arguments excited the admiration of all who heard them. The deciſion was not leſs curious than the cauſe itſelf; Glouceſter was allowed to marry the lady, but only to receive a ſmall ſhare of her portion, Clarence being ſuffered to retain the greateſt part of it, while the mother of theſe opulent heireſſes, from whom theſe immenſe riches were chiefly derived, was left in a ſtate of abſolute indigence. This diſpute gave great uneaſineſs to Edward, who was alſo harraſſed by perpetual fears of the young Earl of Richmond, now reſident in Brittany, on whom he knew all the ſecret friends of the Houſe of Lancaſter had caſt their eyes. Anxious to have the Earl in his power, he ſent ambaſſadors to the Duke of Brittany, to require that he would give him up; but that Prince

refuſed

refuſed to commit ſo flagrant a violation of the laws of hoſpitality, as to comply with his demand; though he aſſured Edward that he would watch Richmond ſo cloſely that he ſhould never have an opportunity of diſturbing his government; in conſideration of which promiſe, the King paid a yearly penſion to the Duke.

Edward took advantage of the preſent calm, to provide againſt future commotions, by the eſtabliſhment of continental alliances, and the collection of treaſures. He accommodated ſome differences which ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and the inhabitants of the Hanſe-Towns, who had then acquired conſiderable power in Europe: he alſo confirmed the long truce with Scotland; renewed his alliances with the Kings of Portugal and Denmark; and entered into ſtricter connections with the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany. He obtained very large ſupplies from Parliament, both in the years 1672 and 1673; and procured ſtill more conſiderable ſums in another way, which is thus deſcribed by a contemporary writer: "A new method of raiſing "money was introduced at this time, called a *Bene-* "*volence*, or *Free Gift*; by which every one gave "the King what he pleaſed; or, to ſpeak more "properly, what he did not pleaſe. By this means "greater ſums of money were collected than had "ever been ſeen before, or will ever be ſeen here- "after." This author, who was a monk, did not poſſeſs the gift of prophecy.

The treaſures thus raiſed Edward ſoon found means of employing. Stimulated by a ſpirit of revenge againſt Lewis the Eleventh for the aſſiſtance which he had already afforded to the Houſe of Lancaſter, and urged by his fears for the protection which he might ſtill afford to the friends of that family, he determined to attack his dominions: and, though the conduct of the Duke of Burgundy, during the exile of Edward, had not been ſuch as could inſpire him with any ſentiments of eſteem for that Prince, the political intereſts of their ſtates proved the means of maintaining a cloſe connection between them; and they agreed to unite their arms in making a powerful invaſion on France. A league was formed, in which Edward ſtipulated to paſs the ſeas with an army exceeding ten thouſand men, and to make an incurſion into the territories of Lewis; Charles promiſed to join him with all his forces; the King was to lay claim to the crown of France, and to obtain at leaſt the provinces of Normandy and Guienne. The Duke was to acquire Champagne, and to exonerate all his dominions from the burden of homage to the French Monarch; and neither party was to make peace without the conſent of the other. They were the more encouraged to hope for ſucceſs from this league, as the Count of St. Pol, Conſtable of France, who was in poſſeſſion of St. Quintin, and ſome other towns on the Somme, had ſecretly promiſed to join them. Many of the French nobles were alſo greatly diſaffected to Lewis; and there was ſtrong reaſon to believe that the Duke of Brittany would enter into the confederacy.

The greateſt part of the year 1474 was ſpent in making preparations for this enterprize, and in forming farther alliances in order to give it effect. Edward concluded treaties with the Emperor, and with Ferdinand, King of Sicily, in order to procure their aſſiſtance againſt Lewis: he alſo prolonged the truce with Scotland to the year 1515; and ſecured the friendſhip of the Scots by concluding a contract of marriage between their Prince and his then youngeſt daughter, the Princeſs Cecilia, both of them infants. All the neceſſary preparations being at length compleated, the King ſailed from Sandwich about Midſummer, in the year 1475, and landed ſafe at Calais with a powerful army, conſiſting of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thouſand archers, attended by all the principal nobility of England. His firſt ſtep was to diſpatch a herald to Lewis, to claim the crown of France, and to deliver him a defiance, in caſe of refuſal. The French Monarch was now in the moſt imminent danger, from which nothing but the infatuation of his enemies, and his own conſummate policy, could poſſibly have delivered him. Inſtead of ſuffering his reſentment to dictate an anſwer to the proud defiance he had received, he gave the herald who brought it the moſt cordial and courteous reception: he aſſured him that he entertained the higheſt reſpect for his maſter, the King of England, who he knew had been urged to undertake the preſent expedition by the Duke of Burgundy and the Conſtable of France, whoſe advice had been influenced by the moſt intereſted motives, and who would not fail to abandon their ally the moment their own private views ſhould be gratified. Lewis then made the herald a preſent of three hundred crowns; and promiſed him the farther ſum of one thouſand, if he would employ his good offices in effecting an accommodation. The herald, won by the condeſcenſion not leſs than by the liberality of Lewis, readily promiſed to promote his views to the utmoſt of his power; and adviſed him to addreſs all his propoſals for peace to the Lords Howard and Stanley, who had great influence over Edward, and who were averſe to his preſent conduct. The French Monarch then committed the herald to the care of Philip de Comines, with a ſtrict charge to ſpare neither pains nor expence in making him contented with his reception.

Edward, in the mean time, had advanced into Picardy, expecting to be joined by the forces of the Duke of Burgundy, according to the promiſe of that Prince; but Charles, whoſe ardent temper no ſuggeſtions of prudence could reſtrain, had ſent all his armies to a great diſtance, and had employed them in wars on the frontiers of Germany, and againſt the Duke of Lorrain. To pacify the King, who was greatly diſguſted with his conduct, he repaired in perſon to the Engliſh camp, apologized for this breach of treaty, and aſſured him that the Count of St. Pol, Conſtable of France, would ſurrender to him the ſtrong town of St. Quintin: but, when the Engliſh army approached that place, the Conſtable—a man of infamous character, whoſe life had been one continued ſcene of deception—fired upon them from the ramparts, and by an unexpected

expected ſally put great numbers of them to death. The Duke of Burgundy, who was ſtill with the Engliſh army, being neither able to account for this ſingular conduct of the Conſtable, nor to ſupport the ſevere reproaches of the Engliſh Monarch, departed abruptly, and left Edward in a violent rage, beſtowing execrations on his treacherous allies, and expreſſing his diſguſt at an expedition from which he was not likely to derive either honour or emolument.

It was at this conjuncture that his herald returned with the report of the pacific diſpoſitions of the King of France: a report which proved highly pleaſing to many of the Engliſh nobles; and, from the late occurrence, was far from diſpleaſing to the King himſelf. Lewis, apprized of theſe favourable circumſtances, was careful to improve them; and he ſucceeded ſo well, that Edward was induced to hold a council in his camp, near Peronne, on the thirteenth of Auguſt; in which the poverty of the army, the near approach of winter, and the treacherous neglect of his allies, were urged as ſtrong incitements to the negotiation of a truce; and a commiſſion was accordingly given to Lord Howard, with three others, for that purpoſe. As the French Monarch was determined on peace, theſe plenipotentiaries experienced no obſtruction in the accompliſhment of their taſk; and a truce for ſeven years was concluded, on the nineteenth of Auguſt, on ſuch terms as they choſe to preſcribe, which certainly were not very honourable to Lewis. The articles agreed on were theſe: That the King of France ſhould pay the ſum of ſeventy-five thouſand crowns to the King of England within fifteen days; that he ſhould, moreover, pay him fifty thouſand crowns a year during their joint lives; that the Dauphin of France, when of age, ſhould marry the Princeſs Elizabeth, one of Edward's daughters; and that Edward ſhould withdraw his army from France, as ſoon as he ſhould have received the ſeventy-five thouſand crowns. In this truce, ſuch of the allies of either Monarch as ſhould chuſe to accede to it were comprehended. The only part of this treaty which reflected the ſmalleſt honour on Lewis, was an agreement to pay Edward fifty thouſand crowns for the releaſe of Margaret of Anjou; in conſequence of which that unfortunate Princeſs was ſuffered to return to her native country, where ſhe paſſed the remainder of her days in tranquil privacy till the year 1482, when ſhe died.

When every point had been thus amicably adjuſted, an interview took place between the two Monarchs, on a bridge over the Somme, at Pequigni, near Amiens; where the ſame precautions were adopted as thoſe which had been employed at the conference between the Duke of Burgundy and the Dauphin at the bridge of Montereau. Edward and Lewis here ſwore in the moſt ſolemn manner to a ſtrict obſervance of the treaty; after which they paſſed ſome time in friendly and familiar converſation.

Lewis was not only anxious to acquire the friendſhip of the King, but the confidence of the nation, and of all the chief perſons in the Engliſh court. He beſtowed annual penſions to the amount of ſixteen thouſand crowns on ſeveral of Edward's favourites: on Lord Haſtings, two thouſand crowns; on Lord Howard, and others, in proportion; and theſe noblemen were not aſhamed thus to receive the wages of corruption from a foreign Potentate. As the two armies, after the concluſion of the truce, remained ſome days in the vicinity of each other, Lewis ſent the Engliſh troops a preſent of three hundred cart-loads of wine: he likewiſe admitted them freely into Amiens, the place of his reſidence, where he defrayed all their charges, ordering every innkeeper to ſupply them with whatever they ſhould require, without exacting any payment. They flocked thither in ſuch multitudes, that above nine thouſand of them were once in the town at one time, when they might eaſily have made themſelves maſters of the King's perſon; but Lewis concluding, from their diſſolute manner of living, that no danger was to be apprehended, was careful not to betray the ſmalleſt ſigns of ſuſpicion or miſtruſt: and when Edward, informed of this diſorder, deſired him to ſhut the gates againſt them, he replied, that he never would conſent to exclude the Engliſh from any place where he reſided; but that Edward, if he pleaſed, might recal them, and fix his own officers at the gates of Amiens, to prevent their return.

We are told by Philip de Comines, that the eagerneſs of Lewis to acquire the confidence and friendſhip of the Engliſh even led him to make ſome imprudent advances, which afterwards coſt him no ſmall trouble to evade. In the conference on the bridge of Pequigni, he told Edward that he ſhould be glad to be favoured with a viſit from him at Paris, where he would endeavour to amuſe him by an introduction to the Pariſian beauties; and that, ſhould any offences requiring pardon be then committed, he would aſſign him the Cardinal of Bourbon for a confeſſor, whoſe own frailty could not fail to render him lenient in the penances he ſhould enjoin. This hint made a deeper impreſſion than Lewis intended. Lord Howard, who accompanied him back to Amiens, told him in confidence, that if he were ſo diſpoſed, it would be very poſſible to perſuade Edward to take a journey with him to Paris, where they might indulge themſelves in mirth and recreation. Lewis, at firſt, pretended not to hear the offer; but, on Howard's repeating it, he expreſſed his concern that his war with the Duke of Burgundy would not permit him to attend his royal gueſt, and do him the honours he intended. "Edward," ſaid he, privately to Comines, "is a very "handſome and a very amorous Prince: ſome lady "at Paris may like him as well as he ſhall like her; "and may invite him to return thither in another "manner. It is better that the ſea be between "us."

The money ſtipulated by the treaty being paid to Edward, that Monarch embarked with his army at Calais, and arrived in England on the twenty-eighth of September. Thus ended an expedition which had been attended with ſuch conſiderable expence, that the ſum paid by Lewis, together with his annual

annual penſion, formed but a very inadequate compenſation to Edward, who could only boaſt of having humbled his adverſary. But that adverſary, regarding intereſt as the ſole teſt of honour, not only bore his humiliation with patience, but conceived that he had obtained a very important advantage over Edward, by purchaſing his departure on ſuch eaſy terms. This, indeed, was a ſource of triumph to Lewis, though he was careful to conceal his joy, and ſtrictly prohibited his courtiers from treating the Engliſh with that mockery and deriſion to which he thought they had fairly ſubjected themſelves. One day, however, when he was off his guard, his exultations got the better of his prudence, and he indulged himſelf in raillery on the eaſy ſimplicity of Edward and his council: but, while he was talking, he perceived that he was over-heard by a Gaſcon, who had ſettled in England. He was immediately ſenſible of his indiſcretion, ſent a meſſage to the gentleman, and offered him ſuch advantages in his own country as engaged him to remain in France. "It is but juſt," ſaid Lewis, "that I ſhould pay the penalty of my "talkativeneſs."

Edward, after his return from the continent, again reſigned himſelf to thoſe voluptuous enjoyments from which an impulſe of revenge had rouzed him for a time. To the gratification of thoſe paſſions which formerly occupied his attention was added that of his avarice, which had now acquired a great aſcendancy over his mind, and which prompted him to have recourſe, for the purpoſe of filling his coffers, to a variety of methods; which, though they are not particularized by contemporary writers, are repreſented as pregnant with oppreſſion, and highly unworthy the dignity of his ſtation. But, though his own rapacity was ſufficiently indulged, he was careful to reſtrain the depredations of private plunderers, whoſe number, ſince the army was diſbanded, had greatly increaſed.

The French Monarch, anxious to keep Edward in this ſtate of pleaſureable indolence, that he might be deterred from interfering in continental politics, was punctual in his payment of the ſtipulated penſions, as well to the Sovereign as his Miniſters. But, though the dominions of Edward were now in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity, and neither civil commotions nor foreign invaſions threatened to diſturb his repoſe, his mind was far from being at eaſe. His fears of the young Earl of Richmond were renewed with redoubled violence; and he determined to make another effort for obtaining poſſeſſion of his perſon. With this view he again ſent ambaſſadors to the Duke of Brittany, on pretence of renewing the truce, which was confirmed without difficulty; after which, they proceeded to unfold the real deſign of their embaſſy. They told the Duke, that the King their maſter was extremely deſirous of totally extinguiſhing the embers of thoſe factions which had raged with ſuch violence in England; that the Earl of Richmond, being the only ſurviving Prince of the Houſe of Lancaſter, it was his intention to marry him to one of his own daughters, that all future diſputes might be avoided by an union of the rival families: he therefore hoped the Duke of Brittany would entruſt the Earl to his care, that he might diſtinguiſh him by marks of his bounty, and convince the world of his earneſt anxiety to ſecure, on a ſolid baſis, the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom. The Duke, either truſting to the ſincerity of Edward's profeſſions, or convinced, as ſome authors aſſert, by the more powerful arguments of gold, which the ambaſſadors were inſtructed not to ſpare, ordered the young Earl, with his uncle Pembroke, to be delivered to them; and they immediately departed with their victims to the port of St. Malo, from whence they purpoſed to embark for England. Before they reached that place, however, the Duke changed his ſentiments, either from remorſe or from ſuſpicions of Edward's intent, and immediately diſpatched his favourite, Peter Landois, to St. Maloes, to reclaim the refugees. He arrived as they were on the point of embarking; and, having made known the purport of his miſſion to Richmond and Pembroke, he amuſed the ambaſſadors while they effected their eſcape to a ſanctuary, from whence he would not ſuffer them to be taken. The ambaſſadors complained loudly of this artifice; and Landois made ſome frivolous apologies, which they would by no means admit. He then frankly told them, that the Duke his maſter, having duly reflected on the ſubject, had become ſenſible that he could not deliver up his gueſts without a flagrant violation of the laws of honour and hoſpitality: but he renewed, in the Duke's name, thoſe aſſurances which had been before made to Edward, that the two Earls ſhould be ſo ſtrictly guarded, that they would be effectually prevented from interrupting the tranquillity of England.

The Duke of Burgundy, and the Count de St. Pol, Conſtable of France, allies to Edward in his late enterprize againſt the King of France, did not long ſurvive the diſſolution of that confederacy, which their own perfidy had rendered ineffectual. The Conſtable received the puniſhment due to his crimes at Paris, where he was beheaded on the nineteenth of December 1475. The Duke of Burgundy having, under a weak and frivolous pretext, invaded the territories of the Swiſs—a people then but little regarded in Europe, though formidable from the poſſeſſion of that courage which freedom inſpires, as well as from their exemption from the luxurious vices of their continental neighbours—involved himſelf in a ſeries of calamities, which ended in his death. He was firſt defeated at Granſon, on the fifth of April 1470, where he loſt his baggage; on the twentieth of June following, he loſt eighteen thouſand of his beſt troops before the ſmall town of Morat; and, on the fifth of January 1477, he loſt his life, during the ſiege of Nancy, in an action with the Duke of Lorrain. The death of this imprudent and imperious Prince produced an important change, not only in the affairs of his own dominions, but even in thoſe of all the neighbouring Princes; and greatly contributed to the formation of a political ſyſtem which in ſubſequent times became an object of univerſal attention. Charles left

only one daughter, named Mary, by his firſt wife. This Princeſs, for ſome years before the death of her father, had been conſidered as the apparent ſucceſſor to his territories; and the Duke had made propoſals of marrying her to ſeveral different Princes, with a view of alluring them by that offer to favour the deſtructive ſchemes which his reſtleſs ambition was continually forming. This rendered the alliance with her an important object to all the Potentates of Chriſtendom; and the eſſential advantages of acquiring poſſeſſion of her territories, at that time the moſt opulent and beſt cultivated of any on this ſide of the Alps, were perfectly underſtood. As ſoon, then, as the untimely death of Charles opened the ſucceſſion, the eyes of all the European Princes were turned towards Mary; and they felt themſelves deeply intereſted in the choice which ſhe was about to make of the perſon on whom ſhe would beſtow that rich inheritance. Lewis, from whoſe kingdom ſeveral of the provinces which ſhe poſſeſſed had been diſmembered, and whoſe dominions ſtretched along the frontier of her territories, had every inducement to court her alliance. He had likewiſe a good title to expect the favourable reception of any reaſonable propoſitions he ſhould make with reſpect to the diſpoſal of a Princeſs who was the vaſſal of his crown, and deſcended from the royal blood of France. There were only two propoſitions, however, which he could make with propriety: the one was the marriage of the Dauphin, the other that of the Count of Angouleme, a Prince of the Blood, with the heireſs of Burgundy. By the former, he would have annexed all her territories to his crown, and have rendered France the moſt reſpectable monarchy in Europe. But the great diſparity of age between the two parties, Mary being twenty, and the Dauphin only eight years old; the avowed reſolution of the Flemings not to chuſe a maſter poſſeſſed of ſuch power as might enable him to form projects deſtructive of their liberties, together with their dread of falling under the odious and oppreſſive government of Lewis; were obſtacles in the way of executing this plan, which it was vain to think of ſurmounting. By the latter, which might have been accompliſhed with facility, Mary having diſcovered ſome inclination to a match with the Count of Angouleme, Lewis would have prevented the dominions of the Houſe of Burgundy from being conveyed to a rival power; and, in return for ſuch a ſplendid eſtabliſhment for the Count of Angouleme, he muſt have obtained, and would have extorted from him, conceſſions highly beneficial to the crown of France. But Lewis had ſo long been accuſtomed to the intricacies of an inſidious policy, that he could not be ſatisfied with what was obvious and ſimple; and was ſo fond of artifice and refinement, that he brought himſelf to conſider theſe as his ultimate object, not as the means only of conducting affairs. From this principle, no leſs than from his unwillingneſs to aggrandize any of his own ſubjects, or perhaps from the deſire of oppreſſing the Houſe of Burgundy, which he hated, he neglected the ſtraight path, which would naturally have been purſued by a Prince of inferior abilities, and leſs ſkilled in the arts of deception, and followed one more ſuited to his own genius.

He propoſed to render himſelf, by force of arms, maſter of thoſe provinces which Mary held of the crown of France, and even to extend his conqueſts into her other territories; while he amuſed her with continually inſiſting on the impracticable match with the Dauphin. In the proſecution of this ſtrange plan he diſplayed wonderful talents and induſtry, and exhibited ſuch ſcenes of treachery, falſhood, and cruelty, as appear amazing even in the dark hiſtory of Lewis the Eleventh. Immediately on the death of Charles, he put his troops in motion, and advanced towards the Netherlands. The ſame arts of corruption which he had recently employed with the Engliſh Miniſtry, he now exerted with the leading men in the provinces of Burgundy and Artois, and ſeduced them to deſert their Sovereign. He obtained admiſſion into ſome of the frontier towns by bribing the governors; while the gates of others were opened to him in conſequence of intrigues with the inhabitants. He negotiated with Mary; and, in order to render her odious to her ſubjects, he betrayed to them her moſt important ſecrets. He maintained a private correſpondence with the two Miniſters whom ſhe chiefly truſted, and then communicated the letters which he had received from them to the States of Flanders; who, enraged at their perfidy, brought them to immediate trial; tortured them with extreme cruelty; and, unmoved by the tears and entreaties of their Sovereign, who knew and approved of all that the Miniſters had done, they beheaded them in her preſence.

While Lewis, by this baſe and perfidious conduct, was ſecuring the poſſeſſion of Burgundy, Artois, and the towns on the Somme, the States of Flanders carried on a negotiation with the Emperor, Frederick the Third; and concluded a treaty of marriage between their Sovereign, and his ſon Maximilian, Archduke of Auſtria. The illuſtrious birth of that Prince, as well as the high dignity to which he had the proſpect of ſucceeding, rendered the alliance honourable for Mary; while, from the diſtance of his hereditary territories, and the ſcantineſs of his revenues, his power was too inconſiderable to excite the jealouſy or fear of the Flemings. Thus Lewis, by the caprice of his temper, and the exceſs of his refinements, put the Houſe of Auſtria in poſſeſſion of this noble inheritance, and loſt an opportunity, which he could never recal, of making that important acquiſition, which would have rendered him the moſt formidable Potentate in Chriſtendom.

During this intereſting criſis, Edward was no leſs defective in policy, and was no leſs actuated by private paſſions, unworthy of a Sovereign and a Stateſman, than his Gallic neighbour. His brother, the Duke of Clarence, who had become a widower a few days before the death of the Duke of Burgundy, moved by the ſame ſpirit of ambition which ſtimulated the other Princes of Europe, had caſt his eyes on Mary, and had applied to his

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ſiſter Margaret, Dutcheſs Dowager of Burgundy, to promote his views. That Princeſs, who had a particular eſteem for him, readily undertook to plead his cauſe; and ſhe had reaſon to believe that her advances would not prove unſucceſsful: but Edward, who ought to have ſeconded her efforts, as well from motives of policy as of natural affection to Clarence, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the match; and then ſent to Mary propoſals for marrying Anthony Widville, Earl of Rivers, brother to his Queen, which were rejected with diſdain.

Clarence, though by his deſertion of Warwick he had certainly reſcued his brother from impending deſtruction, and replaced the diadem on his head, had never been able to acquire any ſhare of his confidence. Edward, urged, as it is ſuppoſed, by the relations of his Queen—probably from the idea that a Prince, who had once been declared eventual heir to the crown, might, on the firſt favourable opportunity, be induced to claim it—treated him not only with coolneſs and reſerve, but with marked diſreſpect. The preference recently evinced by the heireſs of Burgundy to Clarence over Elizabeth's brother, tended to widen the breach between that Prince and the family of Rivers; which, with his late quarrel with his brother Glouceſter on the ſubject of his marriage with Lady Ann Nevile, rendered the whole Royal Family his avowed and implacable enemies; and, as none of them were inclined to reſtrain the effects of their enmity by any principles of honour, his deſtruction was ſpeedily reſolved on, and as ſpeedily accompliſhed. A ſyſtematic plan appears to have been laid for this purpoſe; and, as Clarence was known to be violent in his temper, and blunt in his expreſſions, it was determined to provoke him, if poſſible, into ſome treaſonable declaration by an unjuſt attack on his friends.

The King, hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet, of Arrow, in Warwickſhire, a gentleman of unblemiſhed reputation, had killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of his maſter; and Burdet, vexed at the loſs, burſt out into a paſſionate exclamation, wiſhing the horns of the animal in the belly of the perſon who had adviſed the King to commit that inſult upon him. This natural expreſſion of reſentment, which would not have incurred notice had it fallen from an indifferent perſon, was conſidered as a capital crime in that gentleman, who had the misfortune to live on terms of friendſhip with the Duke of Clarence: he was accordingly tried for his life, condemned by ſervile judges and a perjured jury, and publicly beheaded at Tyburn.

About the ſame time, an eccleſiaſtic, named John Stacey, who was in habits of intimacy with the Duke and Burdet, became expoſed to a ſimilar iniquitous proſecution. This clergyman, being more deeply ſkilled in mathematics and aſtronomy than was uſual in that age, had acquired with the common people the character of a Necromancer; and the court laid hold of this popular rumour to effect his deſtruction. He was brought to his trial for that imaginary crime; and many of the greateſt Peers ſanctioning the proſecution by their preſence; he was condemned, tortured, and executed.

The Duke of Clarence was greatly alarmed at this daring aſſaſſination of his friends; and the recollection of what had befallen the good Duke of Glouceſter in the preceding reign, made him juſtly apprehenſive of a ſimilar fate; but the impetuoſity of his temper prevented him from obſerving that line of conduct which a prudent attention to his own ſafety required. Soon after the execution of Burdet and Stacey, he repaired to the Council-Chamber, attended by one Goddard, a celebrated divine, who had aſſiſted the ſufferers in their laſt moments; where he delivered copies of the declarations, both private and public, which they had made of their innocence, and then withdrew.

Edward, determined to ſeize on the firſt pretext he ſhould afford him, however frivolous or contemptible, made this proceeding a ground of criminal accuſation againſt Clarence. He forthwith ſummoned a council of Peers and Prelates, to which he invited the Mayor and Aldermen to attend; and inveighed with extreme virulence againſt his brother, whoſe moſt trifling indiſcretions he was ſtudious to magnify into crimes of the deepeſt dye; and whoſe laſt imprudence he repreſented as an act of high treaſon. The council, with that baſe obſequiouſneſs which marked every public aſſembly throughout this tyrannical reign, agreed with Edward that he ſhould be immediately committed to the Tower, from whence he was remanded, on the ſixteenth of January 1478, to be tried before the Houſe of Peers, the ſupreme tribunal of the nation.

The chief accuſation alledged againſt the Duke, was—That by accuſing the King of having put Burdet unjuſtly to death, he had endeavoured to alienate from his Majeſty the affections of his ſubjects. There were many other charges produced againſt him, but all ſo extremely frivolous, or ſo groſsly abſurd, that it would be idle to detail them. The trial was conducted in a manner equally ſingular and indecent. The King himſelf ſtood forward in the infamous character of accuſer of his own brother; and, by pleading againſt him in perſon, confined the taſk of replication to the priſoner himſelf. The witneſſes, too, who appeared to ſupport the charge—as we are told by the Continuator of the Chronicle of Croyland, who was probably preſent—appeared more like intereſted proſecutors than impartial evidence. Proteſtations of innocence, it will eaſily be imagined, were of little avail in a court where the aſſertions of a royal aſſaſſin were received as inconteſtible proofs; and where fear of danger, or hope of reward, rendered every judge an enemy to the party accuſed. Clarence was condemned; and ſentence of death was pronounced on him by Henry Duke of Buckingham, who acted in the capacity of High Steward on this memorable occaſion. The Commons, not leſs ſlaviſh and unjuſt than the Peers, were prevailed on to appear, ſome time after, at the bar of the Upper Houſe, with a petition, requiring the immediate execution of the ſentence. Clarence was accordingly put to death in the Tower privately, on the eleventh of March;

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but by whom, or in what manner, remains a ſecret. The author we have above quoted, who was a contemporary writer, and who gives the moſt ample detail of the different proceedings in this dark and infamous tranſaction, is wholly ſilent as to the mode of his execution; which affords a ſtrong preſumption that he was ignorant of it. Fabian, who was then very young, tells us that he was drowned in a butt of Malmſey; but, in this aſſertion, it is more than probable he was merely guided by popular report. His aſſaſſins, indeed, might have purpoſely propagated ſuch a report, in order, by dreſſing a tragical fact in a ridiculous habit, to diminiſh in ſome meaſure that degree of horror with which the mind muſt be naturally impreſſed on the contemplation of a murder attended with ſuch aggravating circumſtances.

The Duke of Clarence left two children by the elder daughter of the Earl of Warwick: a ſon, created an Earl by the title of his grandfather; and a daughter, afterwards Counteſs of Saliſbury. Both this Prince and Princeſs were alſo unfortunate in their end, and died a violent death; a fate which, for many years, attended almoſt all the deſcendants of the royal blood in England. Many of the eſtates of Clarence were, after his death, granted by the King to the Earl of Rivers, under the curious pretence that the ſoul of the deceaſed would receive great benefit from the grant of his eſtates to a perſon he had ſo greatly injured.

Lewis, intent on promoting the deſtruction of the Houſe of Burgundy, was not only careful to remit the annual penſion to Edward, but entered into a ſecond treaty with that Prince, by which he bound his heirs to the payment of it for one hundred years after his own death. This extreme anxiety to keep Edward in a ſtate of inactivity, muſt have excited the ſuſpicions of a Monarch endued with the ſmalleſt portion of political foreſight. But Edward, now ſunk in indolence, or active only in the gratification of his paſſions, was regardleſs of every tranſaction that did not immediately affect his repoſe. The ſole object which divided his attention with his pleaſures, was the marriage of his daughters, for whom he had ever expreſſed a ſingular anxiety to procure illuſtrious alliances; and, with this view, had contracted them almoſt as ſoon as born. Theſe projected marriages, however, all proved abortive, as might naturally have been expected, from the numerous obſtructions to which they were liable from the neceſſary length of the period which muſt intervene between the time of affiance and that of conſummation.

The rupture between the Princeſs Elizabeth and the Dauphin of France, as ſettled by the treaty of Amiens, for which he had ever diſcovered a peculiar fondneſs, he had the mortification to witneſs during his life. Lewis, who never ſuffered the obſervance of treaties to interfere with his intereſt, found his advantage in betrothing the Dauphin to the Princeſs Margaret, the infant daughter of Maximilian Duke of Burgundy, with whom he had, by that time, concluded a truce. The King, rouzed from his indolence by an inſult which thwarted his favourite paſſion, determined to exact vengeance, and accordingly commenced preparations for an invaſion of France; while the Gallic Monarch, not leſs prudent than perfidious, endeavoured to ſecure himſelf from the effects of his reſentment. In order to divert the attention of Edward, he ſent emiſſaries into Scotland; and, by a judicious diſtribution of preſents, incited the Scottiſh King to enter into a conteſt with England.

James, who was harraſſed by the factions of his own nobility, and was wholly unable to cope with ſo powerful an adverſary, levied a body of forces; but, when he was on the point of entering the Engliſh territories, his Barons conſpired againſt his favourites, whom they immediately put to death without trial; and the army ſoon after diſbanded. The Duke of Glouceſter, attended by the Duke of Albany, brother to James, who had eſcaped from his own country, where he had been impriſoned by the miniſtry, entered Scotland at the head of an army, took Berwick, and obliged the Scots to ſubmit to a peace, by which that fortreſs was given up to Edward. Emboldened by this ſucceſs, he continued his preparations againſt France with unremitting ardour; but, before they were compleated, he was ſeized with a diſtemper—ariſing, it is ſaid, from a bad habit of body, the effect of continued exceſs—that put a period to his exiſtence on the ninth of April, in the year 1483, which was the forty-ſecond of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign.

This Prince appears not to have poſſeſſed a ſingle virtue that could afford the ſmalleſt palliation to his numerous vices. Endowed with an elegance of deportment; an inſinuating addreſs; and, in ſhort, with every accompliſhment of perſon; he had a mind inacceſſible to all liberal ſentiments, and callous to every dictate of humanity. His political character was almoſt equally defective, courage and cruelty being the only exertions of which he was capable: by the former he attempted to ſupply his defect of foreſight, and by the latter his want of prudence.

Edward the Fourth had, by Elizabeth, his Queen, three ſons and ſeven daughters, viz. Edward, who ſucceeded him in the throne; Richard, Duke of York; George, who died in his infancy; Elizabeth, who was contracted to the Dauphin of France, and afterwards married Henry the Seventh, King of England; Mary, betrothed to the King of Denmark, who died before marriage; Cecilia, contracted to James King of Scotland, firſt married to John Viſcount Wells, and afterwards to Sir John Kyme; Margaret, who died an infant; Anne, contracted to Philip of Burgundy, and married to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; Bridget, who took the veil, and died in the nunnery at Dartford; and Catharine, married to William Courtenay, Earl of Devonſhire.

His natural children were—Arthur Plantagenet, born of Elizabeth Lucy, and created Lord Liſle in the reign of Henry the Eighth; and Elizabeth Plantagenet, married to Thomas Lord Lumley. Another daughter, named Elizabeth, by Catherine, daughter of Sir Robert Clavenger; and

Iſabel

Iſabel Mylbery, married to a brother of Lord Audeley.

Sir Thomas Littleton, and Sir John Forteſcue, the celebrated Lawyers, lived in this reign. The former was, in 1455, promoted to be Judge of the Marſhalſea Court, made King's Serjeant, and Juſtice of Aſſize; and, in 1466, was made one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas. There cannot be a ſtronger proof of his prudence and moderation, than his conduct having been ſuch, during this turbulent period, as to enſure the favour and protection of both the contending families of York and Lancaſter. He compoſed a learned and uſeful Treatiſe on the Tenures by which Lands were anciently held in England. The Inſtitutions of Sir Edward Coke are a comment on this work. He died on the twenty-third of Auguſt 1481.

Sir John Forteſcue commenced his legal ſtudies at Lincoln's Inn; where he ſoon acquired ſuch fame for his knowledge both of the civil and common law, that his lectures, when he was appointed Reader to that Society, were numerouſly attended, and received with infinite applauſe. He was made a Serjeant at Law in 1430; appointed King's Serjeant in 1441; and, the following year, was promoted to be Chief-Juſtice of the King's Bench, which important poſt he continued to occupy till near the concluſion of the reign of Henry the Sixth: during which time he diſcharged the duties of his ſtation with diſtinguiſhed abilities, and—what was leſs common in that venal age, and is at all times more deſirable in a Judge—with unſhaken integrity. As he had been ſteady in his loyalty to Henry, ſo he ſhared in his misfortunes, and was attainted of high-treaſon by the firſt proſtituted Parliament which aſſembled after the acceſſion of Edward. On the reſtoration of Henry, he was made Chancellor of England; but had not opportunity of enjoying that dignity, as he was on the continent with Margaret and her ſon, Prince Edward, at the time it was conferred on him. He accompanied that unhappy Princeſs in her laſt expedition to England, and was made priſoner with her at the battle of Tewkeſbury; but found means to obtain his pardon from the conqueror. During his reſidence in France, he compoſed his admirable Treatiſe, *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, for the inſtruction of his royal pupil, Prince Edward. He alſo wrote another work on the Difference between an abſolute and limited Monarchy, as more particularly applied to the Engliſh conſtitution.



Publish'd as the Act directs, by Harrison & Co. Jan.a 1789

EDWARD THE FIFTH.

THE principal tranſactions of the reign on which we are about to enter, as well as of that which ſucceeds it, are involved in ſuch obſcurity, as to have given riſe to ſerious doubts on the very exiſtence of events which, till lately, had been received as eſtabliſhed facts. The pen of hiſtorical ſcepticiſm has been employed—with more ingenuity, indeed, than candour—in attacking the characters of authors, whoſe veracity had been deemed irreproachable; and in repreſenting, as a model of meekneſs and patience, a Prince whoſe life had always been conſidered as one continued ſcene of vicious and tyrannical actions.

The only contemporary hiſtorians of theſe reigns are John Fabian, a merchant of London; and the Continuator of the Chronicle of Croyland, a Doctor of the Canon Law, and one of the King's Counſellors. That the facts related by them ought to obtain credit, if not contradicted by authentic records, or at leaſt controverted by preſumptive evidence ſo ſtrong as almoſt to poſſeſs the force of abſolute proof, no perſon, who is not more anxious to confirm doubts than to eſtabliſh truth, will attempt to deny. The information, however, furniſhed by theſe writers, is far from copious: recourſe, therefore, has been had to the teſtimony of Sir Thomas More, Chancellor to Henry the Eighth, from whom the generality of modern hiſtorians have derived their intelligence; and, though Sir Thomas was only three years old on the acceſſion of Edward the Fifth, he was certainly not ſo far removed from the period in queſtion as to be unable to acquire a full and compleat knowledge of the tranſactions he relates with equal preciſion, candour, and eloquence: while the ſingular probity of his mind, and the known magnanimity of his conduct, cannot fail to give to his evidence a degree of credit which modern ſceptics have in vain attempted to diminiſh.

From an attentive conſideration of the credit due to theſe authorities; from a thorough inveſtigation of the objections oppoſed to them; a cloſe compariſon of ſtated facts with relative circumſtances; and, finally, from ſtrict reſearches into every poſſible ſource of information; we have endeavoured to form an impartial hiſtory of a reign in which much muſt inevitably be left to conjecture.

Edward, Prince of Wales, the eldeſt ſon of Edward the Fourth, was proclaimed King, in London, on the ninth of April 1483—the ſame day on which his father died—by the name of Edward the Fifth. He was then only in his thirteenth year; but his title ſeemed ſo clear, ſo exempt from any poſſible objections, that no one was mad enough to ſuppoſe the ſmalleſt diſpute could ariſe relative to his poſſeſſion of the throne; though many entertained ſtrong apprehenſions that the adminiſtration of the government during his minority would occaſion very violent conteſts.

The Court of England was at this time divided into two parties, whoſe intrigues had cauſed no ſmall uneaſineſs to the King during the laſt years of his life, though his authority had proved ſufficient to deter them from proceeding to any dangerous extremities. One party conſiſted of the Queen and her relations, particularly her brother the Earl of Rivers, and her ſon the Marquis of Dorſet: the other was compoſed of the ancient Nobility, who were deeply mortified at the ſudden elevation and unlimited credit of that aſpiring family. At the head of this party was the Duke of Buckingham, a nobleman not leſs diſtinguiſhed by his illuſtrious birth than his ſplendid talents; whoſe fortune was great; whoſe alliances were both extenſive and powerful; and who, though he had married the Queen's ſiſter, poſſeſſed a ſpirit too proud and independent to ſubmit to her dictates, or render himſelf ſubſervient to her inclinations.

Lord

Lord Haſtings, the Chamberlain, was another leader of the ſame party; and as this nobleman had, by his unſhaken fidelity and attachment, by ſignal inſtances of valour, and by continued exertions of activity, acquired the confidence of his Sovereign, he had been able to ſupport himſelf, though not without difficulty, againſt all the efforts and credit of the Queen. The Lords Howard and Stanley maintained a cloſe connection with theſe two noblemen, and brought a conſiderable acceſſion of influence and reputation to their party. All the other Barons, who had no particular dependence on the Queen or her family, adhered to the ſame intereſt; and the people in general, from their natural averſion to the reigning powers, however lenient, were extremely partial to the cauſe of theſe noblemen.

But Edward knew that, though he himſelf had been able, by the interpoſition of his authority, to overawe theſe rival factions, their feuds and ſtruggles for power, during the minority of his ſon, might be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences: he had, therefore, in his laſt ſickneſs, ſummoned ſeveral of the leaders of either party to meet in his preſence; and had endeavoured to promote a reconciliation, which he truſted would tend to preſerve the public tranquillity. They accordingly embraced each other with the moſt apparent cordiality, and promiſed that their future conduct ſhould be guided by his preſent wiſhes. But this temporary or feigned agreement ended with the life of the King: he had no ſooner expired, than their mutual animoſities broke out anew, and raged with increaſed violence.

The grand object of either party was to get poſſeſſion of the perſon of their youthful Sovereign, which they juſtly imagined would enable them to exerciſe no inconſiderable portion of the royal authority. At the time of his father's death, young Edward reſided in the Caſtle of Ludlow, on the borders of Wales, whither he had been ſent, that the influence of his preſence might overawe the Welſh, who had recently evinced a very ſtrong diſpoſition to revolt. His perſon was entruſted to the care of his uncle, the Earl of Rivers, the moſt accompliſhed nobleman in England; who, to an ardent taſte for literature, uncommon in that age, having united great abilities for buſineſs, and valour in the field, was entitled by his talents, ſtill more than by nearneſs of blood, to ſuperintend the education of the young Monarch. The Queen and her friends, after a conſultation on the ſubject, propoſed to raiſe a ſmall army to eſcort the King to London, previous to his coronation: but, this meaſure being ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the oppoſite party, who pretended to conſtrue it into a deſign to exclude them from all participation in the government, ſhe conſented to limit the number of attendants to that which formed the ordinary retinue of Princes.

The Duke of Glouceſter was in the north, making preparations for a ſecond expedition into Scotland, when he received the news of his brother's death. He immediately repaired to York, attended by ſix hundred of his friends, excluſive of his uſual retinue, and arrayed in deep mourning; and he there celebrated the funeral of the deceaſed Monarch, proclaimed his ſon Edward the Fifth, took an oath of fealty to that young Prince, and enjoined the magiſtrates, nobility and gentlemen of the north, to follow his example. From thence, too, he wrote letters to the Queen, and the Earl of Rivers, replete with the warmeſt profeſſions of friendſhip to them, and of loyalty to the King. While the Duke was thus employed, he was apprized by Lord Haſtings of all the proceedings of the council; and, at the ſame time, received from that nobleman an offer of aſſiſtance to raiſe him to the Regency; for, though Haſtings was firmly attached to his Sovereign, knowing himſelf to be an object of hatred to the family of Rivers, he was anxious to prevent the adminiſtration from falling into their hands. The Duke of Buckingham, actuated by ſimilar motives, made ſimilar offers to Glouceſter, accompanied by an aſſurance that he would immediately join him with a powerful body of his vaſſals. Thus encouraged, and ſecure of the protection of the inhabitants of the north, whom he knew to be warmly attached to his intereſts, he formed the daring project of intercepting his Sovereign on his way to London, in order to take him from his mother's relations, and to eſtabliſh his own authority—as regent, at leaſt—by force of arms.

With this view, Glouceſter left York with a *numerous* retinue, and arrived at Northampton on the twenty-ninth of April, where he was joined by the Duke of Buckingham, with *nine hundred* of his followers. The King reached Northampton on the ſame day, and proceeded from thence to Stony Stratford, ten miles nearer to London, where he paſſed the night. Earl Rivers, however, remained at Northampton, to concert meaſures with Glouceſter—of whoſe deſigns he was not yet aware—for the approaching coronation. Both Glouceſter and Buckingham received him with the greateſt cordiality, and they paſſed the evening together; but at night the gates of the inn were ſuddenly locked, and the Earl was ſecured. The next morning the two Dukes proceeded to Stony-Stratford; and, in the King's preſence, ſeized the perſons of Lord Richard Grey, his uterine brother; Sir Thomas Vaughan, an officer of his houſhold; and Sir Richard Hawte; and theſe priſoners were immediately conducted to the caſtle of Pomfret, in Yorkſhire. At the ſame time they diſmiſſed all the other attendants of the King; and iſſued a proclamation, forbidding them to approach the court under pain of death.

Theſe are facts which the moſt ſtrenuous of Glouceſter's apologiſts have not ventured to call in queſtion. "And *thus far*," ſays Mr. Walpole, "he "(Glouceſter) acted as moſt Princes would have done "in his ſituation, in a lawleſs and barbarous age." In other words, he acted like a treacherous and ſanguinary tyrant, whom no attention to the laws, no ties of honour, no principles of loyalty, no conſiderations of juſtice, could reſtrain from purſuing the projects of an ambitious mind. He acted like a daring rebel, in violently ſeizing the perſon of his Sovereign, in

in impriſoning his relations, and in exerciſing an act of regal authority. "The barbariſm of the age," affords but a pitiful palliation of ſuch flagrant conduct; like ſtate-neceſſity, the tyrants plea to ſanction violence and oppreſſion, it can only be employed by thoſe who ſeek to juſtify tyrannical actions.

When Glouceſter had ſecured his priſoners, he made the greateſt profeſſions of reſpect and loyalty to the young King, which were doubtleſs equally ſincere with thoſe which he had before made in his letters to the Queen and Rivers. But Edward, unſkilled in the arts of diſſimulation, ſtrove not to conceal his reſentment at the conduct of Glouceſter, nor his ſorrow at the impriſonment of his relations, who had ever treated him with tenderneſs and attention.

When the report of theſe violent tranſactions reached London, it gave riſe to the utmoſt confuſion. The Queen, juſtly alarmed for the ſafety of her family, and wiſely concluding that the man who had dared to proceed *thus far*, would not heſitate to proceed *much farther*, fled, with her ſecond ſon the Duke of York and her five daughters, to the Sanctuary at Weſtminſter, which had formerly afforded her effectual protection from the Lancaſtrian faction. The friends of either party, in great crowds, and ſome of them armed, had frequent meetings and conſultations; the royaliſts in Weſtminſter; and the adherents of Glouceſter, headed by Lord Haſtings, in the city: but, as the real intentions of thoſe who had poſſeſſion of the King's perſon could not be known, no deciſive reſolutions were adopted.

The firſt of Glouceſter's modern apologiſts has laid great ſtreſs on the two circumſtances of the Queen having taken refuge in the Sanctuary, and ſome of her partizans having taken up arms. Speaking of the former, he ſays—"Neceſſity, rather than law, juſtified her proceedings." If this ſentence has any meaning, it certainly means that the Queen, in flying to the Sanctuary, had violated the laws, though her conduct might be juſtified on the principle of ſelf-preſervation. It would be as difficult, I apprehend, to diſcover any law that could prohibit her from retiring to a place of ſafety, when ſhe deemed herſelf and family in danger, as it would be to find any unprejudiced perſon, endued with common ſenſe, who could cenſure her for her conduct on a point in which it was regulated by the moſt powerful motives that can influence the human mind. "But," exclaims Mr. Walpole, "what "excuſe can be made for her faction having recourſe "to arms? Endeavouring to eſtabliſh the Queen's "authority by force, was rebellion againſt the laws." As to the circumſtance of taking up arms, certainly the beſt poſſible excuſe can be offered, viz. the laudable motive of defending their Sovereign from the attempts of a man whoſe conduct had given the ſtrongeſt grounds for ſuppoſing that he entertained the moſt criminal deſigns, and alſo the well-founded fear of danger to themſelves: for, ſince the perſons of the Queen's relations had not been held ſacred, they had aſſuredly reaſon to believe that all who cheriſhed the ſame ſentiments were at leaſt equally expoſed to the reſentment of Glouceſter. The charge of attempting to eſtabliſh the Queen's authority by force, though ſtrongly relied on by the author who made it, is founded on ſo feeble a baſis, as ſcarce to be worthy an anſwer. The ſole attempt at power—if it can be called an attempt—made by the Queen, (whatever her ſentiments might have been) was the project of ſending a powerful eſcort with the King to London; but the opinions of the oppoſite party were no ſooner made known to her, than ſhe inſtantly gave up her intentions: yet the *pacific* Glouceſter, unwilling to follow ſo worthy an example, collected a ſmall army of his own; and, by putting his perfidious deſigns in execution, commenced hoſtilities. But it is the buſineſs of an apologiſt to juſtify, and not to expoſe, his hero!

Lord Haſtings, whoſe affection to the perſon of his Sovereign was ſincere, though he was an enemy to his mother and relations, ſent a meſſage, on the firſt of May at midnight, to Thomas Rotherham, Archbiſhop of York and Chancellor of England, to inform him of what had happened at Stratford; and to aſſure him, that the intentions of the Nobles who had ſeized the King were ſtrictly honourable, and had the intereſt of the ſtate for their foundation. That Prelate, alarmed at the intelligence, immediately aroſe; and, attended by his ſervants properly armed, haſtened to the Queen, whom he found in the Sanctuary, ſitting on the floor, ſurrounded by her weeping children; while ſhe herſelf, diſſolved in tears, was lamenting the impending deſtruction of her family. The worthy Prelate endeavoured to comfort her, by imparting the aſſurances he had received from Haſtings; but the very name of that nobleman tended to augment her tears, and to give freſh force to her ſorrow. The Archbiſhop, finding that words alone could not afford her conſolation, made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of his own inviolable attachment and unſhaken fidelity; and leaving with her the great ſeal, as a pledge of his ſincerity, retired. But, he had not been gone long, before he ſent for it back, and it was accordingly returned.

Glouceſter and his aſſociates having diſpoſed of their priſoners, and formed the plan of their future conduct, accompanied the King to London, which they entered on the fourth of May. The Duke rode bare-headed before his nephew; and frequently exclaimed to the people, as he paſſed along, "Be-"hold your Sovereign!" The young Monarch was conveyed to the Biſhop's Palace, where Glouceſter is ſaid to have renewed his oath of fealty; and his example was immediately followed by all the Nobles and Prelates then preſent, as well as by the Mayor and Aldermen of London. Theſe appearances of loyalty were certainly ſpecious; and, whatever the Duke's intentions might have been, were well calculated to diſpel thoſe fears which the violence of his proceedings at Stony-Stratford had tended to excite.

Soon after his arrival at London, eager to ſanction the authority he had aſſumed by ſome kind of form, he ſummoned a great council of Prelates, Nobles, and others; who, obſequious to his will, and arrogating to themſelves a power unknown to the conſtitution,

ſtitution, declared him Protector of the King and kingdom. For the office of Regent, indeed, he was certainly qualified by his birth and ſtation, though the unconditional right which his apologiſts affirm he poſſeſſed could not poſſibly exiſt. He was but a ſubject; and, as ſuch, had no better *right* to the Regency than any other inhabitant of the realm. It is true, the cuſtom of former reigns marked him as the proper perſon to enjoy that important dignity: but that cuſtom ſhewed him, at the ſame time, that the previous conſent of Parliament was requiſite to give exiſtence to the office; and, by aſſuming or accepting it without their conſent, he manifeſted the ſame inattention to the laws which had diſtinguiſhed his conduct in the apprehenſion and impriſonment of the Queen's relations.

During the minority of Henry the Sixth, though the Duke of Bedford, one of the brighteſt and beſt characters of the age, and as nearly allied as Glouceſter to his youthful Sovereign, was appointed, *by Parliament*, to be Protector of the realm, ſuch limitations and reſtrictions were preſcribed as effectually precluded the poſſibility of abuſe. The care, too, of the King's perſon, was entruſted to another, that the ſame man might not poſſeſs two charges of ſuch high importance to the nation, and ſo pregnant with dangerous temptations to himſelf. On that occaſion the intereſt of Prince and People was equally conſulted; but, on the preſent, Glouceſter's ambition was the ſole object of regard. The ſame informal aſſembly which conferred the dignity of Protector on Glouceſter, determined, after ſome deliberation, that the King ſhould eſtabliſh his preſent reſidence in the Tower; from whence it was uſual, in thoſe times, for the Kings to proceed in ſtate to Weſtminſter the day before their coronation.

The new Protector immediately entered upon the duties of his ſtation; and diſplayed the utmoſt ſeeming alacrity in preparing for the coronation of his nephew, which was appointed to take place at Weſtminſter on the twenty-ſecond of June. He likewiſe iſſued a proclamation on the twentieth of May, requiring all gentlemen who poſſeſſed forty pounds a year in land to repair to London by the eighteenth of June, to receive the honour of knighthood; and by particular letters, dated the fifth of June, he invited fifty young men, of the beſt families in the kingdom, to appear before the King, in the Tower of London, four days before his coronation, in order to receive "*the noble honour of Knight-*"*hood*;" which probably ſignified the order of the Bath.

In the mean time, frequent meetings of the Council were held at different places, to conſult about the coronation, and other public affairs. On Friday the thirteenth of June, two councils were held; one of which met at Weſtminſter, for the purpoſe of notifying in form, to the Mayor and Aldermen of London, the day of the coronation; and the other in the Tower, with the Protector for it's Preſident.

The ſingular events which occurred at the latter, as well as the motives which gave birth to them, are thus related by Sir Thomas More, and from him copied by moſt of our modern hiſtorians:—Glouceſter, having experienced the extent of his power in the mode of obtaining the Protectorſhip, imagined that thoſe inſtruments which had ſerved him on this occaſion, might eaſily be perſuaded to aſſiſt in promoting his farther elevation. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, he imparted his ſentiments to Buckingham, whoſe fidelity he aſſailed by all the arguments calculated to bias a vicious and corrupted mind, that knew no motive of action but intereſt and ambition; and he eaſily obtained from that nobleman an unconditional promiſe of ſupporting him in all his enterprizes. Lord Haſtings was the next whoſe aſſiſtance he attempted to procure; and for that purpoſe he ſent to him one Cateſby, a lawyer, who lived in great intimacy with him. But Cateſby, having inſidiouſly allured him into a declaration of his ſentiments, found them ſo extremely inimical to the Protector's deſigns, that, on his return, he aſſured Glouceſter that, inſtead of ſupport, he could only expect oppoſition from him. This was ſufficient to rouze the indignation of that ambitious tyrant; who, forgetful of paſt obligations, inſtantly reſolved on removing, by force, an obſtacle he was unable to ſurmount by any other means. With this view he ſummoned a Council at the Tower; where he evinced his capability of committing the moſt bloody and treacherous murders with the utmoſt coolneſs and indifference. On taking his place at the council-table, he diſplayed an appearance of mirth and good-humour, as if his mind had been perfectly at eaſe. He ſeemed to indulge himſelf in familiar converſation with the members of the council, before they entered on the diſcuſſion of buſineſs; and, having paid ſome compliments to Morton, Biſhop of Ely, on the good and early ſtrawberries which he raiſed in his garden at Holborn, he begged the favour of having a diſh of them, which that Prelate accordingly diſpatched a ſervant to fetch. The Protector then left the council, as if called away by ſome other buſineſs: but, ſoon after returning, with a ferocious countenance, inflamed with anger, he aſked them what puniſhment they deſerved, that had plotted *his* life, who was ſo nearly related to the King, and was entruſted with the adminiſtration of government? Haſtings replied, that they merited the puniſhment of traitors. "Theſe traitors," cried the Protector, "are the ſorcereſs, my brother's wife, and his "miſtreſs, Jane Shore, with others, their aſſociates. "See to what a ſituation they have reduced me by "their incantations and witchcraft!" Before any one could reply, he bared his left-arm, all withered and decayed. But the members of the council, who knew that it had been ſo from his birth, could only expreſs their amazement by their looks; except Haſtings, who anſwered—"Certainly, my "Lord, *if* they be guilty of theſe crimes, they "deſerve the moſt ſevere and exemplary puniſh-"ment!"—"And do you reply to me," exclaimed the Protector, "with your *if's* and your *and's?* "You are the chief accomplice with that witch "Shore; you are yourſelf a traitor! and I ſwear "by St. Paul, that I will not dine before your head

". be brought me!" He then ſtruck the table with his hand; when the door of the apartment ſuddenly opened, and a party of armed men ruſhed in, with a cry of—" Treaſon! treaſon!" One of them aimed a blow with a pole-axe at Lord Stanley, which wounded him on the head; and that nobleman was immediately ſeized by the ruffians, together with the Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhop of Ely, and Lord Haſtings. The confuſion occaſioned by this extraordinary interruption may eaſily be conceived. The Nobles whoſe perſons had been ſeized looked at each other in ſilent aſtoniſhment: the ſurprize of Haſtings, in particular, was inexpreſſibly great, when he heard the Protector—who had always treated him with the greateſt marks of confidence and regard—give orders for his immediate execution. No time, however, was allowed for an explanation; he was inſtantly conveyed into the Court of the Tower, and beheaded on a log of timber which accidentally lay there. Lord Stanley and the two Prelates were impriſoned in different apartments of that fortreſs.

Two hours after, a proclamation, well penned and fairly written, was read to the citizens of London, who were ſtrongly attached to Haſtings, enumerating his offences, and apologizing to them for his haſty execution, which was aſcribed to the ſuddenneſs of the diſcovery: but the ſaying of a merchant was much talked of on the occaſion; who remarked, that the proclamation was certainly drawn by the ſpirit of prophecy.

It muſt be confeſſed, there are ſome circumſtances in this account which appear improbable—though the ſubſtance of it be indiſputably true—ſuch as the accuſation preferred againſt the Queen, and the alledged connection of Haſtings with Jane Shore. The proſecution, too, affirmed by the generality of our hiſtorians to have immediately taken place againſt the latter, is certainly miſ-dated; for the proclamation which gave riſe to the proſecution, was not iſſued till ſome time after the acceſſion of Richard the Third. In that proclamation, too—which we ſhall have occaſion to notice hereafter—Jane Shore was accuſed of a connection with the Marquis of Dorſet; and, among the charges exhibited againſt her, the name of Haſtings never occurs. But, on the other hand, we muſt obſerve, that Sir Thomas More is ſaid to have derived his intelligence from the Biſhop of Ely; who, being preſent, muſt undoubtedly be conſidered as a competent evidence as to the conduct and aſſertions of Glouceſter at the council.

On the ſame day, more aſſaſſinations were committed at Pomfret. Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a man in whom the Protector repoſed great confidence, had, by his orders, collected an army of five thouſand men in the north, which he was conducting to London. On his arrival at Pomfret, he cauſed Anthony Earl Rivers, the King's maternal uncle, the moſt accompliſhed nobleman of the age; Lord Richard Grey, the King's uterine brother; Sir Thomas Vaughan, his late Chamberlain; and Sir Richard Hawte; to be beheaded without any form of trial, and with circumſtances of peculiar cruelty.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſanguinary deeds, the hypocritical Glouceſter ſtill continued to wear the maſk of loyalty, and to continue his preparations for the coronation of his nephew. At a council held on the ſixteenth of June—according to the hiſtorian of Croyland, the only contemporary writer who gives a date to this tranſaction—it was ſuggeſted, that it would be highly improper for the Duke of York to remain in Sanctuary, ſurrounded by thieves and aſſaſſins, during his brother's coronation: a deputation, therefore, was ſent to the Queen, at the head of which was Cardinal Bourchier, the Primate, to ſolicit her permiſſion for the Duke to quit the Sanctuary. The Cardinal is ſaid to have undertaken this office with extreme reluctance: but, be that as it may, his perſuaſions proved effectual; for the Queen—who certainly had not then heard of the murder of her brother and ſon at Pomfret—reſigned the young Prince into his hands; and he immediately conducted him to the Tower, and delivered him to the Protector.

The laſt act of ſovereign authority exerciſed by the Protector in the name of his nephew, was the iſſuing commiſſions to three perſons to provide ſheep and oxen for the uſe of the Houſhold for ſix months, dated June the ſeventeenth—a day deſtined for the commencement of a new ſcene, to which the tranſactions of the preceding day formed a worthy prelude.

Glouceſter, having now removed the chief obſtacles to his nefarious deſigns by the murder of thoſe who were moſt inclined, and beſt able, to defend the rights of their lawful Sovereign, determined to put them in execution: and, for that purpoſe, cauſed his intentions of uſurping the crown to be carefully promulgated. How long he had entertained theſe intentions, it is impoſſible to decide with any degree of certainty; but, as the actions of a man form the leaſt fallible criterion of his motives, it is fair to preſume, from his conduct ſince he firſt received the news of his brother's death, that his deſign to ſeize the crown was formed either at that period or very ſoon after. The ſubſequent oaths of fealty, indeed, which he took to his nephew, have been urged as ſufficient grounds for a contrary opinion; but, ſurely, the character of a man who has been convicted of numerous aſſaſſinations cannot be much injured by a ſuſpicion of perjury. At any rate, it muſt appear manifeſt to every unbiaſſed perſon, that the daring project of dethroning a youthful Monarch, who had ſucceeded his father with the univerſal approbation of his ſubjects, and whoſe title to the throne no one had ever dared to queſtion, muſt require ſome time to form, and ſtill more to bring to maturity; it could not poſſibly be effected in a few days. That this plan was, previous to it's publication, privately communicated to Buckingham, Howard, Ratcliffe, Cateſby, the Mayor of London, and many others who engaged to ſupport it, is very certain; and that the loyalty of Haſtings, in refuſing to countenance ſo nefarious a meaſure, was the immediate cauſe of his death, as aſſerted by almoſt all our hiſtorians, is highly probable. Indeed, it is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive any other motive for the execution of that nobleman, whoſe

averſion

averſion to the family of Rivers was notorious, and who had greatly contributed to raiſe the Protector to the dignity which he then enjoyed. The communication of his ſcheme to ſo many different people, conſidering the caution neceſſary to be obſerved in a tranſaction of ſo delicate a nature, muſt indiſputably have required a conſiderable ſpace of time. Be that as it may, the ſtory now divulged and diligently propagated by Glouceſter and his friends was this:—That Edward the Fourth, previous to his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth Grey, had been contracted, and even privately married, to Lady Eleanor Butler, ſiſter of the Earl of Shrewſbury, and widow of Lord Butler of Sudeley; and that, in conſequence of this pre-contract or prior marriage, his ſubſequent marriage was null, and all his children by the Queen were illegitimate.

It cannot be poſitively aſcertained whether this curious tale had been ever mentioned before; or, if mentioned, to what degree of notoriety it had attained: but various reaſons may be adduced in ſupport of the ſuppoſition that the preſent occaſion had given birth to it. If the Earl of Warwick, and his ſon-in-law the Duke of Clarence, had been acquainted with a prior marriage of Edward, at the time when their animoſity againſt the relations of the Queen had induced them to reſiſt by force of arms thoſe oppreſſions which they urged the King to exerciſe, can it be ſuppoſed they would have been ſilent on the ſubject? Would they not rather have been ſtudious to publiſh it to the world; and to cover their enemies with confuſion, by making known that the King and Queen were living in a ſtate of adultery, and attempting to impoſe a ſpurious iſſue upon the nation? Such an event would have effectually eſtabliſhed the right of the Duke of Clarence to the ſucceſſion; nor can it be imagined that any motives of delicacy could have induced that Prince to conceal it, when the Queen was his avowed and inveterate enemy, if he had known, or had reaſon to believe, that her marriage was liable to the ſmalleſt objection. Elizabeth had been crowned with great ſolemnity; provided for by Parliament as Queen of England; acknowledged by all the world, as Edward's lawful wife, to the death of that Prince; and their children had been contracted to the greateſt Potentates in Europe, without the leaſt ſurmiſe of any flaw in their births. The nature of Edward's engagement with Lady Butler is not well aſcertained; and, indeed, the very exiſtence of any connection between them is liable to ſerious doubts. The hiſtorian of Croyland, whoſe information is the moſt to be depended upon, only ſays—"It was al-"ledged that he had made a contract with her." Philip de Comines, indeed, relates, "That the Bi-"ſhop of Bath affirmed, that Edward had promiſed "her marriage in his preſence, and that he had af-"terwards married them without any witneſſes." But neither the time nor place of this pretended marriage was ever ſpecified; though in a matter of ſuch importance, on the iſſue of which no leſs a ſtake than the ſovereignty of a kingdom depended, they would not certainly have been omitted, had it been poſſible to aſcertain them. The lady herſelf was dead; there had been no witneſſes preſent; the fact, therefore, depended on the ſingle teſtimony of Stillington, Biſhop of Bath, a man of infamous character, who was probably inſtigated to ſupport it—as the laſt author we have quoted aſſerts—by the ſplendid promiſes of the Protector, and from motives of revenge to Edward, who had cauſed him to be impriſoned. That Edward had deluded Lady Butler by oaths and promiſes, of which in his amorous purſuits he was ever profuſe; and that Stillington, then a profligate young prieſt, was in the ſecret, and perhaps aſſiſted in the deluſion, might poſſibly be true; but, that he had entered into any engagements with her that could invalidate his ſubſequent marriage with Elizabeth, and baſtardize his children, is groſsly improbable: certain it is, that it never was proved by any ſatisfactory evidence.

But, though this tale ſhould ſucceed in baſtardizing the children of Edward, thoſe of his elder brother, Clarence, viz. the Earl of Warwick and his ſiſter, ſtill remained, as obſtacles to his elevation, apparently inſuperable. Glouceſter, however, having adopted his plan, was reſolved that nothing but ſuperior force ſhould prevent the execution of it. To rid himſelf, therefore, of the claims of Warwick, he had recourſe to the act of attainder paſſed againſt his father in the preceding reign; which, according to his aſſertion, incapacitated his children from ſucceeding to the throne, though it was notorious that the rule which excluded the heirs of an attainted blood from private ſucceſſions was never extended to the crown; and, indeed, Richard Duke of York, father to Edward the Fourth, and to Glouceſter himſelf, was ſon of Richard Earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded for treaſon.

It is probable that the chief reaſon which firſt urged the Duke of Glouceſter to extend his ambitious views to ſuch a dangerous height, was the obſervation he had made of thoſe feuds and animoſities which prevailed between the ancient Nobility of the kingdom and the relations of the Queen. Theſe, too, he was ſtudious to augment, by engaging the former to join in the apprehenſion of Rivers, Vaughan, and Grey, and in promoting his own elevation to the regency. By this means he rendered them juſtly apprehenſive of the Queen's reſentment; and made them dread that, when her ſon ſhould arrive at a proper age to exerciſe ſovereign authority, ſhe would inſtigate him to exact vengeance for the murder of her ſon and brother, and for the numerous injuries ſuſtained by herſelf and family. Glouceſter ſtrove to convince them, that the only mode of averting theſe evils, was by proceeding one ſtep farther in raiſing him from the Protectorſhip to the throne. An appeal to the fears of mankind is ſeldom wholly unſucceſsful; though here a variety of ſcruples naturally ſuggeſted themſelves: the claims of the numerous iſſue of Edward muſt be firſt invalidated, as well as thoſe of his brother Clarence. The act of attainder was deemed a ſufficient pretext to ſet aſide the latter; but the former could only be effected by annulling the marriage of their parents. The licentious life of Edward, who was not reſtrained in his pleaſures either

either by honour or prudence, was notorious to every one, and afforded Stillington an opportunity of ſupplying them with the ſtory we have already related; and, if that had not been thought of, there can be little doubt but that another would have been ſpeedily invented. It is evident the Protector himſelf laid but little ſtreſs on the tale; ſince, in the act of parliament which was paſſed in order to baſtardize Edward's iſſue, many other objections are urged to his marriage, all of them trivial, and ſome of them truly ridiculous; and the ſtory of Lady Butler is introduced at the end, without either ſpecifying the name of it's author, or producing any evidence of it's truth.

Glouceſter's ſcheme being now ripe for execution, he prevailed upon Dr. Ralph Shaw, a popular preacher, brother to the Mayor of London, to ſound the inclinations of the people in a ſermon, preached at Paul's Croſs, on Sunday the twenty-ſecond of June, in which he mentioned the Protector's claim to the crown. The Doctor is ſaid to have overacted his part; and, not contenting himſelf with baſtardizing the children of Edward, to have aſſerted that Edward himſelf and the Duke of Clarence had been baſtards, at the expence of the character of Cecily, Dutcheſs of York, the Protector's mother, a Princeſs of unſpotted reputation, who was then living. This circumſtance, related by Sir Thomas More, has given occaſion to Mr. Carte, and after him to Mr. Walpole, to queſtion the veracity of that author, as they deem it improbable that Glouceſter ſhould have encouraged the Doctor to caluminate his mother. But the ſuppoſition that Dr. Shaw had concerted, in general, his ſermon with the Protector or his friends, and yet have choſen himſelf the particular topics, and choſen them very abſurdly, will make any apparent inconſiſtency immediately vaniſh. This appears, indeed, to have been the caſe, by the diſgrace into which he was afterwards involved, and by the Protector's neglect of him. Fabian, who then reſided in London, and was perhaps preſent at the time this celebrated ſermon was preached, ſays—" It was to the " great abucion of all the audience, except ſuch " as favoured the matter, which were few in num- " ber, if the truth or plainneſs might have been " ſhewed."

As this project appeared not to have promoted the deſired effect, a new expedient was deviſed to render the people favourable to the elevation of Glouceſter. On the Tueſday following, June 24, the Mayor, who was brother to Dr. Shaw, and wholly devoted to the will of the Protector, called an aſſembly of the aldermen and citizens at Guildhall; from the huſtings whereof the Duke of Buckingham, who poſſeſſed ſome oratorical powers, made an elegant harangue on the illegitimacy of Edward's children, and on Glouceſter's title to the throne; and expatiated with peculiar energy on the numerous virtues of which he pretended that Prince was poſſeſſed. His eloquence is ſaid to have excited the admiration of his audience, though his arguments were not able to enforce conviction: for, inſtead of the applauſe which he expected to incur, a gloomy ſilence prevailed throughout the crowd; and it was not without great difficulty that ſome few of the lower claſs were prevailed on to toſs up their caps, and exclaim—" Long live King Ri- " chard!" This faint and partial exclamation, however, was received by the Duke as the unanimous conſent of the citizens of London to the validity of Glouceſter's pretenſions. He accordingly returned them thanks for their concurrence in the general wiſh, and promiſed them many marks of favour and protection in the future reign: after which, he requeſted the Mayor, Aldermen, and principal citizens, would attend him to the Protector on the following day, in order to prevail on him to accept that crown which was his lawful right, though the Duke expreſſed great apprehenſions that the *exceſſive modeſty* of Glouceſter, and his wonderful *affection to his brother's children*, would induce him to reject the prayer of their petition.

To proceed with the farce, they repaired the next day to Baynard's Caſtle, where the Protector then reſided, and requeſted an audience on matters of great importance. Glouceſter pretended to be alarmed at the ſight of ſuch a concourſe of people, and expreſſed ſome fears as to the ſafety of his perſon. The Duke of Buckingham, however, was ſoon ſuffered to diſpel them, and to inſpire him with ſufficient courage to grant the deſired audience. Being admitted to his preſence, his noble pandar again diſplayed his eloquence, and recapitulated the ſame arguments as he had employed in the city the preceding day; concluding with a declaration, that the people had choſen the Protector for their Sovereign, and beſeeching his Highneſs to take upon him immediately the exerciſe of royal authority. The ſcruples which Buckingham had foretold were made by Glouceſter; but, after ſome little debate, he diſmiſſed them with *hopes* that he might at length be prevailed upon to comply with their wiſhes.

On the morning of Thurſday the twenty-ſixth of June, all the Nobles and Prelates of the Protector's party repaired to Baynard's Caſtle; where this hypocritical ſcene was brought to a concluſion in the following manner, as deſcribed in that account of Glouceſter's acceſſion to the throne which he ſent to the garriſon of Calais, to perſuade them to take an oath of fealty to him, but which they refuſed, becauſe they had before taken an oath to Edward the Fifth—

" They porrected to him a bill of petition, where- " in his ſure and true title was evidently ſhewed and " declared. Whereupon the King's Highnis,"—ſo he now called himſelf—" notably aſſiſted by wel " nere al the Lords Spiritual and Temporall of " this royalme, went the ſame day unto the Palais " at Weſtminſter; and ther, in ſuch roial honour- " able apparrelled, within the Gret Hal ther, toke " poſſeſſion and declared his mind, that the ſame " day he would begin to reyne upon his people; " and from thence rode ſolemnly to the cathedral- " church of London, and was received ther with " proceſſion with gret congratulation and acclama- " tion of al the people in every place."

We

We cannot diſmiſs this reign without a remark on the *Hiſtoric Doubts* of Mr. Walpole concerning Richard the Third, ſome of which we have already had occaſion to combat; and more of them will come under our notice in the two following reigns. Mr. Walpole has been extremely anxious to eſtabliſh the credit and integrity of *Buck*; nor will his anxiety excite ſurprize, when it ſhall be known that from that author—the firſt apologiſt of Richard—he has not only borrowed every one of his *doubts*, but nearly all the *arguments* which he has adduced in ſupport of them. Thus, by dreſſing the language of an ancient writer—if a writer of the laſt century may be dignified with that epithet—in a modern garb, and ſtripping it of it's ſuperfluous embelliſhments, he has acquired a character of originality and invention which is by no means his due. But the integrity of Buck, and even the confidence placed in his integrity by his ſceptical defender, will appear in a proper light, when we conſider that Mr. Walpole himſelf has refuſed to take him for a guide in the relation of many material events. For example: Buck relates that the Duke of Glouceſter, on receiving the news of his brother's death, haſtened from York to London; and, on the road, diſpatched "certaine ſeguall meſſengers to the "young King—who was then at Ludlow Caſtle, "in Wales—to provide for his honourable conduct "to London; where he arrived, not long *after* the "Lord Protector, and was magnificently received, "and lodged in the Biſhop's Pallace. His brother, "the Duke of York, was then with the Queene "mother, in the Pallace at Weſtminſter; who, out "of a pretended motherly care—rather, indeed, her "pollicy—would not let him ſtirre from her to ſee "the King, who had deſired his company; but in-"ſtantly takes ſanctuary with him in the abbey."

Thus the violent ſeizure of the Nobles at Stratford is ſuppreſſed; their impriſonment and execution being afterwards placed ſubſequent to Glouceſter's aſſumption of the Protectorſhip: whereas Mr. Walpole has fixed them at the proper period. Indeed, had he followed Buck's account in that particular, the Queen's endeavours to obtain the regency by force, and her orders to levy an army for that purpoſe, on which he has laid ſuch infinite ſtreſs, muſt have all diſappeared.

Buck, too, here affirms, that the Queen did not retire to ſanctuary till *after* the arrival of Glouceſter; who, he ſays, did not accompany, but *preceded*, the King—aſſertions which Mr. Walpole has been careful not to repeat. The former alſo imputes the Queen's flight to ſanctuary rather to policy than motherly care; while the latter attributes it *to neceſſity*. It is certainly the duty of every writer to rectify the errors and miſrepreſentations of his predeceſſors; but, ſurely, it ill ſuits the man, who undertakes the taſk of correction, to become the eulogiſt of the author he corrects. Whoever has peruſed Buck's Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of Richard with impartial attention, muſt have perceived that he has been more anxious, in the defence of his hero, to diſplay his own learning and reading—ſuch as they were—than to ſearch for truth. Both he and Mr. Walpole have been ſtudious to invalidate the credit of Sir Thomas More, whoſe reputation is fortunately eſtabliſhed on too ſolid a baſis to dread the effects of ſuch impotent attacks. Buck's open and virulent abuſe, indeed, could never be formidable; but that of his ſucceſſor, being half-concealed beneath the ſpecious maſk of candour, was more to be feared, as leſs expoſed to detection. Had that candour really exiſted, and not been aſſumed merely for the purpoſe of obtaining credit, would the author of Hiſtoric Doubts have attributed to Sir Thomas More, as *poſitive aſſertions*, what he only relates as the *rumours* of the times, that he might have an opportunity of taxing "*that* "*great man* with *wilful falſhood?*" But the apologiſt of a bad cauſe is ever betrayed into inconſiſtencies, elſe ſo ingenious a writer as Mr. Walpole would not have affirmed, in enumerating the circumſtances which favoured Richard's pretenſions to the crown, that Clarence having been attainted by act of parliament, "*his children were out of the* "*queſtion*;" when, a few pages farther, he is compelled to own that Clarence, indeed, had been attainted—but ſo had almoſt *every Prince* who had aſpired to the crown after Richard the Second—and therefore the Earl of Warwick, ſon to Clarence, was "*no indifferent rival*" to Richard. The different arguments, however, required ſuch a contradiction; and, unfortunately, in ſceptical inveſtigations, as well hiſtoric as religious, truth is too often ſacrificed to argument.



Published as the Act directs by Harrison & Co. Oct. 3. 1789

RICHARD THE THIRD.

RICHARD, in his attempts to acquire poſſeſſion of the throne, had not truſted entirely to the pretended validity of his title, the rank and number of his accomplices, or the favour of the people: he had brought a formidable body of armed followers with him to London; the Duke of Buckingham, his chief ſupporter, had brought one ſtill greater, and had ſent for more forces from Wales; and an army of five thouſand men had arrived from the north. Theſe troops being united, conſtituted, as the hiſtorian of Croyland aſſerts, "a terrible and "unheard-of number of armed men." Fabian, indeed, ſays, that the ruſty armour and ſhabby accoutrements of the northern forces excited the mirth and deriſion of the citizens of London; but Fabian might have known that many a courageous heart beats beneath a tattered garment, while the tinſelled robe often ſerves as a covering to the boſom of cowardice. Certain it is, that the troops of the north were ever diſtinguiſhed for their valour, which it is not likely could ſuffer diminution from any defect in their dreſs; and theſe, being led by that experienced ruffian, Sir Richard Radcliffe, whoſe ferocious mind was capable of the moſt ſanguinary exertions, were rather to be conſidered as objects of fear than of ridicule, and were conſequently entitled to a due ſhare of the *honour* of this revolution.

Richard was proclaimed King in London on the twenty-ſeventh of June 1483; and on the ſame day he delivered the great-ſeal to the Biſhop of Lincoln, one of the Prelates who had contributed to his elevation. Conſcious of the influence of a coronation on the minds of the people, he determined to have that ceremony performed as ſoon as poſſible; and, while the neceſſary preparations were making, he rewarded ſuch of his adherents as had aſſiſted him in uſurping the crown, and beſtowed favours on others whoſe aſſiſtance he deemed requiſite to ſupport his future government. John Lord Howard was created Duke of Norfolk; Sir Thomas Howard, his ſon, Earl of Surrey; Lord Lovel, a Viſcount, by the ſame name; and even Lord Stanley was liberated from his confinement in the Tower. This laſt nobleman had rendered himſelf obnoxious to Richard by an early oppoſition to his views, and alſo by his marriage with the Counteſs Dowager of Richmond, heireſs of the Somerſet family; but, ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſubmiſſion to the preſent government, he now feigned ſuch ardent zeal for Richard's ſervice, that he was received into favour, and even found means to inſinuate himſelf ſo far into the good graces of that politic and jealous tyrant as to be entruſted by him with the moſt important commands. At length, every thing being prepared, Richard and his conſort, Ann Neville, daughter of the celebrated Earl of Warwick, were crowned at Weſtminſter, with the uſual ſolemnities, on the ſixth of July.

By the coronation-roll of Richard, which is ſtill extant, it appears that certain magnificent robes and accoutrements were iſſued to "Lord Edward, ſon of late King Edward the Fourth," and his attendants; from whence it has been inferred, that that Prince either actually walked, or was intended to walk, at the coronation of his uncle. To us, however, the inference appears far from juſtifiable. This coronation-roll, according to Mr. Walpole—for we have not been able to procure a ſight of it—is "the account of Peter Courteys, keeper of the "great wardrobe, and dates from the day of *King* "*Edward the Fourth his death* to the feaſt of the "Purification in the February of the following "year." Hence it is evident that Peter Courteys muſt have been charged with the preparations for the coronation of *Edward the Fifth*, as well as for that of his uncle Richard; and, as thoſe preparations

tions were commenced immediately after the aſſumption of the Protectorſhip by Glouceſter, and continued till the ſeventeenth of June—for not till that day did Richard throw aſide the maſk of loyalty—is it not more probable that the robes iſſued to Edward were intended for his own coronation, which had been fixed for the twenty-ſecond of June? We incline the more to this belief, as Mr. Walpole aſſures us no mention is made in the roll of any robes for the Duke of York; who, according to the hiſtorian of Croyland, was in the Sanctuary with his mother till the *ſixteenth* of June, the day before that on which Glouceſter firſt began to publiſh his pretenſions to the crown, when no farther orders for the coronation of his nephew could poſſibly be iſſued. It is indeed difficult to conceive that ſo politic a tyrant as Richard, a Prince ſo well acquainted with the various paſſions which influence the human mind, could ever have entertained ſo abſurd an idea as that of augmenting the pomp of his coronation by the dangerous preſence of his nephew. The ſight of a depoſed Monarch walking at the coronation of his ſucceſſor who had depoſed him, and that ſucceſſor an uncle, muſt inevitably have rouzed the feelings of the ſpectators—muſt have inſpired them with compaſſion for the object oppreſſed, and indignation againſt his oppreſſor, ſentiments which Richard was too ſagacious to excite on ſuch an occaſion. But ſhould a ſpirit of ſcepticiſm induce any one to reſiſt theſe powerful conſiderations, and impel a belief that Edward the Fifth did really walk at the coronation of Richard, the teſtimony of Fabian, a contemporary writer, then reſident in London, muſt convince the moſt obſtinate diſbelievers. He tells us, that as ſoon as Richard accepted the ſovereignty, "the Prince, or of right, *King* Edward the Fifth, "with his brother the Duke of York, were put "under ſurer kepynge in the Towre, in ſuch wyſe "that they never came abrode after."

The firſt act of Richard's government, after his coronation, was to ſeize the treaſures which had been amaſſed by Edward the Fourth for defraying the expences of his intended expedition to France; and theſe enabled him to ſecure the friendſhip and attachment of many with whom intereſt was the prevailing principle. He was particularly careful to reward his northern forces, and ſent them home contented with his bounty. To thoſe foreign Potentates whoſe friendſhip he was deſirous of cultivating, he ſent ambaſſadors to announce his acceſſion to the throne. His envoy to the Duke of Brittany was authorized, as appears from Rymer's Fœdera, "to negotiate any buſineſs he thought "proper, even though it were of ſuch a nature as "to require a ſpecial mandate;" by which, it is evident, muſt be meant a ſecret negotiation concerning the Earl of Richmond, whom he was certainly anxious to get into his power. At the ſame time, he appointed Lord Stanley Steward of the Houſehold; and continued to treat his wife, the Counteſs of Richmond, with the greateſt reſpect. But the perſon who, both from the importance of his ſervices and the rank and influence of his family, was beſt entitled to favours under the new government, was the Duke of Buckingham; and Richard, fully aware of his conſequence, ſeemed determined that nothing ſhould be wanting on his part to ſecure him in his intereſt. Buckingham was deſcended from a daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock, Duke of Glouceſter, uncle to Richard the Second; and by this pedigree he was not only allied to the Royal Family, but had claims for dignities, as well as eſtates, of a very extenſive nature. The Duke of Glouceſter, and Henry Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry the Fourth, had married the two daughters and co-heireſſes of Bohun, Earl of Hereford, one of the moſt powerful of the ancient Barons, whoſe immenſe property was by this means divided into two ſhares. One was inherited by the family of Buckingham, the other was united to the crown by the Houſe of Lancaſter; and, after the attainder of that royal line, was ſeized, as legally devolved to them, by the Sovereigns of the Houſe of York. The Duke of Buckingham laid hold of the preſent opportunity, and claimed the reſtitution of that portion of the Hereford eſtate which had eſcheated to the crown, as well as of the great office of Conſtable, which had long continued by inheritance in his anceſtors of that family. Richard readily complied with theſe demands, which were probably the ſtipulated reward to Buckingham for his aſſiſtance in promoting the uſurpation. That nobleman was inveſted with the office of Conſtable; he received a grant of the eſtate of Hereford; many other dignities and honours were conferred upon him; and Richard thought himſelf ſecure of preſerving the fidelity of a man whoſe intereſts appeared to be ſo intimately connected with his own.

Having adopted theſe neceſſary precautions, and placed a guard on the Sanctuary at Weſtminſter, to prevent the eſcape of the Queen and her daughters, he commenced a progreſs through a part of his dominions, accompanied by his conſort, his ſon Edward, and a ſplendid retinue. He firſt directed his courſe to Oxford, where he remained ſome days; during which time, at the particular requeſt of the Univerſity, he releaſed the Biſhop of Ely from his confinement in the Tower, and delivered him into the cuſtody of the Duke of Buckingham. At Glouceſter, Coventry, and the various places through which he paſſed, Richard is ſaid to have exerted every art for the acquiſition of popularity, and to have been ſtudious to raiſe expectations of a mild and equitable reign. The Duke of Buckingham took leave of the King at Glouceſter with every appearance of friendſhip and harmony, and retired to his Caſtle of Brecknock; whither he had before ſent his reverend priſoner, the Biſhop of Ely.

Richard, attached to the city of Glouceſter, as the place from whence he derived his former title, and the inhabitants of which had ever remained faithful to the Houſe of York, reſided there ſome time; and from thence he is ſaid to have ſent his firſt orders for the murder of his nephews. The ſtory is thus told by Sir Thomas More, who gives it as one of the various accounts he had heard of that infamous tranſaction:—Richard ſent one of his pages to Sir Robert Brakenbury, commanding him

to

to aſſaſſinate the two young Princes, Edward the Fifth, and his brother Richard, Duke of York; but that gentleman, poſſeſſing too much honour to participate in the guilt of ſo atrocious an act, refuſed to obey his orders. The tyrant, therefore, ſent Sir James Tyrrel, Maſter of the Horſe, from Warwick—to which place the Court had by that time proceeded—with a commiſſion to take upon him the command of the Tower for one night. This ruffian chuſing two aſſociates, Dighton and Foreſt, came in the night-time to the door of the apartment in which the Princes were lodged; and, ſending in the aſſaſſins, bade them execute the commiſſion, while he himſelf remained without. They found the young Princes in bed, and in a profound ſleep. After ſuffocating them with the bolſter and pillows, they ſhewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the ſtairs, deep in the ground, under a heap of ſtones.

This is the ſubſtance of Sir Thomas More's account, to the veracity of which many objections have been ſtarted by Buck, and his copyiſt, Mr. Walpole; but the only two which, from their plauſibility, merit notice, are the following: Firſt, they aſſert that it is apparent, from the roll of parliament which baſtardized Edward's children, that Edward the Fifth was alive ſeven months after the time aſſigned by More for his murder. The paſſage which has been quoted in ſupport of this aſſertion is this—" Alſo it appeareth that *all* the " iſſue of the ſaid King Edward *be* baſtards, and " unable to claim any thing by inheritance, by the " law and cuſtom of England." The inference drawn from thence is, that if Edward the Fifth had been dead, the act would have run thus—" *Were* " and *be* baſtards:" but the preſent tenſe being alone employed, is, they affirm, a certain proof that the Prince was then alive. But, ſurely, if Richard had murdered his nephews, he would not have been anxious to make it known. By their death, and the confinement of their ſiſters, who were under ſafe guard in the Sanctuary, he had effectually ſecured himſelf from any danger of interruption in the exerciſe of his authority from *them*, at leaſt, and could not poſſibly have acquired any farther advantage from the publication of their death. The aſſaſſins themſelves had the moſt powerful motives to the ſtrict obſervance of ſecreſy: whatever ſuſpicions, therefore, might have been entertained, the fact itſelf could not be publicly known at that time; in which caſe the Parliament muſt inevitably have worded the act as they did; that is to ſay, as if the murdered Princes were actually alive. " But " wherefore, then, ſhould Richard," ſay his apologiſts, " have paſſed that act?" To this we anſwer, that he might be urged to it by two reaſons; viz. more effectually to conceal the death of his nephews, the diſcovery of which, at that period, far from promoting his intereſt, muſt have inevitably created him many new enemies; and, ſecondly, to bar the ſucceſſion of his nieces, whoſe eſcape from the Sanctuary, though not probable, was certainly within the limits of poſſibility. Mr. Walpole, indeed, obſerves, that he could have little reaſon to apprehend *their* claims, as no woman had at that time ever ſat on the Engliſh throne in her own right. But this obſervation is truly frivolous; for he muſt have known that the Houſe of Plantagenet had at firſt derived their title from a female; that the inſidious attempts of Henry the Fourth to introduce the Salic Law into England had been ever ſtrenuouſly rejected by the Parliament; and that the ſucceſſion was equally open to *female* as to male heirs. Philip de Comines, a contemporary, obſerves, " That Richard, having murdered his nephews, " degraded their ſiſters in full Parliament."

The ſecond objection is founded on the following paſſage in the Chronicle of Croyland. The hiſtorian, ſpeaking of Richard's ſecond coronation at York, ſays—" *Interim et dum hæc agerentur re-* " *manſurant duo predicti* Edwardi *regis filii ſub certâ* " *deputatâ cuſtodiâ infra Turrim* Londoniarum." The ſame arguments employed to invalidate the firſt objection, apply with equal force to this. It is not likely that the chronicler of Croyland ſhould be better informed of this myſterious tranſaction than the Parliament. In aſſerting that the unfortunate Princes were *ſub certâ cuſtodiâ*, he was undoubtedly right; and, had he ſaid they were *ſub cuſtodiâ mortis*, there is but too great reaſon to believe he would not have been wrong.

Having anſwered the only objections that are worthy of notice, we muſt now obſerve, that the principal circumſtances of the murder, as related by Sir Thomas More, were, in the following reign, confirmed by the agents themſelves who were employed to perpetrate it; and they were never puniſhed for the crime; which, as a modern hiſtorian has ſagaciouſly remarked, was probably owing to the arbitrary maxims of Henry's government, who deſired to eſtabliſh it as a principle, that the commands of the reigning Sovereign ought to juſtify every enormity in thoſe who paid obedience to them.

There is one circumſtance, however, not ſo eaſy to be accounted for. It is pretended that Richard, diſpleaſed with the indecent manner of burying his nephews, whom he had cauſed to be aſſaſſinated, gave orders to his chaplain to dig up the bodies and remove them to conſecrated ground; and, as the man died ſoon after, the place of their interment remained unknown, and the bodies could never be found by any ſearch which Henry could make for them. Yet, in the reign of Charles the Second, when there was occaſion to remove ſome ſtones, and dig up the place, the bones of two perſons were found in the very ſpot aſſigned by More, Bacon, and other ancient authors, as the burial-place of the young Princes. The bones, by their ſize, exactly correſponded to the age of Edward and his brother; the ſecret and irregular place of their interment not being in conſecrated ground, proves that the boys had been privately murdered; and, in the Tower, no boys but thoſe who are very nearly related to the crown can be expoſed to a violent death. By a compariſon of theſe circumſtances, we ſhall find that the inference is juſt and ſtrong, that they were the bones of Edward the Fifth and his brother, the very

very inference that was drawn at the time of the diſcovery, in conſequence of which they were interred in Henry the Seventh's chapel, beneath a marble monument, by order of King Charles. It has been juſtly obſerved that Richard's chaplain might probably have died before he had an opportunity of executing his maſter's commands; and the bodies being ſuppoſed to be already removed, a diligent ſearch was not made for them by Henry in the place where they had been buried.

Independent of this proof, which appears to eſtabliſh the murder of the two Princes beyond the reach of confutation, the arguments employed at the time by thoſe who were convinced of the fact ſtill preſerve their full force, and are of themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to enforce conviction. It was ſaid—"They have not eſcaped from their uncle, for he "makes no ſearch after them! He has not convey-"ed them elſewhere, for it is his buſineſs to declare "ſo, in order to remove the imputation of murder "from himſelf. They were in his cuſtody! he is "anſwerable for them! if he gives no account of "them, as he has an evident intereſt in their death, "he muſt, by every rule of common-ſenſe, be re-"garded as their murderer. His flagrant uſurpa-"tion, as well as his other treacherous and cruel "actions, afford a ſtrong ſanction to the idea of "his guilt. He could not ſay with Cain, that he "was not his nephew's keeper." This reaſoning, originally irrefragable, daily acquired additional ſtrength by the continued ſilence of Richard, and the general and total ignorance of the place of theſe Princes' abode. Richard's reign laſted about two years after this period, and ſurely he could not have deviſed a more effectual expedient for diſappointing the projects of the Earl of Richmond, as well as for the juſtification of his own character, than the producing of his nephews.

Richard having effected his purpoſe, continued his progreſs to the north, and arrived at York about the end of Auguſt; where, for the gratification of his northern friends, who were firmly attached to his intereſts, he was crowned a ſecond time on the eighth of September by Archbiſhop Rotherham; and on the ſame day he created his ſon Edward, then in the ninth year of his age, Prince of Wales.

But while he was thus ſeeking to acquire the confidence and affections of his ſubjects in the north, his abſence from the metropolis gave an opportunity to ſuch as were diſaffected to his government to form projects for overturning it. No longer awed by the preſence of mercenary troops, the inhabitants of Kent, Eſſex, Suſſex, Hampſhire, Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, Somerſetſhire, Wiltſhire, Berkſhire, and, in ſhort, of almoſt all the ſouthern and weſtern counties, began to expreſs their abhorrence of the late tranſactions, and to enter into confederacies for the deſtruction of that uſurpation which they had tended to eſtabliſh. But the enemy which Richard had the moſt reaſon to dread, was the Duke of Buckingham; who had been the chief inſtrument of his elevation to the throne, and whoſe friendſhip, as we have already ſhewn, he had been ſtudious to preſerve by a profuſion of honours and rewards. The motive of this ſudden change in Buckingham is not poſitively known: ſome hiſtorians have aſcribed it to the King's refuſal of making reſtitution of the Hereford eſtates; but it is evident, from exiſting records, that he paſſed a grant for that purpoſe, and that Buckingham's demands, in this particular, were fully ſatisfied. It is moſt probable that Buckingham's conſciouſneſs of the corruption of his own mind, and his perfect acquaintance with that of Richard, formed the principal motive of his preſent conduct. He muſt have been ſenſible that the extenſive grants he had recently obtained, joined to his own ſplendid inheritance, conferred ſuch an influence as rendered him extremely formidable to the King; and knowing that Richard was not to be reſtrained, by any principles of honour or gratitude, from removing any obſtacles to the free exerciſe of his power—perhaps judging, too, from the line of conduct which he himſelf ſhould be tempted to purſue in a ſimilar predicament—he might conclude that, as ſoon as a favourable opportunity ſhould occur, his deſtruction would be reſolved on. His priſoner, Morton, Biſhop of Ely, a man of conſummate art, and an inveterate enemy to the uſurper, was very likely to encourage theſe ideas in the Duke, if he really entertained them. Be that as it may, it is certain that, ſoon after his arrival at the caſtle of Brecknock, Buckingham formed the deſign of dethroning Richard; and maintained a correſpondence with the numerous malecontents in the ſouth and weſt of England, as to the beſt mode of putting his project in execution.

As it was neceſſary the conſpirators ſhould fix on a ſucceſſor to the Monarch they meant to depoſe, the ſons of Edward the Fourth being dead, they caſt their eyes on Henry, Earl of Richmond, who was ſtill detained in a kind of honourable cuſtody by the Duke of Brittany. In more orderly and peaceable times, no one could have entertained an idea that this nobleman had the ſmalleſt pretenſions to the crown. He was deſcended, by his mother, Margaret, from one of the natural ſons of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, by Catharine Swineford. It is true, indeed, that when the Duke married that lady, he procured the legitimation, by parliament, of the children which he had had by her, during the time of his former marriage; but, in the very act of legitimation, there is an exception of the crown and royal dignity, of which they are declared incapable. Beſides this objection, there were ſeveral Princes and Princeſſes, both in Spain and Portugal, who were legitimate deſcendants of John of Gaunt, by his ſecond wife, Conſtantia, heireſs of Caſtile; but it does not appear that any of them ever entertained thoughts of aſſerting their claim to the crown of England. There were alſo ſeveral Princes and Princeſſes of the Houſe of York, whoſe titles were ſtill more valid; but the Earl of Richmond poſſeſſed ſome advantages which proved ſufficient to overcome his defect of title, and recommended him as the moſt proper perſon to ſet up in oppoſition to the reigning tyrant. The repeated attempts of Edward the Fourth to get Richmond into his power, and the danger to which he had been continually

ſubjected, from the jealouſy of the reigning family of England, had rendered him an object of general favour and compaſſion; and had, perhaps, contributed more than any thing elſe to make the friends of the Houſe of Lancaſter regard him as the only hopes of that fallen family. Certain it is, that he had long been conſidered as ſuch; and, as habit too often proves a ſucceſsful competitor to reaſon, it is not ſurprizing he ſhould now be looked up to as a Prince who was entitled to the crown. But, notwithſtanding theſe favourable circumſtances, Buckingham, and his coadjutor the Biſhop of Ely, were thoroughly aware that many obſtacles would ſtill occur to his elevation; and that, though the nation had been much divided between Henry the Sixth and the Duke of York, while preſent poſſeſſion and hereditary right were oppoſed to each other; yet, as ſoon as theſe titles were united in Edward the Fourth, the majority of the people had acquieſced in the claims of the reigning family; and the Lancaſtrians had conſiderably diminiſhed, both in numbers and authority. It was therefore wiſely ſuggeſted by Morton, and readily aſſented to by the Duke, that the only means of effecting the depoſition of the preſent uſurper, was to unite the oppoſite factions, by contracting a marriage between the Earl of Richmond and the Princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of King Edward; and thereby blending together the oppoſite pretenſions of their family, which had too long been the ſource of public diſorders and convulſions. They were ſenſible that the people, harraſſed by inteſtine commotions. were eager for repoſe; that both Yorkiſts and Lancaſtrians, now equally bending beneath the yoke of oppreſſion, would embrace this ſcheme with ardour; and that the proſpect of reconciling the two parties, whoſe enmity had cauſed ſo great an effuſion of blood, and had ſo long diſtracted the kingdom, would, when united to the general indignation which prevailed againſt the preſent government, render their cauſe invincible. This point being thus ſettled between themſelves, the Biſhop, by means of Reginald Bray, Steward to the Counteſs of Richmond, firſt opened their project to that lady; and the plan appeared ſo advantageous to her ſon, and, at the ſame time, ſo likely to ſucceed, that ſhe did not heſitate in giving her immediate concurrence. Dr. Lewis, a Welſh phyſician, who had acceſs to the Queen-Dowager in the Sanctuary, carried the propoſals to her; and found that indignation againſt the aſſaſſin of her brother and ſons, joined to well-founded apprehenſions for her ſurviving family, and reſentment at her confinement, eaſily overcame all her prejudices againſt the Houſe of Lancaſter; and procured her approbation of a marriage, to which the age and birth, as well as the reſpective ſituations of the parties, ſeemed ſo naturally to invite them. She found means ſecretly to raiſe a ſum of money, which ſhe ſent over to the Earl of Richmond, requiring his oath to celebrate the marriage as ſoon as he ſhould arrive in England; adviſing him to levy as many foreign forces as poſſible; and promiſing to join him, with all the friends and adherents of her family, on his firſt appearance.

The plan being thus founded on the ſolid baſis of good ſenſe and ſound policy, equally calculated to promote the intereſt of the parties immediately concerned, and the good of the community at large, it was ſecretly imparted to the principal perſons of both parties in the different counties of England; and it was received by every order of men with ſuch alacrity, as ſeemed to enſure it the moſt compleat and ſpeedy ſucceſs. But it was impoſſible that a conſpiracy, in which ſo many were neceſſarily engaged, could long be concealed from the jealous and vigilant eye of Richard. Soon after his coronation at York, he received intelligence that ſome plots againſt his government were forming in the ſouth, and that the conſpirators were headed by the Duke of Buckingham. His firſt ſtep was to ſummon the Duke to appear at court, in ſuch terms as ſeemed to promiſe a renewal of their former amity: but that nobleman, being too well acquainted with the barbarity and treachery of Richard to truſt to his profeſſions, replied only by taking up arms in Wales, and giving the ſignal to his accomplices for a general inſurrection in all parts of England. Richard then exerted himſelf with great activity to raiſe forces in the north; and, being joined by the Earl of Northumberland, and other of the northern Barons, with their vaſſals, he directed his march towards Wales, having previouſly diſpatched orders to Sir Thomas Vaughan and his followers to attend to the motions of the Duke of Buckingham, and to break down the bridges on the Severn; promiſing them the plunder of the Caſtle of Brecknock, as a reward for their ſervices.

In the mean time, the ſignal of Buckingham having been ſtrictly attended to, the ſtandard of revolt was hoiſted at the ſame time—on the eighteenth of October—in a variety of places: by the Duke of Buckingham, at Brecknock; by the Marquis of Dorſet, and Sir Edward Courtenay, at Exeter; Sir John Brown, Sir Thomas Lawknor, &c. at Maidſtone; Sir William Norris, and Sir William Berkeley, at Newbury; and by Sir Richard Widville, Sir Richard Beauchamp, and others, at Saliſbury. The King had advanced as far as Grafton, in Northamptonſhire, on the nineteenth of October, ready to direct his march into Wales, or into the weſt of England, as occaſion might require.

Buckingham marched towards the banks of the Severn, in order to paſs that river, and effect a junction with his confederates; which, had it taken place, might probably have proved deciſive in promoting the depoſition of Richard: but, at that very time, there happened to fall ſuch heavy rains, ſo inceſſant and continued, as exceeded any known in the memory of man. This rendered the Severn impaſſable, and cauſed a flood, which laid the whole country under water, and was long remembered by the name of *Buckingham's Flood.* The Welſhmen, partly moved by ſuperſtition at this extraordinary event, partly diſtreſſed by famine in their camp, deſerted their leader, and returned home; ſo that Buckingham was reduced to the neceſſity of concealing himſelf in the houſe of one Banniſter, an old ſervant of his family in the vicinity of Shrewſbury;

bury; having previouſly diſguiſed his perſon, and diſmiſſed his ſervants.

The news of this ſingular incident being brought to Richard, who was then at Leiceſter, he immediately iſſued a proclamation, dated October the twenty-third, offering a free pardon to all the common people who ſhould deſert their leaders; and promiſing great rewards to any one who ſhould apprehend the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Dorſet, the Biſhops of Ely and Saliſbury, and ſeveral knights and gentlemen therein named. The reward offered for the Duke was one thouſand pounds in money, or one hundred pounds a year in land; for the Marquis, and each of the Prelates, one thouſand marks in money, or one hundred marks a year in land; and for each of the Knights, one half of that ſum. In this curious proclamation, which may be ſeen in Rymer's Fœdera, Richard, the immaculate Richard—who had two natural children of his own--exclaims with great virulence againſt the crime of whoredom; of which, he ſays, his enemies were notoriouſly guilty, particularly the Marquis of Dorſet, "who, to the perille of his "ſoule, hath many and ſundry maydes, wydowes, "and wifes, dampnably and without ſhame de-"voured, deflowred, and defouled; holding the un-"ſhampful and myſchivous woman, called Shore's "Wife, in adultry."

The lady here alluded to was the celebrated Jane Shore; who, in conſequence of this proclamation, did public penance, in a white ſheet, at St. Paul's. This unfortunate beauty was born of reſpectable parents in London, had received a good education, and was married to a reputable and ſubſtantial citizen; but, unhappily, her parents had been guided more by ſordid and intereſted views in forming the match, than by the inclinations of her whoſe happineſs ought to have been the primary object of conſideration. Hence the ties of duty, wanting the requiſite cement of affection, were more eaſy to be diſſolved; and the allurements of Edward the Fourth, who ſolicited her favours, proved irreſiſtible. But, though the beauteous Jane had ſacrificed her chaſtity at the tempting ſhrine of Royalty, ſhe poſſeſſed the ſingular felicity of commanding reſpect by her other numerous virtues; and the extenſive influence which her perſonal charms, and the pleaſing endowments of her mind, enabled her long to maintain over her ſeducer, was conſtantly exerted in acts of beneficence and humanity. She was ever ſtrenuous in her oppoſition to calumny; watchful to afford relief to the indigent, and protection to the oppreſſed; and, as her conduct was influenced by the genuine dictates of Nature, unchecked by the frigid counſels of Experience, uncorrupted by courtly connections, it required not the ſtimulation of preſents, nor the hopes of reciprocal ſervices. But ſhe lived not only to feel the bitterneſs of ſhame impoſed on her by this tyrant, but to experience, in old age and poverty, the contemptuous neglect of thoſe courtiers who had long baſked in the ſunſhine of her favours, and had received from her protection a degree of importance which their adulation and obſequiouſneſs alone could never have obtained. Not one among the multitudes whom ſhe had obliged, was poſſeſſed of ſufficient humanity to afford her conſolation or relief in the hour of diſtreſs: ſhe was ſuffered to languiſh out a miſerable exiſtence in penury and ſolitude; and, in a court inured to crimes the moſt atrocious, the frailty of this unfortunate woman, though palliated by a thouſand virtues, was baſely deemed an ample juſtification of the ingratitude of thoſe who, in the hour of her proſperity, had not been aſhamed to own her for protectreſs.

The proclamation iſſued by Richard was attended with conſiderable effect; but the greateſt advantage he derived from it was the apprehenſion of his principal enemy, the Duke of Buckingham. The perfidious Baniſter, tempted by the greatneſs of the reward, betrayed his unfortunate gueſt to John Mitton, Sheriff of Shropſhire, who ſecured and conducted him to the King at Saliſbury, where he ſuffered decapitation, on the firſt of November. The other conſpirators, allured by the promiſe of pardon, and diſcouraged by the death of Buckingham, deſerted their ſtandards, and compelled their leaders to conſult their own ſafety by flight. The Marquis of Dorſet, the Biſhops of Ely and Exeter, and many of inferior rank, eſcaped to the continent; others took ſhelter in ſanctuaries, and not a few concealed themſelves in different parts of the country. Thus, by the mere effect of accident, was terminated this formidable inſurrection in a few days, and without a ſingle engagement.

The Earl of Richmond, in the mean time, having collected a body of forces, had ſet ſail from St. Malo's on the twelfth of October: but, his fleet being driven back by a ſtorm, he did not make his appearance on the Engliſh coaſt till after the diſperſion of his friends; when he found himſelf obliged to abandon his enterprize, and return to the court of Brittany.

Richard, after the execution of Buckingham, left Saliſbury with his army, on the ſecond of November, and advanced to Exeter, in order, by his preſence, to reduce the inhabitants of the weſt to ſubmiſſion, and to inflict puniſhment on ſome of the principal inſurgents. Among theſe was Sir Thomas St. Leger, his own brother-in-law; who, with ſeveral others, was executed at Exeter, notwithſtanding the urgent ſolicitations which had been made in his favour, accompanied by the offer to purchaſe his life with a very conſiderable ſum. The number of executions, however, does not appear to have been very great. Richard was probably reſtrained from the gratification of his ſanguinary diſpoſition by motives of policy: the barbarous inhumanity of his paſt conduct had evidently created him numerous enemies, and had, perhaps, proved one of the chief incitements to the preſent inſurrection; it was his intereſt, therefore, to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects by exertions of lenity, and not to inflame their minds by farther acts of ſeverity.

The King, having now reſtored his dominions to tranquillity, returned to the metropolis; and, conſcious of the extent of his preſent influence, ventured to ſummon a parliament: a meaſure which his

his crimes and flagrant uſurpation had hitherto induced him to decline. This aſſembly accordingly met on the twentieth of January 1484, and enacted many popular and ſalutary laws; but their obſequiouſneſs to the tyrant, who had convened them to favour his political views, and to ſquare their conduct by the tenour of his dictates, evidently demonſtrates that they were entirely devoted to his will. The petition which had been preſented to him on his aſſumption of the ſovereign authority, was now converted into an act of parliament; his right to the crown was formally recognized; the marriage of Edward the Fourth with Lady Elizabeth Grey was annulled; and all their children were declared baſtards. The aſſertion of a contemporary hiſtorian on this memorable tranſaction will obtain eaſy credit—"Many of the members," ſays he, "were influenced by fear to give their conſent to "that act." All perſons of any conſequence, who had been concerned in the late revolt, were attainted, and their eſtates confiſcated; by which means Richard obtained a very conſiderable acceſſion of power and wealth.

We are told by the author of the Chronicle of Croyland, that one day in the month of February, during this ſeſſion of Parliament, Richard aſſembled all the members of both Houſes in a private apartment of his palace, and there produced to them, in manuſcript, the form of an oath to ſupport the ſucceſſion of his ſon, Edward Prince of Wales, to the crown; which, either by perſuaſion or compulſion, he engaged them all both to ſwear to and ſubſcribe.

There cannot be a ſtronger proof that the Parliament was wholly influenced by Richard in their diſcuſſions, than their cruel and unjuſt reſolution to deprive the Queen-Dowager of all the eſtates which had been ſettled upon her by Edward the Fourth, and which had received the ſolemn ſanction of the legiſlature. That unhappy Princeſs, thus reduced to poverty, and baſely ſtigmatized, ſeeing no proſpect of relief, and dreading an accumulation of miſery, began to lend a leſs reluctant ear to the perſuaſions of Richard, who had long been anxious to entice her and her daughters from the Sanctuary. In order to induce her compliance by lulling her fears, he publicly took a ſolemn oath, on the firſt of March, in the Houſe of Peers, "That, if ſhe "would come to him out of the Sanctuary at Weſt-"minſter, he would provide for her and for her "daughters as his kinſwomen, and *they ſhould be* "*in no danger of their lives*; and that he would "allow her ſeven hundred marks a year, and her "daughters two hundred marks a piece for their "portions in marriage, and would take care to "marry them to gentlemen."

The circumſtance of Richard having thus voluntarily ſubmitted to publiſh to the world the ſuſpicions entertained of his integrity, and to take an oath that he would not *murder* his nieces, the innocence of whoſe conduct not the moſt deſperate of his partizans had dared to call in queſtion—an oath which gave juſt grounds to believe that the dread of ſuch an event was not wholly unfounded—affords ſtrong preſumption that he was impelled to the adoption of this diſgraceful meaſure by ſome very potent conſideration. It is highly probable that his project of marrying the Princeſs Elizabeth was already conceived; and the pitiful proviſion which he made for her, as well as for her ſiſters and mother, might be intended as a foil to render his ſubſequent offers more ſplendid and alluring. The Queen-Dowager, tired of her confinement, and ſeeing no proſpect of ſucceſs from her former deſigns, was induced to accept the humiliating terms now offered her by Richard; and to truſt her own ſafety, and that of her daughters, to the ſecurity of his oath.

After the diſſolution of the Parliament, the King made another tour to the north; during which he received intelligence of the death of his ſon, who, after a ſhort illneſs, expired at Middleham Caſtle, on the ninth of April 1484. His ſorrow on this occaſion is ſaid to have been exceſſive: but he was ſoon rouzed from it's indulgence by advices from his ambaſſador at the court of Brittany; who informed him that the Earl of Richmond, in conjunction with the Engliſh exiles, was meditating a ſecond attempt againſt his government. To prevent the ſucceſs of their ſchemes, he immediately directed his ambaſſador to renew the negotiations with the Duke of Brittany for the ſurrender of Richmond: but the Duke's health having been viſibly declining for ſome time, and his intellects greatly impaired, his favourite Miniſter, Peter Landois, was entruſted with the adminiſtration of affairs. To him, therefore, the ambaſſador addreſſed himſelf; and, by offers ſuited to the importance of the ſervice, ſoon overcame his integrity, and induced him to comply with the King's requeſt. The negotiation, however, had not been conducted with ſuch ſecrecy, but that the Biſhop of Ely was adviſed of it; and that Prelate, having warned Richmond of the impending danger, the Earl effected his eſcape to Paris, where he was ſoon joined by his friends. The fugitives experienced a favourable reception from Madame de Beaujeu—who had the chief direction of the government during the minority of her brother, Charles the Eighth—and were encouraged to hope for aſſiſtance.

Richard, in the mean time, prudently determined to prepare for the worſt that could happen; and accordingly put his kingdom in the beſt poſſible ſtate of defence. To ſecure the attachment of the Yorkiſts, he declared his nephew, John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, eldeſt ſon of his ſiſter Elizabeth, by John Duke of Suffolk, his heir and ſucceſſor. That he might have nothing to fear from Scotland, he concluded a truce with James the Third for three years from the twenty-firſt of September; and, at the ſame time, a marriage was agreed on between the Prince of Scotland and his niece, Lady Anne, ſiſter to the Earl of Lincoln. He employed numerous ſpies on the continent, to acquaint him with the motions of his enemies; he poſted couriers in every part of England, at convenient diſtances, to bring him daily intelligence of any commotion in the country, or appearance of an enemy on the coaſt;

coaſt; and he equipped a fleet to guard the ſeas. To augment the zeal of his northern friends, on whoſe fidelity and attachment he chiefly relied for ſupport, he granted them many of the forfeited eſtates in the ſouthern counties; to which they immediately repaired, and acted as ſpies on their diſaffected neighbours.

Having adopted theſe prudent precautions, he returned to his capital on the twenty-ninth of September, and celebrated the feaſt of Chriſtmas at Weſtminſter with extraordinary magnificence. But, during it's celebration, he received intelligence from one of his continental ſpies, that the Earl of Richmond would certainly invade England before the concluſion of the enſuing ſummer. This news, however, far from diſconcerting him, afforded him great apparent ſatisfaction; as it would, he ſaid, give him an opportunity of totally exterminating his enemies. But, on enquiry, he found his treaſury ſo much exhauſted, that he had not wherewith to raiſe an army ſufficiently ſtrong to reſiſt an invaſion; for he had expended very conſiderable ſums, during the late inſurrection, as well in preparations to oppoſe the inſurgents as in bribes to ſecure the fidelity of thoſe whoſe attachment appeared to be wavering. To repleniſh, therefore, his empty coffers, he had recourſe to the unpopular mode of raiſing money by *Benevolence*, which had been expreſsly condemned by the laſt Parliament, who enacted a law to aboliſh it. Nor was this deſperate meaſure leſs repugnant to prudence than to law, eſpecially as the perſons employed in levying this oppreſſive contribution, exerted their authority in a very tyrannical manner, which greatly diminiſhed the popularity of Richard in ſuch parts of the kingdom as were moſt attached to his intereſts, and increaſed the odium which obtained againſt him in others.

On the ſixteenth of March 1485, Richard loſt his conſort, whoſe health is ſaid to have gradually declined from the death of her ſon. Though many of our hiſtorians have openly accuſed him of ſhortening the period of her exiſtence by various means, no convincive reaſons have been adduced in ſupport of the accuſation: both his preceding and ſubſequent conduct, indeed, afford a ſtrong ſanction to the idea; but it is inconſiſtent with the duty of an hiſtorian to convict on evidence *merely* preſumptive. Aware of the intended union of the rival families by the marriage of Richmond with Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward the Fourth, and conſcious that the Earl's chief hopes of ſupport were founded on that alliance, Richard, being now a widower, reſolved to fruſtrate the deſigns of his rival by marrying Elizabeth himſelf. What means were employed to obtain the Queen-Dowager's conſent to this inceſtuous connection, it is difficult to conjecture, unleſs we ſuppoſe that her ignorance of Richmond's abilities to dethrone his rival tended to perſuade her to it. Be that as it may, both ſhe and the young Princeſs conſented to the unnatural alliance; and the Queen actually wrote to her ſon, the Marquis of Dorſet, who was then in France, entreating him to forſake Richmond, and to return to England, that he might receive the honours which Richard had promiſed to confer on him.

The news of this intended marriage greatly alarmed the Earl of Richmond, and induced him to haſten his preparations for the invaſion of England. He had been recently joined by John de Vere, the gallant Earl of Oxford, who had been confined twelve years in the Caſtle of Hammes, in Picardy; as alſo by Sir James Blount, Governor of that fortreſs; Sir John Forteſcue, and many other Engliſh; who, with the exiles already with him, and about two thouſand French adventurers, compoſed an army of three thouſand men. With this ſmall force Richmond ſailed from the port of Harfleur, in Normandy, on the firſt of Auguſt; and on the ſeventh landed at Milford Haven. He directed his courſe to that part of the kingdom, in hopes that the Welſh, who regarded him as their countryman, and who had been already prepoſſeſſed in favour of his cauſe by means of the late Duke of Buckingham, would join his ſtandard, and enable him to overthrow the eſtabliſhed government.

Though Richard had been apprized of his rival's intentions, not knowing in what part of his dominions he deſigned to land, he was at a loſs whither to direct his principal force. His mind was alſo harraſſed by ſuſpicions of the fidelity of thoſe who pretended to entertain the greateſt friendſhip for him: Lord Stanley, and his brother Sir William, in particular, were objects of his jealous apprehenſion, as their connections with the family of Richmond, notwithſtanding their profeſſions of attachment to his perſon, were never wholly forgotten nor overlooked by him. When he empowered Lord Stanley to levy forces, he ſtill retained his eldeſt ſon, Lord Strange, as a pledge for his fidelity; and that nobleman was, on this account, obliged to employ great caution and reſerve in his proceedings. Richard, having diſpatched his chief confident, Lord Lovel, to Southampton, to take the command of the fleet, took his ſtation at Nottingham; from whence he iſſued proclamations, commanding all his ſubjects to join his ſtandard without delay, and threatening deſtruction to ſuch as ſhould dare to diſobey his commands. Here it was that he firſt received the news of Richmond's deſcent; and, finding the number of his forces was inconſiderable, he contented himſelf with ſending orders to Sir Walter Herbert and Rice App Thomas, two powerful chieftains in Wales, to aſſemble their followers, and expel the invader from the kingdom. He was ſoon taught, however, that this contempt of his enemies was groſsly miſplaced. He next ſent his commands to Lord Stanley to join him immediately with the troops he had collected; but that nobleman requeſted a ſhort delay, under pretence of a ſudden indiſpoſition. Meanwhile, Stanley's ſon, Lord Strange, attempting to eſcape from court, was purſued and brought back; when, in order to ſave his life, he diſcovered his father's intentions to join the Earl of Richmond; and, at the ſame time, undertook to make him

change his deſign, and join his forces to thoſe of Richard.

As ſoon as the Earl of Richmond had landed, he diſpatched meſſengers to his friends, to requeſt they would immediately collect their followers, and haſten to join him; and, having refreſhed his troops, he marched to Haverford-Weſt, and from thence to Pembroke and Cardigan, where the inhabitants received him with every demonſtration of joy; and ſome of them enliſted in his ſervice, under the conduct of two Welſh chieftains, Richard Griffith and Richard App Thomas. Though he had not hitherto received any great acceſſion of ſtrength, he had experienced no oppoſition: but he was now informed that Sir Walter Herbert and Rice App Thomas, in compliance with the orders of Richard, had aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces, and were waiting at Cardigan with a full determination to obſtruct his progreſs. He found means, however, to detach the latter from the intereſt of his enemies, by a promiſe of the government of Wales; and Herbert was ſo much diſcouraged by the deſertion of his colleague, that he ſuffered him to paſs without any moleſtation. The Earl then proceeded on his march to Newport, in Shropſhire; where he was joined by Sir Gilbert Talbot, at the head of two thouſand men, the vaſſals and retainers of his nephew, the young Earl of Shrewſbury. As he continued to advance, he daily received ſome reinforcement from his partizans: amongſt others, Sir Thomas Bouchier, and Sir Walter Hungerford, brought their friends to ſhare his fortunes; and the appearance of men of diſtinction in his camp already began to give a favourable aſpect to his cauſe. At Stafford, he had a private interview with Sir William Stanley, who had raiſed two thouſand men; when the future motions of that gentleman, and his brother Lord Stanley, were ſo planned, that Richard ſhould be induced to believe it was their intention to join him, though they would have it in their power to form a junction with Richmond whenever their aſſiſtance ſhould be moſt requiſite. In conſequence of theſe arrangements, Lord Stanley, who was at Litchfield with five thouſand men, evacuated that place on the approach of Richmond, and retired to Atherſtone; by which manœuvre he convinced the King that his profeſſions of loyalty were ſincere.

When Richard was informed of the defection of Rice App Thomas, and the inactivity of Herbert, he began to fear that the invaſion might prove more formidable than he had at firſt apprehended; he determined, therefore, to bring Richmond to action, before any farther acceſſion of ſtrength ſhould give him a ſuperiority of numbers. With this view he marched from Nottingham to Leiceſter, with an army of fifteen thouſand men; and, on Sunday the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, he advanced to the Abbey of Merival, in the vicinity of Boſworth.

The Earl of Richmond encamped the ſame evening ſo near the Royaliſts, that ſeveral of them deſerted to him in the night; and, on the following morning, Monday the twenty-third of Auguſt 1485, the two armies were drawn up in order of battle, to decide this important diſpute by that final arbiter of Princes, the ſword. The van of Richmond's army, conſiſting of archers, was commanded by the Earl of Oxford; Sir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing, Sir John Savage the left; and Richmond, accompanied by his uncle, the Earl of Pembroke, placed himſelf in the main body. Richard alſo took poſt in the main body of the Royaliſts, and entruſted the command of his van to the Duke of Norfolk. His wings not having partaken of the action, the names of their leaders have not been noticed in hiſtory. Soon after the battle began, Lord Stanley and his brother, who had placed themſelves oppoſite to each other in two pieces of ground which fronted the interval between the two armies, declared for the Earl of Richmond, and joined him with their followers, to the amount of ſeven thouſand. Still, however, Richard's army was ſuperior to that of his competitor; but this circumſtance, which was unexpected to the men, though not to their leaders, threw them into diſmay and confuſion; while it inſpired the ſoldiers of Richmond with unuſual courage. Richard, ſenſible of his deſperate ſituation, caſt his eyes around him; and, deſcrying his rival at no great diſtance, reſolved to attack him, in the hope that either his own death, or that of Richmond, would decide the conteſt: he accordingly rode furiouſly towards him, attended by a few of his braveſt followers. He killed with his own hand Sir William Brandon, ſtandard-bearer to the Earl; he unhorſed Sir John Cheyney; and, having cut his way through every obſtacle, was now within reach of Richmond himſelf, who neither courted nor declined the combat: when Sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, ſurrounded Richard; who, exerting the moſt deſperate courage to the laſt, was overpowered by numbers, and periſhed by a fate too mild and honourable for his many and enormous crimes. His death decided the victory, as his troops immediately betook themſelves to flight.

Though this battle was compleatly deciſive, it was neither long nor bloody. The accounts vary as to the number of men ſlain on the part of the vanquiſhed; but the moſt probable make it amount to one thouſand: among whom were Lord Ferrers, of Chartley; Sir Richard Ratcliffe; Sir Robert Piercy; Sir Robert Brackenbury; and the Duke of Norfolk, who had been warned of his danger, on the morning of the action, by the following diſtich—

> "John of Norfolk, be not too bold;
> "For Dicken, thy maſter, is bought and ſold."

Alluding, moſt probably, to the plan concerted between Richmond and Lord Stanley. The loſs on the ſide of the victors was inconſiderable. Sir William Cateſby, the wicked confident of a wicked Sovereign, was taken; and ſoon after beheaded, with ſome others, at Leiceſter. The body of Richard was found in the field, all beſmeared with blood, and covered with the breathleſs victims of his valour: it was ſtripped naked, thrown careleſsly acroſs a horſe behind one of the heralds, and carried

ried to Leiceſter, amidſt the ſhouts of the ſpectators; where, after it had been expoſed to public inſpection for ſome days, it was interred, without ceremony, in the church of the Grey Friars.

Richard was ſlain in the thirty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of two years and about two months.

The predominant feature in the character of Richard was ambition; and to that ruling paſſion was every faculty of his mind rendered wholly ſubſervient. The perſuaſive powers of his eloquence, which are repreſented as almoſt irreſiſtible, joined to the more inſidious arts of diſſimulation, which he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, chiefly contributed to promote it's gratification. The execution of thoſe flagitious deſigns which he founded on that deſperate baſis was never impeded by any principles of honour or humanity: deeply cunning, and impenetrably ſecret, he ruſhed impetuouſly forward to the goal of his deſires through treachery, treaſon, and murder. Yet this is the man who has been repreſented, by a modern ſceptic, not only as a meek and gentle, but as a *great* Prince! It is true, indeed, that he poſſeſſed ſufficient penetration to diſcover the advantages to be derived from good and ſalutary laws, even by an uſurper; but, though ſome of that deſcription were paſſed during his reign, he did not ſcruple to violate them the moment they thwarted his intereſt.

The perſon of this Prince has been generally repreſented as a diſguſting object of deformity; but it appears, from the teſtimony of thoſe who knew him perſonally—the Counteſs of Deſmond, and John Rous—that his figure was far from bad; though his ſtature was low, his face ſhort, and his right ſhoulder rather more elevated than the left.

Richard the Third was the laſt Monarch of the Anjevin race, ſurnamed Plantagenet, which had poſſeſſed the crown of England for the ſpace of three hundred and thirty years. He left one natural ſon, a minor; whom he had appointed Governor of Calais, Guiſnes, and all the marches of Picardy, in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

The deſtructive tumults of war, the deſolating ſcenes of civil commotion, muſt ever prove unfavourable to the advancement of the Arts, or the progreſs of Science. When the attention of men is chiefly occupied by conſiderations of perſonal ſafety, the inventive faculties of the mind are neceſſarily damped, and little inclination is experienced to the purſuit of leſs important ſtudies. Of this acknowledged truth England exhibits a ſtriking example in the period we have been delineating. Though it immediately preceded the revival of learning, and the foundation of ſcience had been previouſly laid, an univerſal darkneſs prevailed, almoſt equal to the obſcurity of thoſe early periods when the natives had recently emerged from a ſtate of barbariſm.

Independent of this primary cauſe, there were other material impediments to the progreſs of ſcience. Fame and emolument conſtitute the principal motives to ſtudy; and at this period learning was held in ſuch little eſtimation, that, far from leading it's profeſſors to the attainment of honours or rewards, it not only rendered them objects of neglect, but frequently of contempt and deriſion. Even in the Church, where literary talents had ſeldom failed to experience encouragement, they were now unable to meet with preferment. This occaſioned the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge to make frequent complaints to Parliament; in ſome of which they aſſerted, that all the moſt valuable benefices were beſtowed, by virtue of papal proviſions, on illiterate men and foreigners, by which private patrons were deprived of their rights, and the beſt ſcholars in the kingdom were left to paſs their days in indigence and obſcurity, and were ſometimes even driven to the neceſſity of begging their bread from door to door, with recommendations to the notice of the charitable from the Chancellors of the univerſities in which they had ſtudied. Two of theſe learned mendicants, we are told by Wood, in his Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Oxford, came to the caſtle of a certain nobleman; who, underſtanding from their credentials that they were endued with a poetical genius, commanded his ſervants to conduct them to a well; and, placing one of them in each of the buckets, let them down alternately into the water, till each ſhould have made a couplet of verſes on the bucket he occupied. When they had amuſed the Baron and his company for ſome time with this curious diſcipline, they were liberated, having firſt fulfilled the conditions of their releaſe.

The great ſcarcity, and conſequent high price of books, formed another obſtruction to the purſuit of learning. Libraries, however ſmall, were in this period objects of ſuch magnitude, as only to be procured by Kings, Princes, Prelates, Univerſities, and Religious Houſes; and thoſe of the moſt powerful Potentates were inferior to the modern libraries of private collectors. The royal library of France, collected by three different Kings, Charles the Fifth, the Sixth, and the Seventh, conſiſted of only nine hundred volumes: it was purchaſed by the Duke of Bedford, in the year 1425, for twelve hundred livres. Even ſo late as the year 1471, when Lewis the Eleventh borrowed the works of Raſis, the Arabian phyſician, from the Faculty of Medicine in Paris, he not only depoſited in pledge a conſiderable quantity of plate, but was obliged to procure a nobleman to join with him as ſurety in a deed, binding himſelf, under a great forfeiture, to reſtore it.

The royal libraries of England were ſtill worſe ſupplied than thoſe of France. Henry the Fifth, who was fond of reading, was frequently reduced to the neceſſity of borrowing books, which were claimed by the owners after his death. The Counteſs of Weſtmoreland preſented a petition to the Privy-Council, in the year 1424, repreſenting, that the late King had borrowed a book from her, containing the Chronicles of Jeruſalem, and the Expedition of Godfrey of Boulogne; and praying that an order

order might be iſſued, under the Great Seal, for the reſtoration of the ſaid book: which order was accordingly granted with great formality. About the ſame time, John, the Prior of Chriſt Church, Canterbury, preſented a ſimilar petition to the Privy-Council, ſetting forth, that the late King had borrowed from his priory a volume containing the works of St. Gregory, which he had never returned; but that, in his will, he had left directions to reſtore it; notwithſtanding which, the Prior of Shine, in whoſe poſſeſſion the book was, refuſed to give it up. The Council, after mature deliberation, commanded a precept, under the Privy Seal, to be ſent to the Prior of Shine, requiring him to reſtore the book, or to appear before the Council, and give the reaſons of his refuſal. From theſe facts it is apparent that ſtudents muſt have been at a great loſs for materials to enable them to purſue their ſtudies with advantage. The admirable art of printing was indeed invented in the courſe of this period; and, before the concluſion of it, introduced into England; but it was ſome time before it became ſufficiently practiſed to cauſe any conſiderable increaſe of books, or diminution of their price.

The little ſtudy which prevailed at this time was alſo groſsly perverted. Inſtead of being directed to objects of utility, it was employed in the occult ſciences of aſtrology and alchymy: the latter, which pretended to ſupply a remedy for all diſeaſes, and to tranſubſtantiate the baſer metals into the pureſt gold and ſilver, received greater encouragement from government, during a part of the preſent period, than any art or ſcience whatever. In the reign of Henry the Sixth, many protections were given to different alchymiſts, as well to ſecure them from the penalty of an act of parliament paſſed in the year 1403, as to defend them from the fury of the people, who believed that they were aſſiſted in their operations by infernal ſpirits. As theſe royal protections contained the ſentiments of the King and his miniſters on this curious ſubject, we inſert the following tranſlation of the moſt eſſential part of one of them. "Ancient ſages and philoſophers the "moſt renowned have taught in their books and "writings, under figures and emblems, that many "ſalutary and moſt excellent medicines may be "extracted from wine, precious ſtones, oils, vegetables, animals, metals and ſemi-metals; and "particularly a certain moſt precious medicine, "which ſome philoſophers have named the Mother "and Queen of Medicines: ſome, the Ineſtimable "Glory; others, the Quinteſſence; others, the Philoſopher's Stone; and others, the Elixir of Life. "The virtue of this medicine is ſo admirable and "efficacious, that it cures all curable diſeaſes with "facility, prolongs human life to it's utmoſt term, "and miraculouſly preſerves man in health and "ſtrength of body, and in the full poſſeſſion of his "memory, and of all the other powers and faculties of his mind. It heals all curable wounds "without difficulty; is a ſovereign antidote againſt "all poiſons; and is capable of procuring to us, "and our kingdom, other great advantages, ſuch "as the tranſmutation of other metals into real and "fine gold and ſilver.

"We frequently revolve in our minds, by long "and ſerious meditation, how delectable and pro-"fitable it would be to us and our dominions, if this "precious medicine could be diſcovered, through "God's bleſſing on the labours of learned men; "and alſo how that few or none, in former times, "have attained to the true method of making this "moſt glorious medicine, partly owing to the diffi-"culties attending the operation, but chiefly be-"cauſe the moſt learned men have been, and ſtill "continue to be, diſcouraged and deterred from "the undertaking, by the fear of incurring the pe-"nalties of a certain law made in the reign of our "grandfather Henry the Fourth againſt alchymiſts.

"Wherefore it appears right and expedient to us "to provide, ſelect, and appoint certain ingenious "men, ſufficiently ſkilled in the natural ſciences, "well inclined and diſpoſed to attempt the diſco-"very of the aforeſaid medicine, who fear God, "love truth, and hate all deceitful, fallacious, me-"tallic tinctures: and, by our authority and royal "prerogative, to make adequate proviſion for the "quiet, ſafety, and indemnity of theſe men, that "they may not be diſturbed or injured in their per-"ſons or goods, either during the purſuit of this "work, or after the completion of their labours.

"We, therefore, confiding in the fidelity, cir-"cumſpection, deep learning, and extraordinary "ſkill, of theſe celebrated men, John Fauceby, "John Kirkeby, and John Rayny, elect, aſſign, "nominate and licenſe, all and each of them, and "of our certain knowledge, and by our authority "and royal prerogative, we, by theſe preſents, "grant to all and each of them, liberty, warrant, "power and authority, to examine, inveſtigate, "commence, proſecute and perfect, the aforeſaid "medicine, according to their own diſcretion, and "the precepts of ancient ſages: as alſo to tranſub-"ſtantiate other metals into true gold and ſilver; "the above ſtatute, or any other ſtatute to the con-"trary, notwithſtanding. Farther, we hereby take "the ſaid John, John and John, with all their ſer-"vants and aſſiſtants, under our ſpecial tuition and "protection."

This curious commiſſion received the confirmation of the Parliament on the thirty-firſt day of May 1456.

It will eaſily be conceived, when learning was ſo little attended to by perſons of rank, and by thoſe whoſe profeſſions ſhould have induced them to cultivate it, that the lower claſs of people were wholly illiterate. It was not, indeed, till the reign of Henry the Fourth, that villains, farmers, and mechanics, were permitted by law to ſend their children to ſchool; nor, till long after that time, were they allowed to educate a ſon for the church without a ſpecial licence from their lord.

But the diſcouragement of learning did not prevent the increaſe of ſcholaſtic ſeminaries: an addition of three colleges was made to each of the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge during this period.

period. At Oxford, Lincoln College was founded by Richard Fleming, Biſhop of Lincoln, in the year 1430, for a rector and ſeven ſcholars; who were to make controverſial divinity their particular ſtudy, that they might be enabled to defend the church againſt the attacks of the Lollards, as well by their writings as diſputations. The Biſhop's death occurring ſoon after the foundation of the college, it was left in a very imperfect ſtate: but the buildings were continued, and ſeveral fellowſhips added by ſucceſſive benefactors; and at length the whole was compleated, about the year 1475, by Thomas Scot, of Rotherham, Biſhop of Lincoln.

In 1437, the College of All Souls was founded by Henry Chicheley, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for a warden and forty fellows; who were ordered to offer up inceſſant prayers for the ſouls of thoſe who had fallen in the French wars, and for thoſe of all the faithful departed, whence it was called *Collegium Omnium Animarum*—the College of All Souls. The Primate expended four thouſand five hundred and forty-five pounds on the fabric, and procured the ſettlement of conſiderable revenues upon it out of the lands of the alien priories, which had been recently diſſolved.

The third college founded at Oxford was Magdalen College, ſo called from it's dedication to St. Mary Magdalen. It's founder was William Patten, Biſhop of Wincheſter: it's members conſiſted of a preſident, forty fellows, thirty ſcholars, four preſbyters, eight ſinging clerks, ſixteen choriſters, with ſuitable officers and ſervants. The foundation of the building was laid in the year 1458; and the ſtructure was wholly compleated in 1479. This college, by the bounty of it's founder and other benefactors, ſoon became one of the richeſt in Europe.

The three colleges founded at Cambridge, were King's, Queen's, and Catharine Hall. The firſt, as we have before obſerved, was founded in the year 1443, by that unfortunate Monarch, Henry the Sixth: it conſiſted of a provoſt, ſeventy fellows and ſcholars, three chaplains, ſix clerks, ſixteen choriſters, with a maſter, ſixteen officers, and twelve ſervitors. The original plan of this college muſt have been truly magnificent, if we may judge from the ſtructure of the chapel, which has long been held in admiration as one of the grandeſt efforts of the Gothic ſchool. But the misfortunes of it's founder prevented the execution of the plan.

The ſecond was founded by Margaret of Anjou, in the year 1448; but the diſtreſsful ſituation of that Princeſs threatened the deſtruction of the college in it's very infancy: it was, however, preſerved by the foſtering care of it's firſt Preſident, Andrew Ducket, who enjoyed that ſtation no leſs than forty years, and who was enabled to ſupport it by numerous benefactions, the effects of his unwearied ſolicitations.

Catharine Hall was founded in 1475, by Robert Woodlark, the third provoſt of King's College. It at firſt conſiſted only of one maſter and three fellows; but the number of it's members ſpeedily increaſed, by the rapid augmentation of it's revenues.

Public Schools were alſo erected, during this period, in the two univerſities, for the accommodation of the profeſſors of the different ſciences, who had before been accuſtomed to read their lectures either in convents, or private houſes hired for that purpoſe, and at an inconvenient diſtance from each other. Thomas Hokenorton, Abbot of Oſney, built a range of ſtone buildings at Oxford, in the year 1439, which he divided into ſchools for the following arts and ſciences, viz. Metaphyſics, Natural Philoſophy, Moral Philoſophy, Aſtronomy, Geometry, Muſic, Arithmetic, Logic, Rhetoric, and Grammar. Theſe were denominated *The New Schools*, and were in uſe till long after the concluſion of the preſent period. The foundation of the magnificent Divinity School and Library, in the ſame univerſity, was laid about the year 1427; but the ſtructure experienced frequent interruptions through want of money. At length, by the liberal donations of ſeveral benefactors, particularly of Humphrey Duke of Glouceſter; Cardinal Kemp, Archbiſhop of York; and his nephew, Thomas Kemp, Biſhop of London; the building was compleated in the year 1480. This fabric was an object of great admiration in thoſe times; and the members of the univerſity ſpeak of it in the moſt lofty ſtrains, in their letters to their great benefactor, the Biſhop of London, to be ſeen in the works of Anthony Wood, the ancient hiſtorian of Oxford. They call it "a "work worthy of God; as much ſuperior to all "the great edifices around it, in magnitude and "beauty, as Divinity, to the ſtudy of which it is "dedicated, is ſuperior to all the other ſciences."

The Public Schools at Cambridge were commenced about the beginning of this period; but were not entirely compleated till the year 1475.

The Arts were not more rapid in their progreſs than the Sciences during this turbulent period: even Agriculture itſelf was neglected. The wretched ruſtics, employed in the cultivation of the ground, were not ſuffered to purſue their humble toils in peace, being continually ſubject to be called from the plough to the field of battle, either by a royal proclamation, or by the mandates of their own arbitrary lords. So many of the peaſantry, that moſt uſeful order of men, periſhed during the deſtructive feuds between the rival families of York and Lancaſter, that there were not ſufficient hands remaining to perform the neceſſary operations of huſbandry. To ſupply this defect, and to remedy as far as poſſible the inconveniencies which reſulted from it, many laws were enacted to reduce and fix the price of labour, and to compel men to apply themſelves to huſbandry, by reſtraining them from the purſuit of other occupations. One of the ſtatutes paſſed for this purpoſe ſets forth, that noblemen and others were greatly diſtreſſed for want of labourers and ſervants in huſbandry; and therefore enacts, "That whoever had been employed at the "plough, or cart, or any other huſbandry-work, "till he was twelve years of age, ſhould be com-"pelled to continue in that employment during "life."

" life." It was alſo farther enacted, " That none " who had not lands or rents to the value of twenty " ſhillings a year"—equivalent to ten pounds at preſent—" ſhould be permitted to put any of their " ſons apprentices to any other trade, but ſhould " bring them all up to huſbandry."

Theſe laws, which ſo much infringed on natural liberty that nothing but the moſt urgent neceſſity could poſſibly juſtify them, were enforced by very ſevere penalties.

But, while the ravages of war continued to increaſe, huſbandmen muſt neceſſarily have diminiſhed; all laws, therefore, were inadequate to remedy the evil complained of, which at length aroſe to ſuch a height as to produce a memorable revolution in the annals of agriculture. The Prelates, Barons, and other great territorial proprietors, were accuſtomed to keep in their own poſſeſſion extenſive tracts of land immediately contiguous to their caſtles, which were called their Demeſne Lands, and which were cultivated by their villains, aſſiſted by hired ſervants, placed under the direction of their bailiffs. But theſe great landholders, having frequently led their followers to war, their numbers became gradually diminiſhed, and no hired ſervants could be obtained but on the moſt exorbitant terms. This obliged the proprietors to incloſe their lands, and convert them into paſture grounds. The practice of incloſing was very generally adopted about the middle of this period, and gave riſe to prodigious clamours in thoſe who miſtook the effect of depopulation for it's cauſe: for, when we conſider that the Barons and Gentlemen of thoſe times derived greater power, honour, and ſecurity, from the number of their followers, than the extent of their poſſeſſions, we cannot ſuppoſe it poſſible that they ſhould all have conſented, at the ſame time, to expel their followers from their demeſne lands, in order to make room for defenceleſs flocks and herds, unleſs they had been urged to it by ſome irreſiſtible motive. It is evident, from the teſtimony of various acts of parliament, that the depopulation of the country, and the conſequent ſcarcity of labourers, alone gave birth to this remarkable revolution.

The ſyſtem of incloſure, however, though founded on neceſſity, was greatly reprobated. Among the numerous declaimers againſt it was John Rous, of Warwick, who ſcarcely deſerves to be mentioned as an hiſtorian. This eccentric writer calls all ſuch as incloſe their lands—Depopulators, deſtroyers of villages, robbers, tyrants, baſiliſks, enemies to God and man; and aſſures them, that they will incur inevitable damnation. In one of his curious declamations againſt proprietors of land, he informs us, that one of that deſcription had been actually ſeen in hell by a certain prieſt, who was carried thither on the back of a devil, with whom he was intimate. The prieſt, he obſerves, was at firſt rather averſe to truſt himſelf on the back of his infernal friend, till the devil gave him his word of honour he would bring him back in ſafety, which he faithfully performed!

One of the evil conſequences of the imperfect ſtate of agriculture was the frequency of dearths which occurred during this period. Grain frequently roſe to triple or quadruple it's uſual price; which, as may be ſuppoſed, involved the people in the greateſt diſtreſs. The common price of a quarter of wheat, at this time, appears to have been from four ſhillings to four ſhillings and ſixpence; which was equivalent to forty or forty-five ſhillings of our preſent money. But we are told by the Chronicler of Croyland, that in the years 1437 and 1438, wheat roſe, in many places, to one pound ſix ſhillings and eight-pence a quarter, equivalent to thirteen pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence of our preſent money; and all other kinds of grain roſe in proportion. In this extremity, the common people were obliged to live on the roots of herbs, dried, and formed into a kind of bread.

But the great decreaſe in the value of land affords the ſtrongeſt proof of the decline of agriculture in this period. In the reign of Edward the Third, there are ſome examples of land having been ſold at the rate of twenty-five years purchaſe; which, probably, was little more than the average price. But, from the proclamation iſſued in the reign of Edward the Fourth, offering a reward of either one thouſand pounds in money, or one hundred a year in land, it is evident that it had fallen in it's value, at that time, to ten years purchaſe. And there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that land was ſometimes ſold even at a lower rate. Sir John Forteſcue, adviſing Edward the Fourth to reward his ſervants with money rather than with land, ſays, " It is ſupposd that to " ſum of them is givyn one hundred pounds-worth " land yerely, that would have hold him content " with two hundred pounds in money, if thay " might have had it in hand."

The neglect of agriculture was, however, attended with one advantage: by encreaſing the paſtures, it augmented the growth of wool, the grand ſtaple commodity of the kingdom; and the Engliſh had by this time diſcovered the ſuperior emolument to be derived from the manufacture of their own wool, both as an article of export and of home conſumption. Hence the woollen manufacture commanded a degree of attention that ſcarcely any other art could obtain: no leſs than twelve acts of parliament were made, in the ſhort reign of Henry the Fourth, for it's regulation and encouragement.

The only new arts that were introduced into England during this period were, the art of printing; and the arts of ſpinning, throwing, and weaving ſilk. The former was brought over by Mr. William Caxton, a mercer and citizen of London, from the Low Countries, where he reſided near thirty years in the capacity of agent to the Company of Mercers. Encouraged by Thomas Milling, Abbot of Weſtminſter, and ſome others, he eſtabliſhed a printing-preſs, in the year 1473, in the Almonry of Weſtminſter Abbey; from which he produced, in the month of March in the enſuing year, the firſt fruits of his labours, which was a ſmall book tranſlated from the French by himſelf, and entitled, " The " Game at Cheſs;" which is the firſt book we know with certainty was printed in England. The latter were introduced and practiſed by a company of women

women in London, called *Silk Women*. In conſequence of a petition from this female company to Parliament in the year 1455, repreſenting that the Lombards, and other Italians, imported ſuch quantities of ſilk-thread, ribbands, &c. that they were in danger of being reduced to great poverty; an act was paſſed for prohibiting the importation of any of the articles manufactured by them; which conſiſted only of laces, ribbands, and ſuch narrow fabrics.

It is a curious and well-atteſted fact, that the art of diſcharging red-hot balls from cannon was known and practiſed on the continent in an early part of the fifteenth century, though it does not appear to have been yet adopted in England. Thomas de Elmham, the biographer of Henry the Fifth, a writer of undoubted credit, tells us, that when an Engliſh army, under the command of the Duke of Glouceſter, laid ſiege to Cherbourg, in the year 1418, the beſieged diſcharged red-hot balls of iron from their cannon into the Engliſh camp, in order to burn the huts in which the ſoldiers ſlept.

While ſome of the moſt uſeful and neceſſary arts were ſuffered to languiſh, either through neceſſity or from want of encouragement, it cannot be ſuppoſed that thoſe which had the mere gratification of curioſity or pleaſure for their object could be cultivated with any degree of ardour. It is, indeed, probable, that the pleaſing arts of Sculpture and Painting would have been wholly neglected amidſt the buſtle of arms, but for a ſpirit of ſuperſtition and vanity, which they equally tended to gratify and promote. The worſhip of images having been violently condemned by the ſpirited followers of Wickliffe, the Clergy were ſtudious to inculcate it's neceſſity, as well by example as exhortation. The number of images was, conſequently, increaſed; and, as they were meant to excite the admiration and devotion of the multitude, it cannot be doubted that the utmoſt ſkill was exerted in forming them.

Pictures, too, were employed in the embelliſhment of churches, with the ſame view. Hence ſculptors and painters experienced a greater degree of encouragement than any other artiſts; which the vanity of the great alſo conſiderably augmented, by employing them in decorating the tombs of their relations, which were extremely coſtly and magnificent.

The taſte for Poetry appears to have declined after the deaths of Chaucer and Gower, which happened at the commencement of this period; at leaſt, if we may be allowed to judge by the extreme paucity of poetical works which have been deemed worthy of preſervation. That there were numbers who amuſed themſelves in the compoſition of verſes in that, as there have been in every age ſince the art of rhyming was firſt known, cannot be doubted; but the only perſons who have been placed on the liſt of poets were, Thomas Occleve; and John Lydgate, a Benedictine monk. The character of the former is thus delineated by Mr. Warton: "He is "a feeble writer, conſidered as a poet; and his chief "merit ſeems to be, that his writings contributed "to propagate and eſtabliſh thoſe improvements in "our language which were now beginning to take "place. His works indicate a coldneſs of genius; "and, on the whole, promiſe no gratification to "thoſe who ſeek for invention and fancy."

Lydgate was greatly ſuperior to Occleve; but his merit appears rather to have conſiſted in the harmony of his numbers, and the beauty of his deſcriptions, than in ſtrength of genius, or fertility or invention.

Muſic ſtill continued to be cultivated with unremitting attention; particularly by the Clergy, who were fully conſcious of it's powers in attuning the ſoul to devotion. Thoſe itinerant profeſſors, indeed, the Scalds and Minſtrels, were not held in ſuch high eſtimation as in the former period; but this declenſion of credit ſeems to have been the effect of their own folly, rather than of any diſtaſte to the art they profeſſed. The conſequence they had enjoyed had not only tended to increaſe their numbers, but rendered them ſo extremely proud, avaricious, and inſolent, that their company became inſupportable; which at length cauſed them to be regarded in a proper light, and their rewards to be proportioned to their deſerts.

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No ſooner was this law promulgated, than the Primate haſtened to put it in force, by bringing Sir William Sawtre, rector of St. Oſwyth, London, to his trial, for hereſy, before the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, at St. Paul's. The principal accuſations preferred againſt him were, his refuſal to worſhip the Croſs, and his denial of the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation. The unhappy victim, in order to avoid the painful death with which he was threatened, endeavoured to explain away the moſt offenſive part of his opinions. He conſented to pay an inferior, vicarious kind of worſhip, to the Croſs, on account of Him who died upon it; but that was not deemed ſufficient. He acknowledged the real preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament; and admitted that, after the words of conſecration were pronounced, the bread became the true ſpiritual Bread of Life. He underwent a long examination on that ſubject, on the nineteenth of February 1401; but, when the Primate urged him to profeſs his belief, "That, after the conſecration, the ſubſtance of "the bread and wine no longer remained, but was "converted into the ſubſtance of the body and blood "of Chriſt; which were as really and truly in their "proper ſubſtance and nature in the Sacrament, as "they were in the womb of the Virgin Mary, as "they hung upon the croſs, as they lay in the grave; "and as they now reſided in heaven!"—he ſtood aghaſt; and, after ſome heſitation, declared, "That, "whatever might be the conſequence, he could nei-"ther underſtand nor believe that doctrine." This declaration induced the Primate to pronounce him an obſtinate Heretic: in conſequence of which, he was degraded from all the clerical orders with which he had been inveſted; and delivered to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, with an hypocritical requeſt that they would uſe him kindly; the literal meaning of which was, that they would inflict on him the penalties of the late abominable law againſt Heretics. He was accordingly burnt in Smithfield; and his name holds a conſpicuous place in the annals of Engliſh Martyrdom, as he was the firſt perſon in the kingdom who ſuffered death for an adherence to thoſe doctrines which are now maintained by all the Proteſtant churches.

The public execution of ſo reſpectable a man as Sawtre ſtruck terror into the Lollards, and induced many of the diſciples of Wickliffe to conceal their ſentiments, in order to preſerve their lives. Others, leſs cautious, were apprehended; but, being brought to trial, choſe rather to ſubmit to the cenſure of hypocriſy than the pains of martyrdom: and, though the ſame opinions ſecretly prevailed in many parts of the kingdom, ſome years elapſed before any perſon could be found ſufficiently courageous to maintain them at the riſque of perſonal ſafety.

William Thorp, a clergyman of more learning and erudition than was poſſeſſed by moſt of his brethren in that dark age, was the next object of the Primate's perſecution. An avowed advocate for the doctrines of Wickliffe, he had been frequently impriſoned for daring to ſupport them; but had hitherto been fortunate enough to eſcape the infliction of any ſeverer puniſhment. He was, however, apprehended in the year 1407, and underwent a long examination on the firſt of Auguſt, of which he wrote a very diſtinct account; from whence it appears, that he was ſo much ſuperior to his judges in the arts of diſputation, that they were under the neceſſity of having alternate recourſe to threats and promiſes, in order to extort either a confeſſion or recantation of his heretical opinions. The immaculate Primate, who, it ſeems, was much addicted to prophane ſwearing, declared, with many oaths, "That he would purſue him and all his ſect ſo "cloſely, that he would not leave one ſlip in the "land." Another of his judges told him, that if he did not recant, he ſhould be curſed, degraded, burnt, and damned; and a third propoſed to waſh away his crimes by throwing him into the ſea. But theſe *forcible* arguments did not prove convincive to Mr. Thorp; nor were they able to ſhake his fortitude. The Primate, therefore, committed him to a loathſome priſon at Saltwood, the horrors of which had overcome the conſtancy of many other Lollards; and it is moſt probable he died there, ſince no farther mention is made of him in hiſtory.

On the nineteenth of January, in the year 1409, the Primate held a convention of the Prelates and Clergy of his province, in which thirteen canons, or conſtitutions, were enacted for the extirpation of Lollards, by the infliction of wholeſome ſeverities on it's propagators and profeſſors. In the preface to theſe canons, to diſpute any of the doctrines, or diſobey any of the decrees promulgated by the Pope—"who carried the keys of eternal life and "eternal death; who was the vicegerent, not of a "mere man, but of the true God on earth; and "to whom God had committed the government "of the kingdom of Heaven;"—is declared to be the moſt horrid of all crimes. This language, it muſt be confeſſed, was rather bold, eſpecially at a time when there were two Popes, who had been conſigning each other to damnation, and who were both declared contumacious heretics by the Council of Piſa that ſame year.

Soon after the publication of theſe canons, the Biſhop



Published as the Act directs by Harrison & Co. Oct.r 24. 1789

HENRY THE SEVENTH.

THE victory gained by the Earl of Richmond at Boſworth proved entirely deciſive, as the troops of Richard were ſo compleatly routed, that no army remained to impede his progreſs. His ſoldiers, who appear to have experienced a kind of enthuſiaſtic joy at ſucceſs ſo unexpectedly compleat, immediately beſtowed on their victorious leader the appellation of King, which he had not hitherto aſſumed; and the acclamations of "Long live Henry the Seventh!" ſpeedily reſounded from all quarters of the field. To ſanction this ſpecies of military election with ſome appearance of formality, Sir William Stanley brought a crown of ornament which Richard wore in battle, and which after his death had been found in the field, and placed it on the head of the victor, who was careful not to refuſe a preſent ſo highly flattering to his ambition.

Though Henry's marriage with the Princeſs Elizabeth, the heireſs of the Houſe of York, which he had ſolemnly ſworn to celebrate, would have given him the moſt popular and unexceptionable title to the regal dignity, he was nevertheleſs diſſuaded from having recourſe to it by reaſons not wholly devoid of force. He was apprehenſive that, ſhould he conſent to receive the crown only in right of his conſort, his power would be ſubject to ſuch conſiderable limitations, that he ſhould enjoy the title of a King without the conſequence and authority which belong to it. In that caſe, too, ſhould the Princeſs die before him without iſſue, he would be obliged to reſign the throne to the next in ſucceſſion; and, even ſhould ſhe leave him an heir, it ſeemed dangerous to expect that filial piety would prevail over the ambition of obtaining preſent poſſeſſion of regal power. An act of parliament, indeed, might eaſily have been procured to ſettle the crown on him during life; but he well knew how much ſuperior the claim of ſucceſſion by blood was to the authority of an aſſembly, which had never diſplayed ſufficient fortitude to reſiſt the violence of contending parties, but had always paid an obſequious obedience to the reigning power. Reſtrained by theſe conſiderations from building his enjoyment of regal authority on the only baſis to which no poſſible objection could have been raiſed, he determined to advance his claim as heir to the Houſe of Lancaſter, and to ſupport it by an exertion of that power of which he was in preſent poſſeſſion, and which he imagined would prove adequate to eſtabliſh and perpetuate his authority. In this he was encouraged by the example of Henry the Fourth; who, with no better title than his own, had, by exertions of vigour, been able to ſuppreſs inſurrections, and to tranſmit the crown peaceably to his poſterity. He was ſenſible that the ſimple claim of poſſeſſion, which had enſured the quiet ſucceſſion of the Houſe of Lancaſter through three generations, might ſtill have ſubſiſted, notwithſtanding the ſuperior title of the Houſe of York, had not the ſceptre fallen into the hands of Henry the Sixth, which were too feeble to ſuſtain it. Inſtructed by this recent experience, Henry reſolved on the immediate aſſumption of regal authority; and to convince all opponents that nothing but force of arms, and a ſucceſsful conteſt, ſhould be able to effect his expulſion. Senſible, however, that his claim would not bear the ſlighteſt examination, hedetermined to prevent it from becoming a ſubject of diſcuſſion.

Theſe views of Henry, though rather founded on motives of policy than on any principles of juſtice, might not have ſubjected him to any violent degree of cenſure, had he ſuffered no other motive, of a more evil tendency, to influence his conduct, and

" life." It was alſo farther enacted, " That none " who had not lands or rents to the value of twenty " ſhillings a year"—equivalent to ten pounds at preſent—" ſhould be permitted to put any of their " ſons apprentices to any other trade, but ſhould " bring them all up to huſbandry."

Theſe laws, which ſo much infringed on natural liberty that nothing but the moſt urgent neceſſity could poſſibly juſtify them, were enforced by very ſevere penalties.

But, while the ravages of war continued to increaſe, huſbandmen muſt neceſſarily have diminiſhed; all laws, therefore, were inadequate to remedy the evil complained of, which at length aroſe to ſuch a height as to produce a memorable revolution in the annals of agriculture. The Prelates, Barons, and other great territorial proprietors, were accuſtomed to keep in their own poſſeſſion extenſive tracts of land immediately contiguous to their caſtles, which were called their Demeſne Lands, and which were cultivated by their villains, aſſiſted by hired ſervants, placed under the direction of their bailiffs. But theſe great landholders, having frequently led their followers to war, their numbers became gradually diminiſhed, and no hired ſervants could be obtained but on the moſt exorbitant terms. This obliged the proprietors to incloſe their lands, and convert them into paſture grounds. The practice of incloſing was very generally adopted about the middle of this period, and gave riſe to prodigious clamours in thoſe who miſtook the effect of depopulation for it's cauſe: for, when we conſider that the Barons and Gentlemen of thoſe times derived greater power, honour, and ſecurity, from the number of their followers, than the extent of their poſſeſſions, we cannot ſuppoſe it poſſible that they ſhould all have conſented, at the ſame time, to expel their followers from their demeſne lands, in order to make room for defenceleſs flocks and herds, unleſs they had been urged to it by ſome irreſiſtible motive. It is evident, from the teſtimony of various acts of parliament, that the depopulation of the country, and the conſequent ſcarcity of labourers, alone gave birth to this remarkable revolution.

The ſyſtem of incloſure, however, though founded on neceſſity, was greatly reprobated. Among the numerous declaimers againſt it was John Rous, of Warwick, who ſcarcely deſerves to be mentioned as an hiſtorian. This eccentric writer calls all ſuch as incloſe their lands—Depopulators, deſtroyers of villages, robbers, tyrants, baſiliſks, enemies to God and man; and aſſures them, that they will incur inevitable damnation. In one of his curious declamations againſt proprietors of land, he informs us, that one of that deſcription had been actually ſeen in hell by a certain prieſt, who was carried thither on the back of a devil, with whom he was intimate. The prieſt, he obſerves, was at firſt rather averſe to truſt himſelf on the back of his infernal friend, till the devil gave him his word of honour he would bring him back in ſafety, which he faithfully performed!

One of the evil conſequences of the imperfect ſtate of agriculture was the frequency of dearths which occurred during this period. Grain frequently roſe to triple or quadruple it's uſual price; which, as may be ſuppoſed, involved the people in the greateſt diſtreſs. The common price of a quarter of wheat, at this time, appears to have been from four ſhillings to four ſhillings and ſixpence; which was equivalent to forty or forty-five ſhillings of our preſent money. But we are told by the Chronicler of Croyland, that in the years 1437 and 1438, wheat roſe, in many places, to one pound ſix ſhillings and eight-pence a quarter, equivalent to thirteen pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence of our preſent money; and all other kinds of grain roſe in proportion. In this extremity, the common people were obliged to live on the roots of herbs, dried, and formed into a kind of bread.

But the great decreaſe in the value of land affords the ſtrongeſt proof of the decline of agriculture in this period. In the reign of Edward the Third, there are ſome examples of land having been ſold at the rate of twenty-five years purchaſe; which, probably, was little more than the average price. But, from the proclamation iſſued in the reign of Edward the Fourth, offering a reward of either one thouſand pounds in money, or one hundred a year in land, it is evident that it had fallen in it's value, at that time, to ten years purchaſe. And there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that land was ſometimes ſold even at a lower rate. Sir John Forteſcue, adviſing Edward the Fourth to reward his ſervants with money rather than with land, ſays, " It is ſupposd that to " ſum of them is givyn one hundred pounds-worth " land yerely, that would have hold him content " with two hundred pounds in money, if thay " might have had it in hand."

The neglect of agriculture was, however, attended with one advantage: by encreaſing the paſtures, it augmented the growth of wool, the grand ſtaple commodity of the kingdom; and the Engliſh had by this time diſcovered the ſuperior emolument to be derived from the manufacture of their own wool, both as an article of export and of home conſumption. Hence the woollen manufacture commanded a degree of attention that ſcarcely any other art could obtain: no leſs than twelve acts of parliament were made, in the ſhort reign of Henry the Fourth, for it's regulation and encouragement.

The only new arts that were introduced into England during this period were, the art of printing; and the arts of ſpinning, throwing, and weaving ſilk. The former was brought over by Mr. William Caxton, a mercer and citizen of London, from the Low Countries, where he reſided near thirty years in the capacity of agent to the Company of Mercers. Encouraged by Thomas Milling, Abbot of Weſtminſter, and ſome others, he eſtabliſhed a printing-preſs, in the year 1473, in the Almonry of Weſtminſter Abbey; from which he produced, in the month of March in the enſuing year, the firſt fruits of his labours, which was a ſmall book tranſlated from the French by himſelf, and entitled, " The " Game at Cheſs;" which is the firſt book we know with certainty was printed in England. The latter were introduced and practiſed by a company of women

women in London, called *Silk Women*. In conſequence of a petition from this female company to Parliament in the year 1455, repreſenting that the Lombards, and other Italians, imported ſuch quantities of ſilk-thread, ribbands, &c. that they were in danger of being reduced to great poverty; an act was paſſed for prohibiting the importation of any of the articles manufactured by them; which conſiſted only of laces, ribbands, and ſuch narrow fabrics.

It is a curious and well-atteſted fact, that the art of diſcharging red-hot balls from cannon was known and practiſed on the continent in an early part of the fifteenth century, though it does not appear to have been yet adopted in England. Thomas de Elmham, the biographer of Henry the Fifth, a writer of undoubted credit, tells us, that when an Engliſh army, under the command of the Duke of Glouceſter, laid ſiege to Cherbourg, in the year 1418, the beſieged diſcharged red-hot balls of iron from their cannon into the Engliſh camp, in order to burn the huts in which the ſoldiers ſlept.

While ſome of the moſt uſeful and neceſſary arts were ſuffered to languiſh, either through neceſſity or from want of encouragement, it cannot be ſuppoſed that thoſe which had the mere gratification of curioſity or pleaſure for their object could be cultivated with any degree of ardour. It is, indeed, probable, that the pleaſing arts of Sculpture and Painting would have been wholly neglected amidſt the buſtle of arms, but for a ſpirit of ſuperſtition and vanity, which they equally tended to gratify and promote. The worſhip of images having been violently condemned by the ſpirited followers of Wickliffe, the Clergy were ſtudious to inculcate it's neceſſity, as well by example as exhortation. The number of images was, conſequently, increaſed; and, as they were meant to excite the admiration and devotion of the multitude, it cannot be doubted that the utmoſt ſkill was exerted in forming them.

Pictures, too, were employed in the embelliſhment of churches, with the ſame view. Hence ſculptors and painters experienced a greater degree of encouragement than any other artiſts; which the vanity of the great alſo conſiderably augmented, by employing them in decorating the tombs of their relations, which were extremely coſtly and magnificent.

The taſte for Poetry appears to have declined after the deaths of Chaucer and Gower, which happened at the commencement of this period; at leaſt, if we may be allowed to judge by the extreme paucity of poetical works which have been deemed worthy of preſervation. That there were numbers who amuſed themſelves in the compoſition of verſes in that, as there have been in every age ſince the art of rhyming was firſt known, cannot be doubted; but the only perſons who have been placed on the liſt of poets were, Thomas Occleve; and John Lydgate, a Benedictine monk. The character of the former is thus delineated by Mr. Warton: "He is "a feeble writer, conſidered as a poet; and his chief "merit ſeems to be, that his writings contributed "to propagate and eſtabliſh thoſe improvements in "our language which were now beginning to take "place. His works indicate a coldneſs of genius; "and, on the whole, promiſe no gratification to "thoſe who ſeek for invention and fancy."

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Muſic ſtill continued to be cultivated with unremitting attention; particularly by the Clergy, who were fully conſcious of it's powers in attuning the ſoul to devotion. Thoſe itinerant profeſſors, indeed, the Scalds and Minſtrels, were not held in ſuch high eſtimation as in the former period; but this declenſion of credit ſeems to have been the effect of their own folly, rather than of any diſtaſte to the art they profeſſed. The conſequence they had enjoyed had not only tended to increaſe their numbers, but rendered them ſo extremely proud, avaricious, and inſolent, that their company became inſupportable; which at length cauſed them to be regarded in a proper light, and their rewards to be proportioned to their deſerts.

It is a melancholy taſk to delineate the eccleſiaſtical tranſactions of this period, as they offer nothing to the attention of poſterity but a continued ſeries of papal diſputes and clerical perſecutions. The genial ſun of Toleration had not yet diffuſed it's beneficent beams over England; it had not yet illumined with it's rays the minds of thoſe *Chriſtian* votaries, whoſe practices were ſo hoſtile to the precepts of Chriſtianity, as to beſpeak a total ignorance of the doctrine they profeſſed.

Henry the Fourth, conſcious that the favour and ſupport of the Clergy would be neceſſary to ſanction his uſurpation, diſpatched the Earl of Northumberland to a convocation of the Province of Canterbury, aſſembled in the Chapter-houſe of St. Paul's, on the fifth of October 1399, with a meſſage well calculated to conciliate their eſteem. "I am not "come," ſaid the Earl, "like the Commiſſioners "of former Kings, to demand your money; but "to aſſure you that my Royal Maſter never will "exact any money from you, except in caſes of the "moſt urgent neceſſity. I am come earneſtly to "entreat your prayers for the King and his domi-"nions; to promiſe that he will protect the Clergy "in all their privileges and immunities; and afford "them aſſiſtance, to the utmoſt of his power, in "the extermination of Heretics." The firſt of theſe promiſes was ſoon forgotten, as no Monarch ever made ſuch frequent demands of money from the Clergy as Henry the Fourth, after he was firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne; but he was unfortunately too punctual in his obſervance of the laſt.

Arundel, who was now reſtored to the Primacy, continued to diſplay, in his perſecution of the followers of Wickliffe, that implacable ſpirit of intolerance and cruelty which had diſtinguiſhed him during his enjoyment of the Archbiſhoprick of York. Countenanced by the King, this bigoted Prieſt—ſeconded by his Clergy—made an application to the Parliament which aſſembled at Weſtminſter in the firſt year of the fifteenth century, beſeeching

beſeeching them that they would adopt ſome effectual meaſure to reſtrain the preaching of heretical doctrines, the publication of heretical books, and the teaching of errors and hereſies in ſchools, which were practiſed by numerous perſons without the licence of a Biſhop. In conſequence of this repreſentation, a law was enacted by Parliament, or rather by the King and Peers, authorizing the Biſhops to impriſon all perſons *ſuſpected* of hereſy, and to try them in the Spiritual Court; and, ſhould they prove either obſtinate or relapſed Heretics, the ſpiritual Judge was directed to call in the Sheriff of the county, or the chief Magiſtrate of the town, to be preſent when the ſentence of condemnation was pronounced; and immediately to deliver the perſon condemned to the ſecular magiſtrate, who was to cauſe him to be burnt to death in ſome elevated place, in the ſight of the people: a ſanguinary and tyrannical act, equally diſgraceful to the Clergy who applied for it, the Parliament which paſſed it, and the Monarch who ſanctioned it with his conſent!

No ſooner was this law promulgated, than the Primate haſtened to put it in force, by bringing Sir William Sawtre, rector of St. Oſwyth, London, to his trial, for hereſy, before the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, at St. Paul's. The principal accuſations preferred againſt him were, his refuſal to worſhip the Croſs, and his denial of the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation. The unhappy victim, in order to avoid the painful death with which he was threatened, endeavoured to explain away the moſt offenſive part of his opinions. He conſented to pay an inferior, vicarious kind of worſhip, to the Croſs, on account of Him who died upon it; but that was not deemed ſufficient. He acknowledged the real preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament; and admitted that, after the words of conſecration were pronounced, the bread became the true ſpiritual Bread of Life. He underwent a long examination on that ſubject, on the nineteenth of February 1401; but, when the Primate urged him to profeſs his belief, "That, after the conſecration, the ſubſtance of "the bread and wine no longer remained, but was "converted into the ſubſtance of the body and blood "of Chriſt; which were as really and truly in their "proper ſubſtance and nature in the Sacrament, as "they were in the womb of the Virgin Mary, as "they hung upon the croſs, as they lay in the grave; "and as they now reſided in heaven!"—he ſtood aghaſt; and, after ſome heſitation, declared, "That, "whatever might be the conſequence, he could nei-"ther underſtand nor believe that doctrine." This declaration induced the Primate to pronounce him an obſtinate Heretic: in conſequence of which, he was degraded from all the clerical orders with which he had been inveſted; and delivered to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, with an hypocritical requeſt that they would uſe him kindly; the literal meaning of which was, that they would inflict on him the penalties of the late abominable law againſt Heretics. He was accordingly burnt in Smithfield; and his name holds a conſpicuous place in the annals of Engliſh Martyrdom, as he was the firſt perſon in the kingdom who ſuffered death for an adherence to thoſe doctrines which are now maintained by all the Proteſtant churches.

The public execution of ſo reſpectable a man as Sawtre ſtruck terror into the Lollards, and induced many of the diſciples of Wickliffe to conceal their ſentiments, in order to preſerve their lives. Others, leſs cautious, were apprehended; but, being brought to trial, choſe rather to ſubmit to the cenſure of hypocriſy than the pains of martyrdom: and, though the ſame opinions ſecretly prevailed in many parts of the kingdom, ſome years elapſed before any perſon could be found ſufficiently courageous to maintain them at the riſque of perſonal ſafety.

William Thorp, a clergyman of more learning and erudition than was poſſeſſed by moſt of his brethren in that dark age, was the next object of the Primate's perſecution. An avowed advocate for the doctrines of Wickliffe, he had been frequently impriſoned for daring to ſupport them; but had hitherto been fortunate enough to eſcape the infliction of any ſeverer puniſhment. He was, however, apprehended in the year 1407, and underwent a long examination on the firſt of Auguſt, of which he wrote a very diſtinct account; from whence it appears, that he was ſo much ſuperior to his judges in the arts of diſputation, that they were under the neceſſity of having alternate recourſe to threats and promiſes, in order to extort either a confeſſion or recantation of his heretical opinions. The immaculate Primate, who, it ſeems, was much addicted to prophane ſwearing, declared, with many oaths, "That he would purſue him and all his ſect ſo "cloſely, that he would not leave one ſlip in the "land." Another of his judges told him, that if he did not recant, he ſhould be curſed, degraded, burnt, and damned; and a third propoſed to waſh away his crimes by throwing him into the ſea. But theſe *forcible* arguments did not prove convincive to Mr. Thorp; nor were they able to ſhake his fortitude. The Primate, therefore, committed him to a loathſome priſon at Saltwood, the horrors of which had overcome the conſtancy of many other Lollards; and it is moſt probable he died there, ſince no farther mention is made of him in hiſtory.

On the nineteenth of January, in the year 1409, the Primate held a convention of the Prelates and Clergy of his province, in which thirteen canons, or conſtitutions, were enacted for the extirpation of Lollards, by the infliction of wholeſome ſeverities on it's propagators and profeſſors. In the preface to theſe canons, to diſpute any of the doctrines, or diſobey any of the decrees promulgated by the Pope—"who carried the keys of eternal life and "eternal death; who was the vicegerent, not of a "mere man, but of the true God on earth; and "to whom God had committed the government "of the kingdom of Heaven;"—is declared to be the moſt horrid of all crimes. This language, it muſt be confeſſed, was rather bold, eſpecially at a time when there were two Popes, who had been conſigning each other to damnation, and who were both declared contumacious heretics by the Council of Piſa that ſame year.

Soon after the publication of theſe canons, the Biſhop



Published as the Act directs by Harrison & Co. Oct.r 24. 1789.

HENRY THE SEVENTH.

THE victory gained by the Earl of Richmond at Boſworth proved entirely deciſive, as the troops of Richard were ſo compleatly routed, that no army remained to impede his progreſs. His ſoldiers, who appear to have experienced a kind of enthuſiaſtic joy at ſucceſs ſo unexpectedly compleat, immediately beſtowed on their victorious leader the appellation of King, which he had not hitherto aſſumed; and the acclamations of "Long live Henry the Seventh!" ſpeedily reſounded from all quarters of the field. To ſanction this ſpecies of military election with ſome appearance of formality, Sir William Stanley brought a crown of ornament which Richard wore in battle, and which after his death had been found in the field, and placed it on the head of the victor, who was careful not to refuſe a preſent ſo highly flattering to his ambition.

Though Henry's marriage with the Princeſs Elizabeth, the heireſs of the Houſe of York, which he had ſolemnly ſworn to celebrate, would have given him the moſt popular and unexceptionable title to the regal dignity, he was nevertheleſs diſſuaded from having recourſe to it by reaſons not wholly devoid of force. He was apprehenſive that, ſhould he conſent to receive the crown only in right of his conſort, his power would be ſubject to ſuch conſiderable limitations, that he ſhould enjoy the title of a King without the conſequence and authority which belong to it. In that caſe, too, ſhould the Princeſs die before him without iſſue, he would be obliged to reſign the throne to the next in ſucceſſion; and, even ſhould ſhe leave him an heir, it ſeemed dangerous to expect that filial piety would prevail over the ambition of obtaining preſent poſſeſſion of regal power. An act of parliament, indeed, might eaſily have been procured to ſettle the crown on him during life; but he well knew how much ſuperior the claim of ſucceſſion by blood was to the authority of an aſſembly, which had never diſplayed ſufficient fortitude to reſiſt the violence of contending parties, but had always paid an obſequious obedience to the reigning power. Reſtrained by theſe conſiderations from building his enjoyment of regal authority on the only baſis to which no poſſible objection could have been raiſed, he determined to advance his claim as heir to the Houſe of Lancaſter, and to ſupport it by an exertion of that power of which he was in preſent poſſeſſion, and which he imagined would prove adequate to eſtabliſh and perpetuate his authority. In this he was encouraged by the example of Henry the Fourth; who, with no better title than his own, had, by exertions of vigour, been able to ſuppreſs inſurrections, and to tranſmit the crown peaceably to his poſterity. He was ſenſible that the ſimple claim of poſſeſſion, which had enſured the quiet ſucceſſion of the Houſe of Lancaſter through three generations, might ſtill have ſubſiſted, notwithſtanding the ſuperior title of the Houſe of York, had not the ſceptre fallen into the hands of Henry the Sixth, which were too feeble to ſuſtain it. Inſtructed by this recent experience, Henry reſolved on the immediate aſſumption of regal authority; and to convince all opponents that nothing but force of arms, and a ſucceſsful conteſt, ſhould be able to effect his expulſion. Senſible, however, that his claim would not bear the ſlighteſt examination, hedetermined to prevent it from becoming a ſubject of diſcuſſion.

Theſe views of Henry, though rather founded on motives of policy than on any principles of juſtice, might not have ſubjected him to any violent degree of cenſure, had he ſuffered no other motive, of a more evil tendency, to influence his conduct, and

to ſway his counſels. The violent contention which had ſo long prevailed between the rival families of York and Lancaſter, and the many ſanguinary acts of revenge which thoſe contentions had occaſioned, had inflamed the adherents of each party to the utmoſt pitch of animoſity. Henry himſelf, who had loſt moſt of his neareſt friends and relations, either in battle or on the ſcaffold, and who had been expoſed in his own perſon to many dangers and hardſhips, had imbibed a violent antipathy to the Yorkiſts, which neither time nor experience was ever able to efface. Inſtead of embracing the preſent ſpecious opportunity of aboliſhing thoſe fatal diſtinctions, of uniting his title with that of his conſort, and of beſtowing honours and rewards, without any invidious and illiberal diſcrimination, on the friends of both families; he ſuffered the boſom of the Monarch to be diſgraced by the dangerous paſſions and prejudices of the Partizan. The exaltation of the Lancaſtrian party, and the depreſſion of their competitors, were ſtill the favourite objects of his purſuit; and through the whole courſe of his reign he never forgot theſe early prepoſſeſſions. Incapable, from a natural narrowneſs of ſoul, of a more enlarged and more benevolent ſyſtem of policy, he expoſed himſelf to many preſent inconveniences, by guarding, with too much anxiety, againſt that future poſſible event, which might disjoin his title from that of the Princeſs whom he eſpouſed: and, while he inconſiderately treated the Yorkiſts as enemies, he ſoon rendered them ſuch; and taught them to diſcuſs that right to the crown which he ſo carefully kept ſeparate, and to perceive it's weakneſs and invalidity.

To theſe paſſions of Henry, and to his narrow ſyſtem of politics, founded on the mean baſis of ſuſpicion, we muſt aſcribe the meaſures which he adopted two days after the battle of Boſworth. Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, ſon of the Duke of Clarence, had been detained a priſoner in the caſtle of Sheriff-Hutton, in Yorkſhire, through the jealouſy of his uncle Richard; to whom, as Mr. Walpole has ſagaciouſly remarked, he was "no "indifferent rival." This young nobleman had now reaſon to expect a more liberal treatment, as his title could not interfere either with that of Henry, or of Elizabeth; and no danger could be reaſonably apprehended from a youth of ſuch tender years. But Sir Robert Willoughby was diſpatched by Henry, with orders to convey him from Sheriff-Hutton to the Tower of London, and there to detain him in cloſe cuſtody. The ſame meſſenger carried directions, that the Princeſs Elizabeth, who had been confined in the ſame place, ſhould be conducted to London in order to meet Henry, and there celebrate her nuptials.

Henry himſelf ſet out for the capital, and advanced by eaſy journies. He was careful not to rouze the jealouſy of the people by the ſmalleſt appearance of military triumph; and ſo to reſtrain the inſolence of victory, that his march ſhould wear the appearance of a peaceable progreſs through his dominions by an eſtabliſhed Monarch, rather than that of a conqueror who had opened his paſſage to the throne by force of arms. The acclamations of the people were every where loud, and no leſs ſincere; they hailed him as their deliverer from a tyrant they deteſted, and rejoiced at the proſpect of felicity which he had opened to their view. Long harraſſed by the ſanguinary diſſenſions of contending factions, they now hoped, by the projected union of the rival families, to terminate theſe fatal tumults, and to obtain a perfect reſtoration of domeſtic tranquillity. Impreſſed with theſe flattering ideas, they were eager to demonſtrate their joy; and, as Henry advanced in his progreſs, he was continually joined by numerous and ſplendid troops of nobility and gentry. When he approached the metropolis, he was met at Shoreditch by the Mayor and Companies of London, while crowds of people and citizens flocked around him to expreſs their ſatisfaction; but Henry, ſullen and reſerved amidſt this general effuſion of joy, entered London in a cloſe chariot, and refuſed to gratify his ſubjects with a ſight of his perſon. His noble hiſtorian, Lord Bacon, aſcribes, indeed, this reſerve to a magnanimity of ſoul, which made him ſcorn to court popularity, when he might be thought to ſtand moſt in need of it; but there are certainly no traits in his ſubſequent conduct, which can induce us to believe that he was ever actuated by ſuch generous motives.

The King, however, did not ſo much neglect the favour of the people, as to delay giving them aſſurances of his marriage with the Princeſs Elizabeth, to which he muſt have been conſcious he was chiefly indebted for his ſucceſs. On his leaving Brittany, he had artfully dropped ſome hints that, if he ſhould ſucceed in his enterprize, and obtain the crown of England, he would eſpouſe Anne, the heireſs of that Dutchy; and the report of this engagement had already reached England, and created great anxiety in the minds of the people, and even in that of Elizabeth herſelf. Henry took care to diſſipate theſe apprehenſions by aſſembling a Council the day after his arrival in London, and ſolemnly renewing before it's members the promiſe which he had already given to celebrate his nuptials with the Engliſh Princeſs. But, though the ties of honour, and the incitements of intereſt, urged him to a ſpeedy completion of this alliance, he was reſolved to poſtpone it till the ceremony of his own coronation ſhould be compleated, and his title recognized by Parliament. Still anxious to ſupport his perſonal and hereditary right to the throne, he dreaded leſt a preceding marriage with the Princeſs ſhould imply a participation of ſovereignty in her, and raiſe doubts of his own title by the Houſe of Lancaſter.

There raged at that time in London, and other parts of the kingdom, a ſpecies of malady, unknown to any other age or nation, called *The Sweating Sickneſs*, which occaſioned the ſudden death of great multitudes; though it ſeemed not to be propagated by any contagious infection, but aroſe from the general diſpoſition of the air, and of the human body. In leſs than twenty-four hours the patient commonly died or recovered; but, when the peſtilence had exerted it's fury for a few weeks, it was obſerved, either from an alteration in the air, or from a more proper regimen, which had been diſcovered,

covered, to be conſiderably abated. Preparations were then made for the ceremony of Henry's coronation; and, in order to augment it's ſplendor, he beſtowed the rank of Knight-Banneret on twelve perſons; and he conferred peerages on three. Jaſper Earl of Pembroke, his uncle, was created Duke of Bedford; Thomas Lord Stanley, his father-in-law, Earl of Derby; and Edward Courteney, Earl of Devonſhire. Previous to the coronation, it was requiſite to create a Lord-High-Steward; but, as this office had for ſome time paſt been enjoyed only by a Prince of the Blood, and as there were none then in the kingdom, the King, to prevent the excitation of jealouſy among the Nobles, cauſed it to be executed by the following commiſſioners:—The Earls of Pembroke, Oxford, and Nottingham; the Lords Stanley and Fitz-Walter; Robert Morton, Maſter of the Rolls; Sir Thomas Brian, Chief-Juſtice of the King's Bench; Sir Humphrey Starkey, Chief-Baron of the Exchequer; and Sir Richard Croft, Treaſurer of the Houſhold.

Every preparation being compleated, Henry was crowned at Weſtminſter, on the thirtieth of October 1485, by Cardinal Bouchier, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. At the coronation, there appeared a new inſtitution, which the King had eſtabliſhed to anſwer the two-fold purpoſe of ſecurity and pomp—a band of Fifty Archers, who were termed *Yeomen of the Guard*. But, leſt the people ſhould take umbrage at this unuſual ſymptom of jealouſy in the Prince, as if it implied a perſonal diffidence of his ſubjects, he declared the inſtitution to be perpetual.

On the ſeventh of November, the Parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter; and, as uſual, appeared to be wholly devoted to the will of the reigning Sovereign. The Lancaſtrian party had every where proved ſucceſsful in the election; and even many of thoſe had been returned, who, during the prevalence of the Houſe of York, had been outlawed and attainted. Their right of ſitting in the Houſe being queſtioned, the caſe was referred to the Judges; who prudently determined, that the members attainted ſhould forbear taking their ſeats till an act was paſſed for the reverſal of their attainder. There was no difficulty in obtaining this act; and in it were comprehended a hundred and ſeven perſons of the King's party.

Another ſcruple, however, was ſtarted, which appeared to be of greater importance. The King himſelf had been attainted; and his right of ſucceſſion to the throne might be thence expoſed to ſome doubt: but, ſo many other glaring defects in his title having been already overlooked, it was not to be ſuppoſed that this could be ſuffered to operate as an impediment to his elevation. As the queſtion was too delicate and dangerous to admit of *diſcuſſion*, the Judges, inſtead of a *ſentence*, advanced a *maxim*, viz. "That the crown removes every de-
"fect in blood; and, therefore, that from the time
"the King aſſumed royal authority, the fountain
"was cleared, and all attainders and corruptions
"of blood diſcharged."

As the Parliament was ſo obſequious to the King, he could not fail to obtain whatever act of ſettlement he was pleaſed to require; and, indeed, the only difficulty appears to have been with himſelf in ſettling the claims on which he ſhould found his pretenſions. In his ſpeech to the Parliament, he mentioned his juſt title by hereditary right; but, leſt that title ſhould not be deemed ſufficient, he ſubjoined his claim by the judgment of God, who had given him victory over his enemies: and again, leſt this pretenſion ſhould be interpreted as aſſuming a right of conqueſt, he enſured to his ſubjects the full enjoyment of their former property and poſſeſſions.

The entail of the crown was certainly drawn agreeable to the King's ideas, and probably in words dictated by himſelf. In it no mention was made of the Princeſs Elizabeth, nor of any branch of her family; but, in other reſpects, the act was compiled with greater moderation and reſerve than are generally exerted by a Prince of a doubtful title. He did not inſiſt that it ſhould contain a declaration or recognition of his hereditary right; and, on the other hand, he avoided the appearance of a new law or ordinance: he choſe a middle courſe; which, as is moſtly the caſe in ſimilar circumſtances, was not entirely free from uncertainty and obſcurity. It was voted, "That the inheritance of the crown "ſhould reſt, remain, and abide, in the King;" but without defining the right by which he claimed it. Henry was alſo contented that the ſucceſſion ſhould be ſecured to the heirs of his body; but he pretended not, in caſe of their failure, to exclude the Houſe of York, or give the preference to that of Lancaſter: he left this great point ambiguous for the preſent; and truſted that, if it ſhould ever be neceſſary to determine it, ſome favourable opportunity would occur for it's deciſion.

But, even after he had adopted theſe various precautions, Henry was ſo little ſatisfied with his own title, that in the following year he applied to the Pope for a confirmation of it; and, as the Court of Rome gladly ſeized every opportunity which the weakneſs, imprudence, or neceſſities of Princes, afforded it to extend it's influence, Innocent the Eighth, who then filled the Chair of St. Peter, readily granted a bull, in whatever terms the King was pleaſed to preſcribe. All Henry's titles by ſucceſſion, marriage, parliamentary choice, even *conqueſt*, are there enumerated; and the ſanction of religion is added to the whole. Excommunication is denounced againſt every one who ſhould either moleſt him in the preſent poſſeſſion, or the heirs of his body in the future ſucceſſion of the crown; and from this penalty no criminal, except in the article of death, could be abſolved but by the Pope himſelf, or his ſpecial commiſſioners. This meaſure was certainly impolitic, as no ſecurity he could poſſibly derive from the bull, could prove an adequate compenſation for the defect which it betrayed in his title, and for the danger of inviting the Pope to interpoſe in theſe concerns.

Henry, in reverſing the attainders which had paſſed againſt the partizans of the Houſe of Lancaſter, had only acted in obedience to the dictates of

of gratitude and prudence; but his rigorous proceedings againſt the friends of the Houſe of York, to which he was ſoon to be allied, were founded on a very different motive—the gratification of revenge. The Parliament, however, obſequious to his will, obeyed his commands without inveſtigating the principles by which they were influenced. At his inſtigation, they paſſed an act of attainder againſt the late King himſelf, by the title of the Duke of Glouceſter: and againſt his principal adherents; among whom were the Duke of Norfolk; the Earl of Surrey; Viſcount Lovel; the Lords Zouch, and Ferrars of Chartley; Sir Walter and Sir James Harrington; Sir William Berkeley; Sir Humphrey Stafford; and Sir William Cateſby. Thus were men attainted of treaſon for obeying the orders of their Sovereign, in oppoſition to one who had not even advanced any pretenſions to the throne. As the confiſcations produced by theſe attainders were conſiderable, Henry could not, with any regard to decency, make application to Parliament for a ſubſidy; but the Parliament, unſolicited, granted him during life the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had been enjoyed in the ſame manner by ſome of his immediate predeceſſors; and, before they were prorogued, they added ſome other money-bills of a trifling amount. The King, in return for theſe favours, publiſhed a royal proclamation, offering pardon to all ſuch as had taken up arms, or formed any attempts againſt him, on condition that they ſubmitted themſelves to mercy by a certain day, and took the uſual oaths of fealty and allegiance. Upon this proclamation, many left their ſanctuaries; and the minds of men, which had been ruffled by the late ſeverities, recovered their former compoſure. Henry ſagaciouſly choſe to take to himſelf the whole merit of an act of grace, which he knew to be popular, rather than cauſe it to be paſſed by the Parliament, as he had at firſt intended.

During this Parliament, alſo, the King beſtowed honours and favours on ſome particular perſons who had evinced their attachment in the hour of danger. Edward Stafford, eldeſt ſon of the Duke of Buckingham, attainted in the late reign, who had firſt concerted the plan of his elevation, and who by his own ruin had laid the baſis of Henry's preſent dignity, was reſtored to the honours of his family, as well as to it's fortune, which was very conſiderable; Chandos, of Brittany, was created Earl of Bath; Sir Giles Daubeny, Lord Daubeny; and Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Broke. Theſe were all the titles of nobility conferred by the King during this ſeſſion of Parliament.

But the Miniſters who enjoyed the greateſt portion of Henry's confidence and eſteem were John Morton and Richard Fox, two Clergymen of ſtrong talents, unremitting vigilance, and active induſtry. Having ſhared with him in all his former dangers and diſtreſſes, he was now careful to make them participate in his good fortune. Morton was reſtored to the Biſhopric of Ely; Fox was created Biſhop of Exeter; and they were both made members of the Privy-Council. Morton, ſoon after, on the death of Bourchier, was raiſed to the See of Canterbury; the latter was made Privy-Seal, and ſucceſſively Biſhop of Bath and Wells, Durham and Wincheſter: for Henry, as Lord Bacon obſerves, loved to employ and advance Prelates, becauſe, having rich biſhoprics to beſtow, it was eaſy for him to reward their ſervices; and it was his maxim to raiſe them by ſlow degrees, and make them firſt paſs through the inferior ſees, probably that he might enſure their fidelity by keeping them in continual expectation of farther preferment.

The Parliament, anxious to preſerve the legal, undiſputed ſucceſſion to the crown, had, on preſenting the bill of tonnage and poundage, petitioned Henry, with demonſtrations of the greateſt zeal, to conclude his marriage with the Princeſs Elizabeth; but ſo fearful were they of offending, that they concealed the real motive of their petition under the ſpecious pretence of their earneſt deſire to have heirs of his body. He now thought it was neceſſary to ſatisfy the minds of his people in that particular; and the nuptials were accordingly ſolemnized at London, on the fifteenth of January 1486, to the inexpreſſible joy of the nation. The demonſtrations of popular ſatisfaction which appeared on this occaſion, ſuperior to thoſe he had witneſſed either at his firſt entry or at his coronation, proved extremely mortifying to the King, who conſidered them as ſo many marks of affection to the Houſe of York. The illiberal prejudices conceived from hence, led this ſullen and ungenerous Prince to treat his youthful conſort with a degree of contempt and indifference that poiſoned the pure ſource of domeſtic enjoyments. Forgetful of the important obligations he owed to her, neither a continued diſplay of endearing virtues, nor conjugal obedience the moſt paſſive and obſequious, could make any impreſſion on his rigid mind, or extort the ſmalleſt return of affection.

After his marriage, the King made a progreſs into the northern counties, where the friends of the Houſe of York, and even the partizans of Richard, were moſt numerous, in hopes of removing, by his preſence and converſation, the prejudices of the malecontents. On his arrival at Nottingham, he received intelligence that Lord Lovel, with Sir Humphrey Stafford, and his brother Thomas, had ſecretly withdrawn themſelves from their ſanctuary at Colcheſter: but, this news not appearing of ſufficient importance to impede his progreſs, he proceeded to York. There, however, he was informed that the Staffords had levied an army, and were advancing to lay ſiege to the city of Worceſter; while Lovel, at the head of three or four thouſand men, was approaching to attack him in York. Though ſurrounded by enemies, in a county diſaffected to his perſon, he was not diſmayed; but, immediately collecting a ſmall body of reſolute troops, he joined to them his own attendants, and put them under the command of the Duke of Bedford. Still, however, finding himſelf unequal to face the enemy, he gave orders to Bedford *not* to approach them, but to try every expedient he could deviſe to promote their diſperſion. That nobleman accordingly iſſued a proclamation, promiſing a general

Biſhop of Worceſter apprehended Thomas Badby, a taylor, in his dioceſe; whom, after his trial and conviction for hereſy, he ſent to the Primate, with a copy of his ſentence. The charges againſt Badby were ſimilar to thoſe which had been preferred againſt the Rector of St. Oſwyth; only the taylor was farther accuſed of having pertinently obſerved, "That no Prieſt was able to make the body of "Chriſt." The Primate aſſured him, if he would renounce his errors, "that he would gage his ſoul "for him at the day of judgment." But Badby, proving inflexible, was ſentenced to be burnt; and was accordingly conducted to Smithfield, on the firſt of March 1410, where he was placed in a large tub, ſurrounded with dry wood, and faſtened to a ſtake with iron chains. Before the fire was kindled, the Prince of Wales rode up to the pile, and earneſtly entreated him to ſave himſelf from a painful death by the renunciation of his heretical doctrines, promiſing to reward his compliance with a competent annuity for life. He thanked the Prince for his offer in the warmeſt terms of gratitude; but declared that he could not conſent to preſerve his life by renouncing opinions which he firmly believed to be founded in truth. The fire was then put to the wood; and, the violence of the flames extorting from the wretched ſufferer an invocation of mercy, the Prince, thinking his conſtancy was overcome by the pain, again approached him; and, commanding the fire to be quenched, renewed his entreaties; but in vain: Badby perſevered in his adherence to truth, and was at length reduced to aſhes.

Some fruitleſs efforts were made about this time, by the Church of England, in conjunction with other churches, to terminate the ſchiſm in the Papacy, which had now continued about thirty years. The two rival Popes, Benedict the Thirteenth, and Gregory the Twelfth, were both depoſed by the Council of Piſa, on the fifth of June 1407, as manifeſt ſchiſmatics and heretics, who had been guilty of contumacy and perjury; and, on the ninteenth of the ſame month, the Council raiſed Peter Philaret, a Greek, to the Papacy, who aſſumed the appellation of Alexander the Fifth, and was acknowledged as Pope by the Engliſh church. But the elevation of Alexander, far from terminating the ſchiſm, only increaſed the number of diſputants; ſo that for ſeveral years the church had no leſs than three infallible heads, and the kingdom of heaven three keepers of it's keys, who did not ſcruple to brand each other with the moſt opprobrious epithets; which, a reverend author has gravely obſerved, did not afford the worſt proof of their *infallibility*. Alexander died on the third of May 1410; and Balthaſar Coſſa, a Neapolitan, was appointed to ſucceed him, and aſſumed the appellation of John the Twenty-third. The new Pope, however, was depoſed by the Council of Conſtance, in the year 1415, for hereſy, contumacy, perjury, ſimony, adultery, inceſt, and a thouſand frauds. Benedict the Thirteenth was depoſed likewiſe; and, Gregory the Twelfth having reſigned, the Chair of St. Peter was conſidered as vacant; and Odon de Colonna, Cardinal-Deacon of St. George's, was appointed to ſupply the vacancy, and took the name of Martin the Fifth. But as Benedict refuſed to ſubmit to the ſentence of depoſition which had been pronounced againſt him, and as he had even a ſucceſſor, named Clement the Seventh, the rancorous diſputes between theſe pretended vicegerents of the God of *Peace* were not finally decided till the year 1429, after the ſchiſm had continued more than half a century; during which time it had involved the whole Chriſtian world in confuſion, and put all the European ſtates to incredible trouble and expence.

The Primate, in the mean time, continued his perſecution of the Lollards with unremitting malevolence. His anger was the more inflamed againſt this unfortunate ſect, becauſe ſome of their opinions were favourable to the annihilation of clerical power and opulence, and becauſe their friends in the Houſe of Commons had made repeated attempts on the poſſeſſions of the church. In the year 1409, the Commons repreſented to the King, "That if he "would pleaſe to take away the eſtates of the "Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors, which only ſerved "to ſupport them in luxury and ſuperfluous pomp, "the crown and kingdom would reap eſſential ad-"vantages, as they would enable the King to main-"tain fifteen Earls, fifteen hundred Knights, ſix "thouſand two hundred Eſquires, and one hun-"dred Hoſpitals." But the petition was rejected; and the Peers preſented one of an oppoſite tendency, praying the King to protect the patrimony of the church, and to inflict an exemplary puniſhment on all ſuch as ſhould ſtrive to convince the people of the legality of taking it away.

As the doctrines of Wickliffe were more prevalent in the univerſity of Oxford than in any other part of the kingdom, the Primate repaired thither, with a ſplendid retinue, in the year 1411, in order, by his preſence, to effect their ſuppreſſion. But, on his approach to that city, he was met by the Chancellor and Proctors, who told him that, if he came for the mere gratification of his curioſity, he ſhould experience a reception ſuitable to his rank; but that, if he came as their viſitor, they could not admit him, being exempted by ſeveral papal bulls from epiſcopal viſitation. The Primate, greatly incenſed at this repulſe, appealed to the King; who, after hearing both parties, pronounced a definitive ſentence, on the ninth of February 1412, againſt the univerſity. In conſequence of this deciſion, Arundel ordered the univerſity to appoint twelve of it's moſt learned and orthodox members to examine the writings of Wickliffe, and extract from them ſuch opinions as ſhould appear to be founded in hereſy or error. Twelve were accordingly choſen; and no leſs than two hundred and ſixty-ſeven opinions of that deſcription were the fruits of their labour. Theſe being ſent to the Primate, were by him tranſmitted to the Pope, with a *pious* and *chriſtian-like* requeſt, not only to condemn the opinions, but to authorize him to take the body of Wickliffe out of the grave, and put it on a dunghill, that it might be trampled on by all good Chriſtians.

The Pope, however, being endued with more humanity than the Prelate, contented himſelf with granting the former part of his requeſt, and iſſued his prohibition to diſturb the aſhes of Wickliffe.

The death of Henry the Fourth, in 1413, rather tended to increaſe than diminiſh the reigning ſpirit of perſecution: the firſt proof of which was the apprehenſion and impriſonment of Lord Cobham. When that nobleman was ſtrenuouſly urged by the Primate to a recantation of his principles, he made no anſwer; but, drawing out a paper from his boſom, he read it, as the confeſſion of his faith, and then delivered it to Arundel. The following is a copy of that curious paper, extracted from Wilkin's Councils, which may fairly be ſuppoſed to contain the leading ſentiments of the moſt intelligent Lollards, though they are expreſſed with that caution which the ſpirit of the times rendered neceſſary.

" I John Oldcaſtell, Knyght, Lord of Cobham, " wole, that all Criſtyn men wyte and underſtond, " that I olepe Allmyghty God in to wytneſs, that it " hath ben, now ys, and ever, with the help of " God, ſhall ben myn entent, and my wylle, to " beleve feythfully and fully all the Sacramentis " that evyr God ordeyned to be do in holy Churche: " and, moreover, for to declare me in theſe four " peyntes. I beleve that the moſt worſchipfull " Sacrament of the auter is Criſtes body in forme " of bred, the ſame body that was born of the " blyſſyd Virgyne our Lady Seint Marye, don on " the croſs, deed and buryed the thrydde day, ros " fro deth to lyf; the wych body is now gloriſied " in hevene. Alſo, as for the Sacrament of Pe- " nance, I beleve that it is nedfull to every man " that ſhall be ſaved, to forſake ſynne, and do due " penance for ſynne bifore doon, wyth trewe con- " feſſion, very contrition, and duhe ſatisfaction, as " Goddes law lymiteth and techeth, and ellys may " not be ſaved. Whych penance I deſir all men to " do. And of as Ymages I underſtonde, that thei " be not of belive, but that thei were ordeyned " ſyth the bileve was zew of Criſt be ſufferaunce of " the Churche, to be kalenders to lewed men, to " repreſent and brynge to mynde the paſſion of our " Lord Jheſu Criſt, and martirdom and good " lyvying of other ſeyntis; and that who ſo it be " that doth the worſchipe to dede ymages, that is " duhe to God, or putteth ſeych hope or truſt in " help of them, as he ſhuld do to God, or hath " affeccion in one more than in an other, he doth in " that the grete ſin of mawmentrie. Alſo I ſup- " poſe this fully, that every man in this erthe is a " pilgrime towarde blyſs, or toward peyne; and " that he that knoweth not, ne wole not knowe, ne " kepe the hole comandementes of God in his " lyvying here, al be it, that he goo on pylgrimage " to all the world, an he dy ſo, he ſhall be dampned; " and he that knowyth the holy comandementys of " God, and kepeth hem hys end, he ſhall be ſaved, " tho' he nevir in hys lyve go on pilgrymage, as " men uſe now, to Cantirbury or to Rome, or to " any other place."

The Primate, after conſultation with the other Prelates and Divines, told Lord Cobham, that ſeveral articles of his Creed wore a good and Catholic appearance; but that it was not ſufficiently explicit on either of the four points, of the Euchariſt, Confeſſion, Images and Pilgrimages. For his inſtruction, therefore, he gave him the following paper, containing the doctrine of the Church on theſe important ſubjects, which he allowed him two days to conſider.

"The fayth and the determination of holy Churche " touchyng the bliſsfull Sacraments of the Auter, is " this:—That after the ſacramentall wordes ben " ſayde by a Preſt in hys maſſe, the material bred " that was bifore is turned into Criſtis verray body; " and the materiai wyn that was before, is turned " into Cryſtes verray blode; and there leweth in the " auter no material brede, ne material wyn, the " wych wer ther byfore the ſeying of the ſacramen- " tal wordes.—How lyve ye this article?—Holy " Churche hath determyned, that every Criſten man " lyvyng here bodilich in erthe, oughte to ſchryve " to a preſt ordeyned by the Churche if he may " come to hym.—How ſele ye this article?—Criſt " ordeyned Seint Petir the Apoſtell to ben his vi- " carie here in erthe; whos ſee ys the Churche of " Rome, ordynying and grauntyng the ſame power " that he gaf to Petir ſhuld ſuccede to all Petirs " ſucceſſours; the wych we callyn now Popes of " Rome; by whos power in churches particuler " ſpecial ben ordeyned Prelates, as Archbyſhoppes, " Byſhoppes, Curates, and other degrees, to whom " Criſten men oughte to obey after the lawes of the " Churche of Rome. This is determination of holy " Churche.—How ſele ye this articull?—Holy " Churche hath determined, that it is needfull to a " Criſtyn man to goo a pilgrymach to holy places, " and there ſpecially to worſhip holy reliqes of " ſeyntes, apoſtelys, martyrs, confeſſours, and all " ſeyntes approved be Churche of Rome. This is " determination of holy Churche.—How ſele ye this " articule?"

Such was the ridiculous doctrine maintained by our bigotted anceſtors in the fifteenth century, and to which every one was obliged to ſubſcribe, under the pain of being burnt to aſhes. The refuſal of Lord Cobham to comply with theſe articles, with his conviction, eſcape, re-capture and execution, we have already noticed in the reign of Henry the Fifth.

The Primate, whoſe ſanguinary diſpoſition rendered him a diſgrace to the religion he profeſſed, died on the nineteenth of February 1414; and was ſucceeded by Henry Chicheley, Biſhop of St. David's, who was elected by the monks of Canterbury on the King's recommendation. The Pope, however, diſannulled the election, as an infringement on his right of nomination: but, being fearful to diſoblige the King at a time when he had powerful enemies to combat in Italy, he again nominated Chicheley to the primacy: who, on receiving his pall, took an oath of canonical obedience, which rendered him more the ſubject of the Pontiff than of his natural Sovereign.

The new Primate ſoon ſhewed himſelf endued with the ſame intolerant principles as his predeceſ-

ſor;

for; and, by purſuing the ſame line of conduct, ſeemed determined to effect the total extermination of the unfortunate Lollards. Henry the Fifth gave orders to the Univerſity of Oxford to draw up a catalogue of thoſe abuſes in the Church which ſtood in moſt need of reformation, that he might lay them before the Council of Conſtance. This catalogue conſiſts of forty-ſix articles; and—though it was compoſed by Eccleſiaſtics who were doubtleſs careful not to exaggerate the vices of their fraternity—exhibits a moſt odious picture of the manners of the Clergy in this period, particularly of their avarice and debauchery. The twenty-ſeventh article contains the following charge: "It is notorious that "when a Pagan or Jew, abandoning his former "errors, deſires to be purified in the holy font of "Baptiſm, all his temporal goods are confiſcated to "the Church; which, it is believed, prevents the "converſion of many Jews. It would be pious and "meritorious in the Council to remedy this abuſe: "for, when Philip baptized the eunuch, he did not "ſeize his chariot, or any other goods which he had "with him at his baptiſm." The thirty-eighth article repreſents, "That the carnal and debauched "lives of the Clergy in our days, and their public "fornications—which are never puniſhed, except "ſecretly, by a trifling fine—ſet an evil example "before others: it would therefore be a work of "holineſs, and would greatly contribute to the re-"formation of the Church, if prieſts of every rank "and order, who were public fornicators, were "obliged to abſtain from the celebration of maſs "for a limited time."

But the neceſſary work of reformation was, unfortunately, leſs attended to than the invidious taſk of perſecution. In the year 1415, one John Claydon, a furrier in London, was burnt in Smithfield for having liſtened to the peruſal of heretical books: and, in the following year, an inquiſition was ſet on foot by the Primate; who compelled three reſpectable inhabitants in every pariſh to take a ſolemn oath, that they would make diligent enquiry if there were any Lollards, or any ſuſpected of favouring that ſect, or any who had Engliſh books in their houſes, or had any thing ſingular in their way of living, within their pariſh; and to ſend an account, in writing, to the Archdeacon, twice every year, of their names, and of every circumſtance relating to them. In conſequence of this deſpotic regulation, which eſtabliſhed inquiſitors, and conſequently tyrants, in every village throughout the kingdoms, numerous proſecutions, founded in envy or malevolence, were commenced; and the devoted followers of Wickliffe were expoſed to the moſt cruel inſults and oppreſſions.

In the years 1426 and 1427, Pope Martin the Fifth, who had obtained full poſſeſſion of the chair of St. Peter, directed various bulls to the Primate, to the King, and to the Parliament of England, concerning the ſtatute of *Premunire*, by which the Roman Pontiffs were deprived of the power of diſpoſing of Engliſh benefices at their pleaſure. In theſe bulls he treated the Archbiſhop with great aſperity, beſtowing on him the moſt opprobrious names, for having ſuffered a law, which he termed deteſtable, execrable, and abominable, to ſubſiſt ſo long. Nor did he diſplay much greater delicacy in his addreſſes to the King and Parliament; telling them plainly, that he was conſtituted ſupreme Head over them and the univerſal Church by Chriſt himſelf; inſinuating that, if they did not repeal that odious ſtatute, they would incur the penalty of damnation; and promiſing, if they would aboliſh it, that he would exerciſe his authority with lenity and moderation. The Commons, however, were neither intimidated by his threats nor allured by his promiſes; and therefore refuſed to comply with his requeſt, though ſtrongly urged to it by the Primate, and other Prelates of the kingdom. In the year 1428, this turbulent Pontiff publiſhed a cruſade againſt the Bohemians who had adopted the opinions of Wickliffe; and he promiſed the pardon of all their ſins, and the happineſs of Heaven, to ſuch as ſhould loſe their lives in that expedition; which induced numbers of the Engliſh to engage in it, under the conduct of the Cardinal of Wincheſter.

Martin the Fifth was with great difficulty prevailed upon, or rather compelled, to ſummon a general council, in compliance with his own promiſe, and in ſubmiſſion to a decree of the Council of Conſtance; and he appointed Julian, Cardinal of St. Angelo, to preſide in it in his name: but Martin died on the twentieth of February, before the meeting of the council; and was ſucceeded by Gabriel Condolmicas, a Venetian, who aſſumed the title of Eugenius the Fourth, and confirmed the nomination of Cardinal Julian to preſide at the council, which met at Baſil on the nineteenth of July 1431. In the ſecond ſeſſion, on the fifteenth of February 1432, the council decreed, That a general council, when ſitting, was ſupreme Head of the Church; to whoſe cenſure all perſons, the Pope not excepted, were ſubject; and that the Sovereign Pontiff could not diſſolve a general council without the conſent of it's members. The Pope, incenſed at decrees which infringed on his authority, publiſhed a bull of diſſolution; at which the members of the council were ſo much offended, that they threatened to depoſe him and appoint a ſucceſſor to the papacy, if he did not immediately recall his bull. When affairs were in this confuſed ſtate, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury called a convocation of the Prelates and Clergy of his province on the ſeventh of November 1433, and propoſed the following queſtions to the repreſentatives of the Clergy in the Lower Houſe: "Hath the Pope power to diſſolve a general coun-"cil? Hath the Council of Baſil power to depoſe "Pope Eugenius? If that Council depoſe Euge-"nius, and elect another, will you adhere to the "former, or to the Pope choſen by the Council?" After ſome deliberation, the following anſwers were returned to theſe queſtions: "The Pope hath power "to diſſolve a general Council. The Council hath "not power to depoſe Pope Eugenius. If that "Council depoſe Eugenius, we will ſtill pay obe-"dience to him as lawful Pope."

The principal inducement with the Engliſh Clergy to embrace the part of the Pontiff, in oppoſition

ſition to the Council, appears to have been this: In the Council of Conſtance, the members deliberated and voted by nations, ſo that the Engliſh had one entire vote; but, in the Council of Baſil, the members were divided into four deputations, each of which was compoſed of perſons of different nations; and the Engliſh, being few in number, and thus diſperſed, were loſt, as it were, in the crowd; and their influence in the Council was almoſt annihilated. Of this they ſent home grievous complaints; which irritated the Engliſh Clergy againſt the Council, and made them eager to promote it's diſſolution.

The Bohemian Lollards having ſucceſsfully repelled the unprovoked attacks of their fanatical opponents, reduced the Council of Baſil to the neceſſity of negotiating with them. Their deputies propoſed certain points of reformation; on the acceptance of which they promiſed, in the name of their countrymen, to return to the communion of the Church. This negotiation being made known to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he put the following queſtion to the ſame convocation which had decided on the Pope's authority in the diſſolution of general councils—Whether any conceſſions, or what conceſſions, might be made by the Council of Baſil to the Bohemians, to bring them back to the communion of the Church? To this the Clergy anſwered, That if the Bohemians required the adminiſtration of the communion to the Laity in both kinds; that all Prieſts and Deacons ſhould have authority to preach; that temporal offices ſhould not be enjoyed by the Clergy; and that all notorious criminals, without diſtinction, ſhould be puniſhed—which were the four points the Bohemians were moſt ſtrenuous to carry—they ſhould be denied; and, in a word, that no conceſſions whatever ſhould be made to ſuch perverſe Heretics. So determined were the Clergy of this period to perſiſt in error and in vice, and ſo averſe were they to every principle of reformation!

Chicheley, the Primate, died on the twelfth of April, in the year 1443; and was ſucceeded in the Primacy by John Stafford, Biſhop of Bath, ſon to the Earl of Stafford.

Soon after the elevation of this Prelate, an application was made by the Clergy to the Parliament, relative to a violent conteſt which had ariſen between the Church and the Common Lawyers, on the meaning of a ſingle word in the famous ſtatute of Premunire. In that ſtatute it was enacted, "If "any purchaſe, or purſue, or do to be purchaſed "or purſued, in the court of Rome, or elſewhere, "any ſuch tranſactions, proceſſes, and ſentences of "excommunication, bulls, inſtruments, or any "other things which touch the King, againſt him, "his regality, or realm," &c. they ſhall incur the penalties mentioned in the ſtatute. By the Court of Rome, or *elſewhere*, the Clergy pretended to underſtand the Roman Court, whether it was held at Rome or any other place; whereas the Lawyers interpreted the paſſage according to it's evident meaning, viz. The Court of Rome, or any other court: in conſequence of which interpretation, whenever any of the ſpiritual courts preſumed to judge a cauſe that was not ſtrictly within their juriſdiction, the courts at Weſtminſter not only iſſued prohibitions, but puniſhed the ſpiritual Judges, as in the caſe of a Premunire. The two Archbiſhops, therefore, with all their Suffragans and Clergy, preſented a petition to Parliament, in the year 1447, earneſtly requeſting an explanation of the word *elſewhere*, in the ſtatute of the ſixteenth of Richard the Second, agreeable to their own views. This modeſt petition contained many bitter complaints againſt the courts at Weſtminſter, for aſſuming to themſelves the ſole right of interpreting acts of parliament; affirming that the ſpiritual courts were equally entitled, and much better qualified, to exerciſe that privilege. The Parliament, however, treated their repreſentations with the contempt they ſo richly deſerved.

Archbiſhop Stafford died in the year 1452, and was ſucceeded by John Kemp, Archbiſhop of York, and Cardinal of St. Balbina, who enjoyed the Primacy only eighteen months; and on his death, Thomas Bourchier, Biſhop of Ely, and brother to the Earl of Eſſex, was promoted to that important ſtation. This Prelate had ſoon occaſion to exerciſe his archiepiſcopal authority; for Reginald Pocoke, Biſhop of Chicheſter, being accuſed of maintaining ſome heretical doctrines, the Primate commanded him to appear before him at Lambeth on the twenty-ſecond of October 1457; when, after various examinations, he was prevailed upon by threats and promiſes to ſubſcribe his recantation. The accounts we have, as well of the trial as the tenets of Pocoke, are confuſed and contradictory; but the opinions which he acknowledged to have held, and which he now recanted, were theſe—"That we are not "bound, by the neceſſity of faith, to believe that "our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, after his death, deſcend-"ed into hell. It is not neceſſary to ſalvation to "believe in the Holy Catholic Church. It is not "neceſſary to ſalvation to believe the Communion "of Saints. It is not neceſſary to ſalvation to "affirm that the body of Chriſt is materially in the "Sacrament. The Univerſal Church may err in "matters which pertain unto faith. It is not ne-"ceſſary to ſalvation to believe that that which "every general council doth univerſally ordain, ap-"prove, and determine, ſhould neceſſarily, for the "help of our faith, and the ſalvation of our ſouls, "be approved and holden of all faithful Chriſtians." Though the renunciation of theſe opinions ſaved the life of the Prelate who had maintained them, it did not prevent the Primate from depriving him of his ſee, and ſentencing him to paſs the remainder of his days in confinement.

Soon after the acceſſion of Edward the Fourth, that Monarch being anxious to ſecure the ſupport of the Clergy, exerted his prerogative in their favour in a moſt unwarrantable and illegal manner; by granting them a charter, which rendered them almoſt independent of the civil government. By a deſpotic aſſumption of authority, he diſpenſed with the ſtatute of Premunire, which no entreaties could ever perſuade the Parliament to repeal; and he prohibited all civil judges and magiſtrates from taking cognizance

cognizance of any treaſons, murders, rapes, robberies, thefts, or any other crimes committed by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, or any one in holy orders. Nay, if any perſon apprehended for a crime aſſerted that he was in orders, though his aſſertion were notoriouſly falſe, the civil magiſtrate was commanded to deliver him to the Biſhop, or his official, to determine whether he was, or was not, in orders; which opened a door to the moſt flagrant abuſes. The conſequence of this indiſcriminate, illegal, and unprincipled exemption from civil juriſdiction, was ſuch as might naturally have been expected. The Primate, in a commiſſion which he granted ſoon after to his Commiſſary-general, for enforcing ſome points of reformation, obſerved, that many of the Clergy, both ſecular and regular, were ignorant, illiterate blockheads, or rather abſolute idiots; and that their profligacy equalled their ignorance, for they neglected their cures by ſtrolling about the country with infamous women, ſpending the revenues of their benefices in feaſting and drinking, in fornication and adultery.

In the year 1466, Neville, Archbiſhop of York, ſummoned a convocation of the Clergy of his province, at which ſeveral remarkable canons were enacted. By the firſt of theſe canons, every Pariſh-prieſt is commanded either to preach himſelf, or cauſe another to preach for him, to his pariſhioners, four times a year, and to explain to them in Engliſh, without any fantaſtical ſubtleties, The Fourteen Articles of Faith—The Ten Precepts of the Decalogue—The Two Precepts of the Goſpel—The Seven Works of Mercy—The Seven Mortal Sins—The Seven Principal Virtues—and The Seven Sacraments of Grace. To enable the Clergy to perform this taſk, the Convocation ſubjoined an explanation of the reſpective articles, which forms a curious ſyſtem of the Catholic theology of the fifteenth century, to be ſeen in the Councils of Wilkin. In the explanation of the Decalogue, the firſt commandment is ſaid to be a prohibition of all enchantments, ſuperſtitious characters, and ſuch figments. The ſecond is entirely omitted; evidently from the impoſſibility of reconciling the prevailing cuſtom of worſhipping images, with the ſtrong and pointed prohibition it contains againſt that ſpecies of ſuperſtitious veneration; and, to compleat the number, the tenth is ſagaciouſly divided into two. This, it muſt be confeſſed, was taking no trifling liberty with a ſyſtem of laws which they acknowledged to be divine.

During the reign of Edward, a violent altercation occurred between the Secular Clergy and the Mendicant Friars; the latter of whom maintained, that Jeſus Chriſt had been a beggar; and that they, on that account, had the ſtrongeſt claims to his favour, and were more particularly entitled to the regard and bounty of all true Chriſtians. The Seculars, as may be ſuppoſed, were extremely vehement, both in their declarations and writings, againſt a doctrine ſo hoſtile to their own principles and practice; and, as the Pope himſelf was as much averſe to mendicity as the Clergy, he iſſued a bull againſt the Mendicants, in the year 1475, declaring their doctrine to be heretical.

The minds of men were too much occupied with the ſurprizing revolutions which occurred towards the concluſion of this period, to pay attention to eccleſiaſtical affairs. The Clergy, however, always eager to promote the ſecurity or extenſion of their immunities, found means, by flattering the tyrant Richard, to obtain from him letters-patent, dated February the twenty-third 1484, confirming thoſe of Edward the Fourth, and emancipating them from the juriſdiction of the civil courts.

The fruitleſs attempts of Wickliffe and his followers to propagate a ſpirit of reformation during this dark period, only ſerved to produce a multiplication of errors and ſuperſtitious rites. Tranſubſtantiation was now fully eſtabliſhed, and formed a principal article in the creed of every orthodox Chriſtian. The ſacramental cup was taken from the laity, but with great caution, and by ſlow degrees. The Clergy were firſt commanded carefully to inſtruct the people, "That both the body and blood of the "Lord were given at once under the ſpecies of "bread; nay, the entire living and true Chriſt: "that the wine in the cup was not the ſacrament, "but mere wine, given them to make them ſwal-"low the bread with greater eaſe." Their next orders were, "To begin to withold the cup in ſmall "obſcure churches; and to exhort the people to "ſwallow the bread without chewing, that none of "it might ſtick in their teeth." So ſkilful were theſe unworthy miniſters of the Goſpel in rendering both the forms and ſubſtance of their religious tenets ſubſervient to their own intereſt, ambition, or caprice! The churches at this time were crouded with the images of different ſaints, to which greater homage is ſaid to have been paid than to the Supreme Being. Proceſſions, indulgences, auricular confeſſions, and prieſtly abſolution, were now ſuffered to ſuperſede the eſſential duties of religion; and frivolous diſcriminations of ſin were adopted, in order to augment the authority of Prieſts and Prelates. Neville, Archbiſhop of York, enumerated thirty-ſeven kinds of ſin, which none but the Pope or a Biſhop could pardon. The firſt and moſt important of theſe was Hereſy; the ſecond, *Crimen contra naturam, maxime cum brutis*; the laſt, and, in the eſtimation of the church, the *leaſt* of the thirty-ſeven, was the raiſing a ſedition which endangered a city or ſtate. In ſhort, ignorance and ſuperſtition appear to have been generally prevalent in this period, though it immediately preceded the revival of learning, and the reformation of religion.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.